The Four Dimensions of Western-centric Ideologies in Upper Secondary English Textbooks in Sweden

An Ideological Square Analysis of *Blueprint A 3.0* & *Solid Gold 1*

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Abstract

Swedish upper secondary schools are assigned the responsibility to promote cultural diversity and foster democratic global citizens according to Läroplanen för gymnasieskolan (Skolverket, 2022). Naturally, as English textbooks try to incorporate this, the potentially problematic outcome arises of the depictions of the Westerner and the non-Westerner. The present research examines to what extent and how the four dimensions of Western-centric ideologies through the analytical lens of Van Dijk's ideological square are manifested in *Blueprint A 3.0* (2017) and *Solid Gold 1* (2014) for English 5 upper secondary schools. How the Western-centric ideologies are manifested is discussed through the theory of Orientalism (Said, 2003) and its complementary linguistic theories problematizing Native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) and Euro-English (Philipson, 2003). The findings of the present study highlight how the majority of the texts placed in the ideological square are about the Western "Us" and that the West is portrayed as superior through depictions of being developed and progressive while the non-West "Them" is depicted as undeveloped, oppressed as well as stagnant and timeless. Thus, the findings are in accordance with the theories of the literature and previous research where the implied superiority of the West is found. Based on these findings, it can perhaps be argued that the textbooks *Blueprint A 3.0* (2017) and *Solid Gold 1* (2014) do not fulfill the expectations of Läroplanen för gymnasieskolan (Skolverket, 2022), leading to the pedagogical implications of this present study where teachers are encouraged to create complementary material or address the Western-centric ideologies of the respective textbooks.

Keywords

Contents

1. Introduction

The English language has the multifaceted identity of being a global and international language, the most dominant lingua franca of the modern world (Phan 2016). However, many scholars state that English Language Teaching (ELT) and education is a postcolonial product of Western dominance (Phan, 2016; Choi 2005; Holliday, 2006). *Native-speakerism*, as defined by Holliday (2006), is an ideology involving such Western dominance, and it describes how the Western English native-speaker represents the ideals of the English language in ELT. Therefore, Native-speakerism emphasizes the *Othering* of individuals outside of the English-speaking West by portraying the superiority of the native English-speaking West. The Othering involves a *Center* and *Periphery*, where the Europeanized West is the superior Center that enforce their Western values in ELT through English linguistic imperialism toward the Periphery (Phan 2016). Similarly, in *Euro-English*, the *Center* becomes an *Expanding Circle* of Europeans while the non-West is peripheralized. These linguistic terms can all be connected to Said's (2003) theory of *Orientalism*, where the *Occident'*s identity and self-acclaimed superiority is built on the differentiation of the *Orient*, thus creating a superior *Self* or *Us* (the Western) and an inferior *Other* or *Them* (the non-Western). These undertones in ELT however do not align with the curriculum Läroplanen för gymnasieksolan's (Skolverket, 2022) statements of schools bearing the responsibility to educate students about cultural diversity and to enforce democratic values as global citizens. In this present study, these guidelines from Skolverket (2022) are interpreted as a responsibility to enforce a global perspective where non-Western cultures are included in a positive light instead of negative undertones which reinforces a Western-centrism. Therefore, the ELT in schools is of interest in order to examine if Skolverket's guidelines are adhered to. Teaching resources such as the textbooks analyzed in the present research, *Blueprint A 3.0* (Lundfall & Nyström, 2017) and *Solid Gold 1* (Hedencrona, Smed-Gerdin & Watcyn-Jones, 2014) can thus give an insight to what content is presented to students in classroom settings.

Previous research on ELT textbooks and its depiction of Western values and Standard English as superior have been conducted in several countries (Choi, 2005; Lindqvist & Soler, 2002; Lindqvist, 2020; Thomas, 2017). This present study continues this tradition of critical research on ELT textbook, by scrutinizing whether and to what extent Orientalism is present in the examined textbooks. Moreover, while *Blueprint A 3.0* has been researched before in a similar context, research on *Solid Gold 1* in this field is sparse. Thus, the present study aims to fill a somewhat unexplored research gap of analyzing *Solid Gold* 1 through this postcolonial lens.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to unveil the extent and how Western-centric ideologies are manifested in *Blueprint A 3.0* and *Solid Gold 1* for English 5 in Swedish upper secondary school, centrally through Orientalism and its complementary linguistic theories of Native-speakerism and Euro-English, with the analytical lens of Van Dijk's ideological square,

which will be further discussed in section 3.1 Analytical Framework: Van Dijk's Ideological Square.

RQ1: To what extent do English 5 textbooks, *Blueprint A 3.0* and *Solid Gold 1*, manifest Western-centric ideologies in terms of the four dimensions of Van Dijk's ideological square?

RQ2: How are the four-dimensional Western-centric ideologies of Van Dijk manifested in English 5 textbooks, *Blueprint A 3.0* and *Solid Gold 1?*

2. Literature review

The following sections include the theory of Orientalism, Native-speakerism and Euro-English. The most extensive literature review concerns Orientalism, as it lays the groundwork for the postcolonial lens of this present study, where Native-speakerism and Euro-English act as complementary theories of linguistic research origins. The section concludes with a discussion about how the theories are applied to this study.

2.1. Theories about Western-centric bias

2.1.1 Orientalism

Edward Said's (2003) postcolonial theory of Orientalism describes the nature of the relationship between the Orient and Occident. Said (2003) states that the Occident denominates the countries of the West, such as Europe and the USA. The Orient illustrates the countries of the East in relation to Europe. According to Said, the Orient is attributed as the European opposite image and contrast of the European identity. Therefore, the construction of the Orient as the contrasting image of the Occident in turn produces the identity of the Occident.

Founded in Michel Foucault's method of discourse analysis, Said (2003) examines the discourse in the European culture and its historical as well as present ruling and production of the Orient in various societal spheres. Orientalism is not in itself political but illustrates how the West can depict and control the image of the Orient through Orientalism, concerning various spheres such as political power, intellectual power, cultural power, and moral power against the Orient. Said's (2003) main point is to showcase the European identity as a construction birthed in the production of the opposing imagery of the Orient as well as how the Orient has been affected by Orientalism. The Orientalism of the Orient is described as an act where the Orient itself is not Oriental. Instead, the Orient is the subject of the term Oriental through the eyes of 19th century Europeans. Therefore, to be Oriental is something assigned and attributed to the Orient by the Occident where the European perception of the Orient is the Orientalism that came to define the cultures and countries of the East. Thus, the concept of Orientalism exhibits how the Occident inhabits a power dynamic with the Orient, where the Occident

can produce and rule over the imagery of the Orient. This power dynamic showcases the authoritative character of Orientalism, where the Occident is implied as superior. Said (2003) describes how the Occident can use the authoritative character of Orientalism to describe and educate about the Orient, not only through observation but also by shaping its oriental role.

Through the depiction of the Orient by the Occident, the Orient symbolizes stagnation and backwardness in a subordinate position to the opposing image of the implied superiority of the Occident. Therefore, Said (2003) states that a European or American will inhabit these underlying structures and power dynamics which can affect their neutrality and objectivity in depictions of the Orient. Through the power relationship of the Occident and its production of the oriental Orient as a contrast to the European and Western identity, an Us and Them is reproduced. Thus, Orientalism illustrates how the Occident produces a superior Us and an inferior or subordinate Them.

A clear case of Orientalism is presented by Josep Massad (2007), who discusses the gay rights movement and how the humanitarian organization The Gay International carries an "Orientalist impulse" (p. 161). Massad (2007) explains how the concept of Orientalism is apparent in The Gay International's humanitarian efforts of the universalization of gay liberation by pointing out how this missionary goal aimed at Muslim countries has led to American and European authors to produce literature describing and explaining how same-sex relationships are in Muslim countries. Thus, since Westerners are describing the historical background and present discourse concerning Arab and Muslim same-sex relations, the authoritative nature of Orientalism is prevalent. Massad (2007) states that such literature propagates for The Gay International's aim of liberating Arabs and Muslims while demystifying Islam for the Western audience. However, in doing so the liberation categorizes and contextualizes Arabs and Muslims in same-sex relations into terms as gay or lesbian, which are Western categories. The liberation is therefore an effort to replicate the West and its categorizations, illustrating the West as the superior ideal.

Moreover, Massad (2007) points out how Western literature about same-sex relationships in Muslim countries often describes Muslims as the observed *They* while the Western observers are the *We*. As Massad (2007) simply puts it "[…] Arabs and Muslims can only be the objects of European scholarship and never its subjects or audience […]" (p. 166). This exemplifies the power dynamic of Orientalism where the Orient becomes the observed, shaped by the Occident and in this case also educated and liberated by the Occident. Furthermore, Massad (2007) highlights that the world federation Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association's (ILGA) study on Egypt inaccurately described how Khawal, namely transgender dancers from the 19th century, were popular in present time. Therefore, the portrayal of historical phenomena as current further exemplifies the depiction of Arabs and Muslims as timeless, similar to Said's (2003) description of how Orientalism portrays the Orient as unchanging.

2.1.2 Native-Speakerism

Adrian Holliday (2006) discusses Native-speakerism within ELT as an ideal where the native speaker becomes representative of Western culture and its ideals of the English language as well as English language methodology, which in turn enforces the ideal of a Standard English. Similar to Massad's (2007) description of the Orientalist impulse of educating the non-West, Native-speakerism aims to correct the non-native speaker through an Othering. Holliday describes Othering as an underlying theme where students or teachers outside the English-speaking West become the problematic generalized other who differ from the unproblematic self of the native speaker. Thus, the Native-speakerism in Western ELT in relation to the theory of Orientalism replicates colonialist ideals of civilizing the other and being autonomous, organized, and inventive through the "[…] moral mission to bring a superior culture of teaching and learning […]" (Holliday, 2006, p. 386).

In accordance with Holliday's (2006) discussion of Native-speakerism, Lee Han Phan (2016) expands on the postcolonial criticism of Native-speakerism. Phan (2016) explains that the English language in the context of being a global language involves postcolonial cultural politics concerning Western dominance. ELT can be considered an industry and a product of the Center, meaning the English-speaking Western countries, although it once was rooted in the past colonized countries of the Periphery. Phan (2016) means that as the British Empire utilized ELT for its colonial governance, it still has a similar function today. ELT strengthens the expansion of English and consequently its Anglo-American values, making ELT a neocolonialist linguistic imperialism. Moreover, the spread of ELT in the Periphery can be veiled in the guise of aid, to encourage development and globalization, which in turn ensures the power of the English-speaking West such as the UK and USA. Thus, as English globally transforms into an implied superior language, bridging the Center and Periphery, the Center and its values are imposed on the Periphery, encouraging a "the West is better" attitude through Westernized education. This relationship between the Center and Periphery exemplifies the superior Self and inferior Other dichotomy where the native English-speaking or Western is implied to be superior as it corrects, influences and educates the non-native speaker of the Periphery.

Thus, the words native-speaker and non-native speaker, are according to Phan (2016) a deeply ideological notion with political significance rather than being simply descriptive terminologies. The lack of acknowledgement of the political significance can in itself be indicative of the prevalence of the Western-centric postcolonial ideologies that shape Native-speakerism.

2.1.3 Euro-English

Robert Philipson (2003) describes how Euro-English encompasses the English used in Europe for communication between speakers of different languages that are non-native English speakers. Phillipson (2003) explains how globalization and its accompanying Americanization requires English to be used by non-native speakers as well as making

non-native English speakers accustomed to behavioral habits and linguistic forms of English. Transitioning from national identities, the usage of Euro-English develops a supranational identity, as seen in the European Union.

It is important to define what the perception of being European involves. A European identity encompasses an internal and external identification process. The internal aspect being shared heritage, belief systems and language of authority while the external features concern the characteristics in reference to others. Phillipson (2003) exemplifies this through describing New Zealand as geographically not European but inhabited by people of European ethnic and linguistic ancestry except the Maoris. Therefore, New Zealand is Europeanized and can be attributed as such.

Marko Modiano (2009) advocates for Euro-English and discusses how ELT and its perception of English has long been characterized as an *Inner Circle* language, which is supposedly best represented by the native English speakers, according to language experts in support of standard language ideologies. Language specialists in support of a standard Inner Circle English consider proficiency in English to be when a non-native speaker has obtained or is near the proficiency of a native speaker. Such ideas encompass the want for English to retain its language culture without being constrained by becoming an instrument of global communication. However, Modiano (2009) argues against this Native-speakerism and points out that this concept has been destabilized in Europe as English is recognized and perceived as a universal language since it is being used in intercultural contexts where Inner Circle L1 speakers are not present. The definition of lingua franca that Modiano has coined is that "A lingua franca is a language which has considerable utility in multicultural settings, among people with differing linguistic profiles." (2007, p. 212). Modiano (2009) discusses how there is a possibility of a Euro-English variety that belongs to the Expanding Circle of English language usage, where the L2 English of Europeans embody the notion of a lingua franca as universally inclusive. The Expanding Circle includes Euro-English speakers while the *Outer Circle* remains non-Euro English speakers and non-native English speakers. Lastly, in a European context of English language varieties, Europeans are exposed to the American, British, and continental European varieties of the language, while the Asian and African varieties are not as prevalent in mainland European society.

Criticism against Modiano's (2009) advocation of Euro-English is presented by Kingsley Bolton and Daniel R. Davis (2017) by referring to Jennifer Jenkins who argue that Modiano's understanding of lingua franca is outdated, as a lingua franca is better understood as "a complex adaptive system" instead (p. 306). Furthermore, Bolton and Davis (2017) refer to Philipson who presents criticism towards Modiano (2009) alongside Jenkins. The idea of Euro-English as a variety of English existing is according to Philipson questionable since there is a lack of evidence supporting the emergence of a linguistically standardized Euro-English variety. Furthermore, in the pursuit of overcoming Native-speakerism through Euro-English, the Americanized and Euro-centric view of the English language itself is still prevalent in Modiano's advocacy of

Euro-English, since Modiano (1996) claims that the mid-Atlantic American accent should replace British English as an education standard in Europe, further perpetuating the Western-centrism. However, similar sentiments are not apparent in Modiano's more recent work, which might indicate an argumentative change.

2.1.4 Implication of theories

The implications of these theories are that they present the underlying power dynamic between an implied superior Occident, Self, We, Center and Inner Circle against the Orient, Other, Othering, They, Periphery and Outer Circle. For this study, this terminology contextualizes the portrayal of non-Western countries in textbooks through a postcolonial viewpoint which is of interest when analyzing texts through Van Dijk's ideological square of Western-centric ideologies, which is presented in the following section 3. Method.

While Said (2003) and Massad (2007) describe the Orient as mostly concerning the Middle East and East Asia, the implication of the theory of Orientalism for the present study is the manifestation of building a Western identity as Us through creating an opposite Them. Thus, what is attributed as a part of the Orient in Orientalism is in this study the non-West and non-Western, while the Occident is assigned as West and Western. Orientalism provides a postcolonial lens to the findings of this study, unveiling how the expression of Western-centric ideologies can take shape and be manifested in texts. It is important to note that the notion of West in this present study is based on the overview of Euro-English by Philipson (2003), where the West denominates the places of a European identity, ethnicity, and linguistics. This means that countries such as New Zealand, and Australia, regardless of their native non-Western population, are included in the notion of West. White South Africans, who will be discussed in 4. Results and Discussion, being descendants of colonizers also fall into the European and Western identity.

Native-speakerism and its implications for the present study is not to analyze the amount of standard and non-standard varieties of English but instead to examine the norm of Native-speakerism through analyzing the prevalence of Anglo-American representation. As for Euro-English, since the criticism against Modiano (2009) by Philipson (2007) questions the existence of Euro-English as a language variety and points out its lack of linguistic standardization, examining the prevalence of linguistic Euro-English usage is not of interest for this present study. Instead, Modiano's (2009) explanation that Euro-English is influenced by American and British varieties of English rather than Asian and African English varieties is of importance, as it can highlight a potential bias in representation in the textbooks published in a European country as Sweden. Especially since Euro-English and its identity is tied to the superiority of the Expanding Circle in relation to the Outer Circle.

All in all, the theory of Orientalism is of a central importance to this present study, since it lays the groundwork for the postcolonial lens that this study applies to the research questions when analyzing the texts inserted into Van Dijk's ideological square. The theories of Native-speakerism and Euro-English are utilized as complementary to Orientalism, in order to incorporate linguistic theories into Orientalism.

2.2 Previous studies on Western-centric manifestations in English textbooks

One of the recent critical studies on ELT textbooks is "World Englishes in ELT textbooks in Swedish upper-secondary schools" by Neille Lindqvist & Josep Soler (2022). Lindqvist & Soler (2022) explain that Inner Circle countries and their standard varieties are still being emphasized in the researched textbooks *Blueprint A 3.0* and *Viewpoints 1*, even though the Swedish 2011 policy reform of the curriculum in English at upper secondary level demands a global dimension. The study researches the kinds of linguistic varieties in ELT textbooks for Swedish upper secondary schools and what kind of speakers as well as situations that appear with the linguistic varieties. In order to fulfill these research questions, the methodology used is to research through a linguistic and interpretive content analysis while sociolinguistically examining the social meanings of the linguistic varieties. Lindqvist & Soler (2022) fill a research gap as few studies in this field take place in Swedish contexts. The presented findings reveal how the textbooks have an overrepresentation of standardized British and American English varieties where it creates a perception of the two varieties as being a desirable norm or real English. Moreover, the findings showcase that only 19 out of 125 characters analyzed in both textbooks in total speak non-standard varieties of English. As for the analysis of what situations the non-standardized English speakers are portrayed in, one of the findings highlight how the storylines for criminal activity are success stories for British and American Englishes, where they eventually lead a lawful life, while this outcome does not occur for the speakers of the Outer and Expanding Circle. Thus, there is a more positive portrayal of standardized English speakers. Therefore, the pedagogical implications that the authors state are that there needs to be a diversification of the textbooks to suit the requirements of the curriculum (Lindqvist & Soler, 2022).

Another textbook analysis is Seokmoo Choi's (2005) research of the Korean ELT textbook *High School English Readings.* Choi (2005) examines to what extent and how the power relations between the Orient and the West in seven *High School English Readings* are expressed. Through the incorporation of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism,* Choi comes to the conclusion that English education and literature is orientalist as it manifests the supreme qualities of the West. In Choi's (2005) study, the focus of superiority depicted in the texts were specifically about the USA and its citizens. In order to research how Orientalism is prevalent in the textbooks, the methodology of choice is a content analysis where texts are selected and analyzed based on whether a power relationship between the Orient and West is apparent. The results are written around selected quotations that have undertones of Orientalism, where findings such as Koreans

being written about through Western eyes and African countries relying on the West for survival, are discussed. The findings highlight how the West and specifically the USA are depicted as world powers while the non-West are depicted with negative attributes. Thus, Choi (2005) states that the Korean students who are subjected to these educational neocolonialist literary portrayals of an implied American superiority, internalize, and are affected by the American views of the Orient which should be addressed in classroom settings.

Lastly, a Norwegian textbook analysis by Paul Thomas (2017) researches the portrayal of non-Westerners in eight short stories in four EFL textbooks for Norwegian upper secondary schools. Through a content analysis of selected quotations, Thomas' findings depict the presence of a racialized Other in accordance with Orientalism. Among these there is an "[…] eroticized Black Other" and "[…] objectifying white gaze […]" (2017, p. 6). Several of the short stories depict the Global South, rather than white European heritage, yet these portrayals are fitted into orientalist tropes. Thomas (2017) explains how the texts are written with the presupposition of the audience being Westerners, which means that there should be an ethical responsibility of the writers to examine how they portray the non-Westerner. To counteract the pedagogical consequences, exercises in classrooms settings where the students discuss and analyze these problematic portrayals through the perspectives of the silenced and racialized Other are encouraged.

3. Method

In this section, the analytical framework of Teun A. Van Dijk's Ideological square is firstly defined, since it provides the context for the following parts concerning the material, analysis and procedure as well as limitations.

3.1 Analytic framework: Van Dijk's Ideological Square

The analytical framework that laid the groundwork for this research is Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square. When examining the content of discourse in a text, ideological beliefs can be evident. Ideological reproductions in discourse can incorporate an absence or presence of information where expression or suppression of information is prevalent in the interest of the publishers or writers. The strategy that realizes this ideological communication are the four moves or dimensions which Van Dijk refers to as the ideological square.

> 1 Express/Emphasize information that is positive about Us.
> 2 Express/Emphasize information that is negative about Them.
> 3 Suppress/De-emphasize information that is positive about Them.
> 4 Suppress/De-emphasize information that is negative about Us.
> (Van Dijk, 1998, p.245)

These four dimensions of the ideological square present the participants that carry the ideologies of positive self-representation and face-keeping as members of a group rather than as individuals. As such, since ideologies are examined as group-based, the ideological opinions in turn also affect and have implications for groups or social issues. Van Dijk (1998) exemplifies these four dimensions by describing how detail and level of description and implicitness versus explicitness play a role in realizing ideological beliefs. In the detail and level of description of certain information can be either left out or overly expressed, which Van Dijk (1998) exemplifies as specifically mentioning racial minorities as the violent force behind a riot while not informing about the violent acts from the police during the riot. Moreover, Van Dijk (1998) describes how another factor that comes to play in this matter is how the information is detailed when describing "Our good acts" and "Their bad acts", in contrast to the apparent abstraction when "Their good acts" and "Our bad acts" are described (pp. 245-246). As for implicitness and explicitness, an ingroup in relation to the ideological square as Us and an outgroup as the Them, are described in different ways of implicitness and explicitness where the ingroup is portrayed in neutral and positive terms while the outgroup is described in neutral or negative terms. Van Dijk's (1998) illustrative example of this implicitness and explicitness is how the "conditions (causes) and consequences of events" omits the conditions for the outgroup that reflect badly on the ingroup, such as police brutality and poverty, while conditions such as drug use is explicitly attributed towards the outgroup as to further the ideological dimensions mentioned above (p. 246). How this analytical framework is utilized in this present study can be found below in section 3.3 Analysis and Procedure.

3.2 Material

Since the present study is a textbook analysis of Western-centric ideologies manifested in English 5 textbooks for upper secondary schools in Sweden, the material used in this study have been produced for that intended level of education. The materials in question are *Blueprint A 3.0* released in 2017 by Studentlitteratur and *Solid Gold 1* also released by the publisher Studentlitteratur in 2014. Hereafter referred to as *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*, both textbooks were selected for this study since they consisted of a large amount of reading materials with a variety of various subjects and text types rather than solely grammar exercises. While a more appropriate selection of material might be to examine the most used textbooks in Swedish classrooms, in order to weigh the pedagogical implications of the textual contents for a larger majority, there are no records of which specific textbooks are used by the majority of upper secondary schools in Sweden. Therefore, the choice of specifically selecting *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*, aside from the vast reading materials, are based on the plentiful personal encounters with the textbooks during my experiences in upper secondary schools both as a student and as an interning teacher. Furthermore, the publishers for both textbooks are Studentlitteratur which is Sweden's leading publisher of educational literature (Studentlitteratur (n.d) Retrieved [30/4/2023]). Thus, this could be representative of the usage and distribution in Swedish upper secondary schools of the textbooks in question.

The number of texts aimed at reading, excluding the texts of listening exercises as mentioned in 3.4 Limitations below, differ in the two textbooks. *Solid Gold 1* has 35 texts aimed at reading in 9 chapters, while *Blueprint A* has 27 texts for reading in 7 chapters. As the present study is not comparative, the difference in the amount does not have a larger effect on the implications of the results. In combination of both textbooks, the total of texts that are aimed at reading and adhere to the exclusion of exercises are 62.

Lastly, as *Blueprint A* was published 2017 and *Solid Gold 1* was published in 2014, both textbooks were released after the 2011 version of Läroplanen för gymnasieskolan (Skolverket, 2011). Since the value of cultural diversity in the 2011 version is certainly stated in the 2022 one, the similar publishing dates ensured that it was possible to examine both textbooks' adherence to said values and its current pedagogical implications for usages in schools.

3.3 Analysis & Procedure

By applying the previously mentioned analytical framework, the ideological square by Van Dijk (1998), the present study examined the semantic discourse of the selected textbooks. The four dimensions "Express/Emphasize information that is positive about 'Us'", "Express/Emphasize information that is negative about 'Them'", "Suppress/De-emphasize information that is positive about 'Them'" and "Suppress/De-emphasize information that is negative about 'Us'" (Van Dijk 1998, p. 245) were shortened by omitting the words "Express" and "Suppress" while keeping "Emphasize" and "De-emphasize". This decision was based on making it visually more concise when referring to the ideologies. Moreover, these four dimensions of the ideological square was utilized in the analytical process with the previously mentioned clarifications of "detail and level of description" and "implicitness versus explicitness" (Van Dijk 1998, pp. 245-246) as tools to understand the categorization of the texts to the four dimensional Western-centric ideologies. Moreover, although a qualitative analysis was central to this study, I quantified the parts categorized into the four dimensions of the ideological square, as presented in Tables 1-4. This is to prepare for a qualitative analysis presented in section 4.2. How the four-dimensional Western-centric ideologies are manifested in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*. Therefore, Tables 1-4 illustrates an overview of the four-dimensional ideologies appearing in the two examined textbooks, showing how dominant or sparse the representation of Western and non-Western cultures are. Tables 1-4 was created to provide a clear visualization of the procedure, analysis, and results in order to assure the readers' understanding and encourage replicability as well as to provide transparency. Moreover, the tables emphasize how the present study was not intended to be comparative between the two textbooks, since the books were placed alongside each other in the same tables. During the procedure of this study, each text was placed under one of the four dimensions in the respective table.

Section 4.2 related to RQ2 was answered through an analysis of a selection of citations where Western-centric ideologies are manifested clearly through theories of Orientalism, Native-speakerism and Euro-English. Since the selected extracts from the texts was presented through block citations as well as through quotation marks, the titles of the texts were written in italics in order to visually differentiate them from the surrounding text and provide clarity for the reader. The block citations were intended to be a presentation of the material and therefore deviate from APA 7th edition guidelines, since the block citations were occasionally very short and surrounded by spacing.

By analyzing the texts through the ideological square and its process of categorizations, a content analysis was utilized. While certain reoccurring patterns of themes was found in the results, the present study did not follow a thematic analysis, as the analysis intended to examine various concepts, words, and characters instead of solely distinguishing themes. The thematic patterns found was therefore a product of the content analysis rather than the methodological approach. The content analysis was based on Lindsay Prior's (2014) clarifications concerning the nature of a content analysis. Prior (2014) stated that the act of social observation lies in the use of qualitative categories where "[…] socially constructed divisions […]" such as the current study's framework, does not exist naturally in our world but are created. Therefore, the act of "[…] sorting things out […]" and "[…] counting […]" occur in a content analysis, such as the present study (p. 361). Therefore, the qualitative content analysis was prevalent throughout the analysis of the results.

The excluded texts that had no mention of a country or any indication of common institutions, terminology, geographical locations, or other geo-cultural aspects that might be indicative of a country, was excluded, as it did not pertain any solid indications or hints of being Western or non-Western. However, the texts that do not pertain any identification of being Western or non-Western could be of interest in terms of fulfilling the previously mentioned guidelines of Skolverket (2022). For this present study, the more explicit texts showcasing a Western or non-Western affiliation was necessary in order to be able to categorize them into the dimensions of Us and Them in the ideological square. Thus, out of the 62 texts aimed at reading in both *Blueprint A 3.0* and *Solid Gold 1* combined, 10 texts did not meet the criteria of pertaining Western or non-Western identification and where therefore excluded. Out of these 10 texts, 5 were from *Solid Gold 1* and 5 were from *Blueprint A.* The 2 texts that did fulfill the requirements of pertaining Western or non-Western identification while deviating from the Western-centric ideologies can be found in section 4.3 Deviations. The tables 1-4 reflect these decisions as the total amount of texts are 50.

3.4 Limitations

In relation to categorizing texts into the four dimensions of the ideological square, there was no occurrences of a text overlapping to several of the dimensions at the same time. It might be argued that this decision was based on purely subjectivity, since a researcher with a different lens might have found occurrences of overlapping. The decision of not

presenting any instances of one text being categorized into multiple dimensions of the ideological square was a deliberate one. During the analysis of the material, the text was categorized into one of the four dimensions that it exhibited the most. Otherwise, there was a risk of almost every text being placed into "Emphasize information that is positive about 'Us'" alongside another dimension. A text that emphasizes the negative points about Them and de-emphasizes the positive points about Them would therefore construct a contrasting depiction of the Us, creating a paradoxical relationship where it in turn would belong to "Emphasize information that is positive about 'Us'" as well. Thus, to avoid this paradox and present less cluttered tables, the texts were placed into the dimension where it overall and mostly belonged to rather than overlapping into several dimensions.

Exercise material, pictures, and the short introductory descriptions for listening exercises that are present in several chapters of *Blueprint A 3.0* was excluded since they fall into the exclusion of exercise material in this research. The exclusion of exercises was influenced by the time constraint for this degree project. Therefore, the reading material was of most interest since it contained more content to analyze with the ideologies in mind rather than the grammar exercises. Furthermore, the time constraint also influenced the choice of analyzing solely two textbooks as material for this study. However, around two textbooks to analyze seem to be the norm for a study of this measure as evident by the previous research. Furthermore, the analysis of specifically two textbooks, *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*, was not intended to be indicative of a comparative analysis, once again, the selection of no more than two textbooks was based on the given timeframe and its limitations.

4. Results & Discussion

4.1 The extent that *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* manifest Western-centric ideologies in terms of Van Dijk's ideological square.

The following tables below consist of *Blueprint A 3.0*, hereafter referred to as *Blueprint A*, published in 2017 by Studentlitteratur and *Solid Gold 1* published in 2014 by Studentlitteratur. As previously mentioned, the analyzed texts in Tables 1-4 exclude exercises, pictures, descriptions of listening exercises and focus solely on reading material where there is a mention or indication of a geographical region that showcase if it takes place in the West or not. Tables 1-4 illustrate the textbooks and its accompanied titles and pages of the selected texts. The selected texts have an accompanying motivation for categorization to visualize its contents and why it belongs under its respective ideological square headings. In total there are 62 texts aimed at reading in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* combined, where 50 texts meet the requirements as previously elaborated in 3.2 Material and 3.3 Analysis and Procedure, and 2 texts meet the requirements but deviate from the ideologies of the ideological square, which can be found under 4.3 Deviations. Thus, the total indicated in each table signifies the extent of each Western-centric ideological dimension appears in 50 texts.

First and foremost, Table 1 below concerns the "Emphasize information that is positive about 'Us'" dimension of the ideological square.

Table 1. Texts that emphasize information that is positive about Us

Textbook	Title of text	Pages	Motivation for categorization
Blueprint A	*Nice to meet you, Ari*	9-12	Mexican American finding himself in USA. Adolescence. Friendships.
	A Voice in the Wilderness Cries out: Come get me!	38-39	Summer Camp in USA.
	What I Learned from Great Books	45-46	High School love story in USA.
	Selling the Devil	60-62	Fantasy story about hell and Disneyland. Takes place in Canada.
	Product Placement on the Screen	65-67	Ads in media. All in USA and UK except one Japanese cartoon with an American brand ad.
	Going too far for Gold	80-82	The brand Nike's marketing guru. USA.
	Happiness is not only feeling good	113-116	Happiness and psychology studies. USA.
	Gene Editing	157	Ethics of gene editing. Organ transplant waiting list in USA.
	Hidden figures	241	Diversity of 1960s NASA. USA.
Solid Gold 1	*The right level?*	10-11	The issues of taking various courses and classes. New York, USA.
	Losing my virginity	12-13	Sports and dyslexia in school in England. Success story.
	Phenomenal woman	14	African American girl does not feel pretty but is empowered. USA.
	Cheat!	19-20	Highly developed technology preventing cheating. USA.
	Fry and Jobs-Stephen meets style	22-23	Steve Jobs and his success story. USA and UK.
	Encounters	25-26	Rescuing wild animals with Steve Irwin. Australia and USA.
	OCD	32-34	David Beckham, Cameron Diaz and OCD. Studies from US and UK.
	Leaving home	40	Eastern European finding hope through wanting to move to England.
	Movie review-The Hunger Games	52-53	American actors and movies and its liberties in content.
	Public, Private	59-62	Celebrity life in London, UK.
	The Big Apple	64-67	Sightseeing in New York, USA.
	Vertical living	68-69	The strong construction of American skyscrapers.

	New York, New York	76	Moving to New York City. Glorying the opportunities.
	Childhood memories	78-79	Adolescent love. Dublin, Ireland.
	Cars are disgusting!	86-88	Protest against spread of pollution. USA.
	Surrender to peace	92-93	Yoko Ono protesting in New York City, USA.
	Imagine	94	A song about World Peace by John Lennon. UK.
Total: 26 out of 50 texts			

As apparent in Table 1, the Us in the emphasis of the positive information mostly concerns the USA and the UK. In comparison to Table 2 Texts that Emphasize information that is negative about Them, Table 1 has a larger extent of occurrences with 26 out of 50 texts in comparison to Table 2 with only 3 out of 50 as seen below.

Table 2. Texts that Emphasize information that is negative about Them.

Textbook	Title of text	Pages	Motivation for categorization
Blueprint A	*Conversations about home (at a deportation center)*	170-171	The struggles of a non-Western migrant boy in a Western deportation center.
Solid Gold 1	*Watch your step*	31	Cultural superstitions and restrictions in Zimbabwe.
	Beijing to London	42-43	Chinese girl moving to USA, describing the high standard of living.
Total: 3 out of 50 texts			

As clearly shown in the above Table 2, there are very few occurrences of the Western-centric dimension that emphasizes information that is negative about Them.

On one hand this can be understood as to being a sign of the authors making an implicit effort into avoiding negative depictions of the non-Westerner, which might be why there are only 3 out of 50 texts that manifest a dimension where there is an emphasis on the negatives about Them. On the other hand, this could also indicate that the Western-centric ideologies are manifested more implicitly rather than explicitly through other dimensions such as De-emphasize information that is positive about Them, especially in contrast to the information concerning Us. The discussion concerning these results will be discussed more extensively in the following paragraphs under Table 3.

Moreover, as the texts in Table 2 depict the negative information concerning the non-West, two of the three stories are in relation to the West. Thus, the inclusion of the West is continuously prevalent, even though these texts are about the non-West.

Table 3. Texts that De-emphasize information that is positive about Them.

Textbook	Title of text	Pages	Motivation for categorization
Blueprint A	*Girl asserts right to her own life*	103-105	Malawi woman against oppressive traditions and culture of her village. Plans to study in the USA. UN international day of the girl.
Solid Gold 1	*Singapore and back*	44-47	British boy exotified for blonde hair in Singapore.
	Some names worth knowing	48-49	3 out of 12 influential people mentioned are non-Western.
	Bollywood people and plots	54-55	Descriptions of Bollywood in relation to Hindi culture where oppressive customs are mentioned.
	Instant Millionaire	56-58	Indian boy becomes millionaire at Indian quiz show. Poor financial background is emphasized. Filmed as "Slumdog Millionaire".
	Playing the enemy	82-83	Nelson Mandela's football team during apartheid South Africa. Portrayed as stagnant.
	Who can you trust?	96-98	Nigerian girl immigrates to the USA. Racism by Americans. Rape by family member. Surface level deviation. 'Them' as oppressed.
Total: 7 out of 50 texts			

Once more, the texts that have realized the ideological dimension of De-emphasize information that is positive about Them are fewer than all the dimensions concerning Us respectively, with only 7 out of 50 occurrences. This adds another layer to the issue concerning the authors' intent when selecting and writing texts. As previously mentioned, it can be understood that there is an aversion in portraying Them as negative, however there is simultaneously likewise an aversion in portraying the positives concerning Them as seen in Table 3 above, even when the positives in questions are de-emphasized. This differs greatly from the larger extent in which the Us is mentioned in positive contexts ideologically. Furthermore, Table 2 and 3 also provide an overview of how little texts there are in general of non-Western countries in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*.

Lastly, Table 4 Texts that De-emphasize information that is negative about Us, is similarly to Table 1 Texts that Emphasize information that is positive about Us, much more extensive than the texts concerning Them, with 14 out of 50 texts.

Table 4. Texts that De-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

Textbook	Title of text	Pages	Motivation for categorization
Blueprint A	*Struck by Lightning*	20-24	Summer camp in New York, USA. Death by lightning.
	Plastic now pollutes every corner of Earth	32-34	Humanity's production of plastic pollution since WW2. Lack of

			historical acknowledgements. England.
	A critical eye on marketing	70-72	The brand GAP's sexism and junk food in ads. UK brands and advertising regulations.
	Social media is harming mental health of teenagers. The state has to act	191-193	British people asking for change in social media. Hopeful. UK.
	English in the world	105	List of English-speaking countries. Only mentioning Asia and Africa as affected by colonialism.
	From Slavery to Black Lives Matter	206-209	Timeline of USA's slave trade, Civil Rights movement and Black Lives Matter movement. Success story, hopeful.
	The Help	211-215	Manuscript of the movie 'the Help' with a short introduction with close to no historical context.
	I, too	219	American identity for African Americans.
	Asking the wrong questions	222	Manuscript of the movie 'American History X' with short introduction. Success story in introduction.
	#BlackLivesMatter: the birth of a new civil rights movement	233-237	The Black Lives Matter movement and its successful protests.
Solid Gold 1	*So where you from?*	28-30	Czech Republican girl experiencing American ignorance about Europe. Seattle, USA.
	If my dad were still here	71-73	New York City, USA, and the 9/11 terrorist attack. Death of Osama Bin Laden. Success story.
	The Ballad of Sonny Payne	74-75	Homeless man from Trinidad in New York City, USA.
	Convenience store	89-91	UK and obesity problems. Denouncing socioeconomic factors.
Total: 14 out of 50 texts

Once again, the texts concerning Us are plentiful in comparison to texts concerning Them. Therefore, to summarize, the above Tables 1-4 all showcase how the Us, whether it is de-emphasizing the negatives or emphasizing the positives, is present much more substantially when examining the tables excluding deviations and texts with no countries mentioned. Them in the dimensions of de-emphasizing the positives and emphasizing the negatives are featured at a lower extent. While there is no definite answer to why this is

the case, one could presume that the authors were cautious about negative portrayals of the non-West. The more likely accurate interpretation about the lack of dimensions of the de-emphasizing positives and emphasizing negatives about Them, are because the lack of non-Western representation in the textbooks in general. Therefore, the small extent of texts concerning the non-Western is in itself a Western-centric bias. Moreover, lacking texts about the non-West while simultaneously incorporating the USA and UK in the majority of the texts visualizes a norm to the audience. The theory of Native-speakerism exemplifies how the process of an Othering takes shape when the people outside of the English-speaking West become the problematic generalized Other who differ from the unproblematic self of the native speaker. The extensive representation of the Us and the sparse positive representation of the Them enhances the Othering, through creating a norm of including the English-speaking West and generalizing the non-West with problematic depictions. Furthermore, as the previous study of Lindqvist & Soler (2022) highlighted, the overrepresentation of the USA and UK creates a norm of such varieties of the English language, displaying an undertone of an implied Standard English as superior.

Overall, as previously mentioned, the tables serve the purpose of providing an overview of the extent in which Western-centric ideology is realized in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* through categorizations under each dimension. As seen in Table 1, the 26 out of 50 texts emphasize information that is positive about Us. In Table 2 texts that emphasize information that is negative about Them are 3 out of 50. Moreover, in Table 3 concerning texts that de-emphasize information that is positive about Them, 7 out of 50 texts are manifesting the ideology. Lastly, in Table 4, the extent of texts that de-emphasize information that is negative about Us are 14 out of 50. To accompany the extent of the ideological manifestations in the textbooks, the textbook extracts selected in the following section are examined through a discussion-oriented analysis of the ways the ideologies are manifested.

4.2 How the four-dimensional Western-centric ideologies are manifested in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*

4.2.1 Emphasize information that is positive about Us

The findings of how the emphasis on information that is positive about Us are manifested in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* have certain overarching themes concerning the Us as developed and progressive.

> […] American icon James Dean […] used an Ace Comb, a hard rubber comb, that became synonymous with quality and durability for teenage boys all over the US (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 65-67).

Firstly, in *Product Placement on the Screen* (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 65-67) an array of media such as movies and its product placements are listed. Before the list, the introductory wordings seen in the above textbook extract sets the tone for the list beforehand, since it solely revolves around an American product placement, actor and teenagers. The following list of six medias and its product placements were about the USA's Super Bowl and its costly commercial break ads, the American movie E.T and the American company Hershey's Foods' promotion, the American artist Lady Gaga and her music video with ads of American brands, the Hollywood movie Skyfall and its Dutch Heineken ad, the music group Swedish House Mafia and its Volvo ad in a music video, and lastly the Japanese cartoon Code Geass and its American Pizza Hut ad. (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 66-67). Evidently, only one of the presented medias were from a non-Western country, Japan, where the product placement featured an American brand. The emphasis on American brands continues in *Going too far for Gold* (Blueprint 3.0, 2017, pp. 80-82) where the story takes place in the American brand Nike's marketing firm and in *Fry and Jobs -Stephen meets Style* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp.22-23) about the American brand Apple and an interview with the former CEO Steve Jobs.

The prevalence of American brands in the textbooks can be interpreted as the authors' intent to include brands with brand recognition that the audience of students might be familiar with. On the other hand, the abundant inclusion of American brands and its successes in contrast to the lack of non-Western brands shapes a portrayal of a superior, successful, and developed nation, where the USA becomes idealized. Phan states (2016) English as a global language involves postcolonial aspects of Western dominance, where the values of the Center are spread. Thus, the focus on Western brands, mainly from the USA, and illustrating them as successful and inspirational through the likes of Steve Job and the marketing guru of Nike, spreads the ideal Western-centric values. Not only do the Western brands become success stories, but they also become the norm to the audience because of the lack of non-Western representation. As the representation of Western brands become the norm and become the idealized success, the power dynamic of the Occident is visualized. Said (2003) explains that the identity of the Occident is created through becoming the antitype and opposing image of the non-West, which in turn emphasizes its implied superiority. This power lies in the West's ability to shape and describe itself and the non-West, which in this case is evident through the abundant representation of Western brands in contrast to the sparse representation of non-Western brands. Therefore, the superiority of the West is realized in the texts in question.

The notion of the Us, namely the West, as developed and progressive continues in the *City Living* chapter where all of the text describes New York city (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 63-76). In the text *The Big Apple* a list of sightseeing worthy places is mentioned along with Chinatown and Little Italy.

> In downtown, you'll find Chinatown where Chinese people live and run shops and restaurants […] Little Italy is another area dominated by Italian immigrants. (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 64-67).

The description of Chinatown is generalizing that the Chinese population of New York City do not live outside of Chinatown and that non-Chinese people do not live in Chinatown. This stands in contrast with the following sentence in the same paragraph, "Little Italy is another are dominated by Italian immigrants." (Solid Gold 1, 2014, p. 65). While Little Italy is described as dominated by Italians, leaving room for interpretation that there are other non-dominant groups of populations too, Chinatown is described as where Chinese people live in a generalized manner. Thus, it must be acknowledged that the depiction of the Chinese population in New York might overlap into Emphasize information that is negative about Them. However, as this present study does not intend to create overlapping categorizations because of the paradoxical risks elaborated in 3.4 limitations, the texts were instead placed into the dimension where it overall and mostly belonged to rather than overlapping into several dimensions. Since the majority of the text in question described the greatness of New York City as well as the positive descriptions of the Italian population, the text is placed under this category. *Vertical Living* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 68-69) the strong construction of skyscrapers in New York City, with additional mentions of Chicago and San Francisco, are presented. Moreover, in *New York, New York* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, p. 76) Frank Sinatra's song features the sentence "If I can make it there, I'll make it anywhere", emphasizing the great opportunities in New York City.

Therefore, New York City is referred to in terms of exemplifying a developed place and a place of opportunity, similarly to how the previously mentioned texts about American brands insinuate success and development. In both cases, the positive information about Us is also emphasized through the lack of representation of non-Western people, cities and brands, since the only mention of non-Western people were one Japanese cartoon that was still tied to an American brand and a generalized and somewhat exaggerated claim that Chinatown is a place where Chinese people live in New York City, while the Italian immigrants who belong to the Western Us are given the less monolithic portrayal, emphasizing the more positive multifaceted depiction of Westerners. The exclusive specification and inclusion of New York City in the texts concerning life in big cities are specifically all placed under a chapter called *City Living* in *Solid Gold 1*. While this present study does not intend to analyze all texts in the contexts of units and chapters, it is regardless important to mention the implications that can be deducted from *Solid Gold 1* solely including texts about the USA, mostly New York City, in a whole chapter about *City Living*. It exemplifies to the audience of students that New York City and the USA by extension is the ideal, forebearer and visualization of a developed metropolitan city. In turn, the lack of non-Western developed cities can be presumably understood as intentional by the audience, who might be unknowing of non-Western large metropolises such as Mumbai or Taipei. Once again, this exemplifies Said's (2003) explanation that the superiority of the West, in this case the notion of a developed city, is shaped through the creation of a non-West, which is the lack of representation of non-Western cities in the *City Living* chapter. Furthermore, the description of Chinatown as a place where Chinese people live in contrast to Little Italy being less generalized described as a place

dominated by Italian immigrants. The Chinese population of New York City portrayed as monolithic emphasizes an Othering, which is stated by Holliday (2006) to be a problematic generalization of the Other, while the American and Italian population is described as less monolithic and more multifaceted in contrast, further emphasizing the implied Western superiority.

The positive information about Us as portraying the West as developed is further realized through the progressive activism and mental health advocation. The inclusion of the UK musician John Lennon's song about world peace (Solid Gold 1, 2014, p. 94), protests about pollution in the USA (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 86-88), as well as Australian and American animal rescue (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 25-26) exemplify the Us as the progressive activists for peace, animal rights and climate action.

Moreover, texts about mental health and disorders such as OCD include Hollywood famous Cameron Diaz and English football player David Beckham (Sold Gold 1, 2014, pp. 32-34). Research concerning the psychology of happiness are presented through only American studies (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 113-116). Lastly, in contrast to the content in the following subheadings concerning Them, the non-West, love and adolescent life concerning friendships as a teenager is only featured in texts in Western countries. *Childhood memories* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 78-79), *What I Learned from Great Books*, (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 45-46) and *Nice to meet you, Ari*, (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 9-12) are all stories about love and friendships set in the West. The depiction of the West as activists and progressive, in contrast to the sparse depictions of the non-West as progressive, is in accordance with Massad's (2007) demonstration about how the West shapes itself as the liberating, who's values are to be replicated. Moreover, the inclusion of Western representation of mental health and love is perhaps close to the struggles of Western teenage students as an audience. This interpretation has also been noted in the previous study of Norwegian textbooks by Thomas (2017) who described how the racialized Other exemplified the orientalist power dynamic where the textbooks were intended for a Western audience. Similarly, the textbooks in the present study can therefore be assumed to be made for a Western audience in Swedish school where the identity of the Us becomes further emphasized through the students being able to relate to the love stories set in Western contexts, while further alienating the Them, as the non-West is not included in the stories about love and mental health. Once again, the West has shaped its unified and superior identity through shaping a contrast to the non-West in accordance with Said (2003).

4.2.2 Emphasize information that is negative about Them

One of the texts that puts an emphasis on the negative information about Them are *Conversations about home (at a deportation center)* (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 170-171). Narratively, the text is in first person and can be assumed to be by an immigrant that has traveled from the non-West to the West as evident in the following extract.

> The Libyan desert red with immigrant bodies, the Gulf Aden bloated […] the city of Rome with no jacket. (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, p. 171).

Since the narrator is non-Western, the Them is indicated to be the West, as evident by the narrator thinking "I hear them say, *go home*" (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, p. 171). While the short instance of critique toward the treatment of migrants in Western countries are realized in this quote, this seemingly sympathetic story of a non-Westerner and the depiction of the Them as the West rather than the Us is a surface-level deviation. Through a macro-lens, in comparison to the previously discussed emphasis on the positive information about Us emphasizing the progressive and developed nature of the West with issues of mental health, love, brands and their successes as well as cities of opportunities being discussed, the selection of an immigrant at an immigration center being one of the few cases of non-Western portrayals once again highlights the non-West as the antitype of the West in accordance with Said (2003). Moreover, as previously mentioned in accordance with Thomas (2017) the textbooks are perhaps intended for a Western audience. Therefore, although Them is used as terminology to describe the West by the narrator of this text, the students might still view the immigrant narrator as the Other. By observing the Other, the Western audience is evaluating the person, not identifying with the story, which Said (2003) states is the act of superiority and power from the Occident, where the West observes and shapes the Other.

Similarly, *Watch your step* features a non-Western narrator, which in this text in question is a Zimbabwean youngster who cites the many superstitions they have been told.

> And you must not peek at each other while you dress, because boys and girls who spy on each other's nakedness get styes in their eyes[…] You must not walk over a persons' legs […] If you do so, you must walk back the other way to reverse the action […] I obeyed, jumping over him, but making sure that I crossed my fingers on both hands behind my back. (Solid Gold 1, 2014, p. 31)

The superstitions are portrayed as nonsensical as the narrator crosses her fingers as a defiance when obeying. Once more, the non-Western is a contrasting antitype to the texts about the West in accordance with Said (2003). The story portrays the superstitions as nonsensical oppressive rules, put into contrast with the abundance of texts about the West and its progressiveness.

Lastly, in *Beijing to London* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 42-43) a girl from Beijing moves to London and it is the only time a non-standard English accent with grammatical incorrections is included. In texts as *So where you from?* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp .28-29) where a European moves to the USA, they do not have a non-standard English accent with grammatical incorrections. An emphasis is therefore prevalent in the text where the Chinese immigrant is depicted as uneducated in English and linguistically inferior to previous depictions of the European Czech immigrant, in the same textbook, featured

with no grammatical incorrections. Moreover, the Chinese girl's thoughts are displayed to the readers, conveying a contrasting image between China and the West.

> Why I must study English like parents wish? […] Mother only speaking in village dialect and not even speaking official Mandarin, but she becoming rich with my father, from making shoes in our little town. Life OK. Why they want changing my life? […] American TV series dubbing into Chinese, showing us big houses in suburb, wife by window cooking and car arriving in front house. Husband back to work. Husband say Honey I home, then little children running to him, see if he bringing gift. But that is not my life. (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 42-43)

Although the protagonist is moving to the UK, a romanticized view of the US is portrayed as a more privileged life with a loving household in contrast to the descriptions of the protagonist's mother being unknowledgeable in Mandarin and becoming rich because of her husband's difficult labor. As Lindqvist & Soler (2022) noted, very few non-standard varieties of English are featured in Swedish EFL textbooks which creates a norm of Native-speakerism. The only grammatical incorrections in a non-standard English being apparent in a text about a Chinese girl emphasizes an Othering, as Europeans are not depicted with grammatically poor English and where the readers might be correcting the Other while reading, in accordance with Holliday (2006), perhaps subconsciously to understand the content grammatically. Phan (2016) explains how the English language is bridging the Center and Periphery, while rendering the Center as the superior Self and the Periphery as an inferior Other. Similarly, this is the case of the text in question, where the Chinese girl is speaking English but is peripheralized through being depicted as a non-native inferior Other with the grammatical incorrections that stand in contrast to the Standard English and Native-speakerism that are the norm of the textbooks. Furthermore, aside from the linguistic aspect, the content of the citation in question where the USA is idealized as a privileged life by the Chinese girl, emphasizes how the Orient is a subject of internalizing the Oriental created by the West. (Said, 2003). Likewise, the previous study by Choi (2005) states that the Korean students subjected to depictions of the USA as a developed world-power and Korea as inferior with negative attributes in textbooks internalize the American negative portrayal of Korea. Therefore, not only can it be argued that this internalization of Orientalism is the case of the Chinese protagonist in the text but also of the readers of the text. Moreover, Massad (2007) claims that the Other is the subject of being portrayed as stagnant and timeless. The depiction of the life in China as more difficult than the one described about the USA, creates a monolithic view of China as undeveloped and stagnant. While it is of importance to acknowledge that the narrator is questioning the dichotomy in the citation above, as she personally longs for her life back in China, an overly glamorized view of the USA and an unfairly stagnant depiction of China in contrast is still presented, no matter the personal feelings of the narrator.

4.2.3 De-emphasize information that is positive about Them

The positive information about Them is de-emphasized through the undertones of portraying Them as belonging to oppressive cultures or as stagnant and timeless beings unchanged by historical progression.

A text where this is especially apparent is the story about Banda, a Malawi woman, who's story is told because of "UN International Day of the Girl, celebrating the achievements of pioneers in the fight for the rights of girls […]" (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017 p. 103). In the text *Girl asserts right to her own life* the narrator describes how Banda recalls the hardships she has gone through.

> […] they often went hungry for days […] young girls become women and learn how to obey and please their husbands. The girls are forced to have sex with strangers […] (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017 p. 103).

A story about an African country is tied to poverty and oppression, as exemplified in the extract above. The story continues with the narrator describing how Banda persuaded a legislature and now plans to study for a master's degree in the USA. (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017 p. 104). The association of the UN in the very first paragraph of the text de-emphasizes the positive information about a non-Western woman as her relation to a Western organization is emphasized. Furthermore, the story about the oppression in Malawi followed by the ending paragraph about how Banda is planning on taking her master's degree in the USA further inserts and emphasizes the West into contexts of the non-West. Thus, Banda's success story becomes closely tied to the West and Western organizations. One might argue that the inclusion of the West in this story can be in accordance with Massad's (2007) premise that the West portrays the stagnant non-West as subjects to be educated and liberated by Western ideals.

Depictions of the non-West as stagnant and unevolved is evident in *Playing the enemy* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 82-83) about South Africa during apartheid where Nelson Mandela and his selected rugby team are discussed.

> Mandela sat in his presidential box wearing a Springbok jersey, while 62,000 fans -mostly white- chanted "Nelson, Nelson!" Millions more gathered around TV sets, whether in dusty black townships or leafy white suburbs (Solid Gold 1, 2014, p. 82)

An emphasis is put on the white fans cheering for Nelson Mandela as a way of highlighting how the rugby team united South Africa. While the emphasis on the white audience of European descent in hand with the complete lack of historical information about apartheid is a sign of Western-centric bias, the most telling sign of a de-emphasis on positive information about Them is why a sports centered story taken place in 1994 is selected, rather than including current South African successes. Only mentioning South

Africa in relation to apartheid and Nelson Mandela, depicts South Africa as unevolved from that period of time. While it could be argued that apartheid and Nelson Mandela are significantly important aspects of South African history and is therefore the reason for why this text was selected, the lack of historical information about Nelson Mandela and no explanation of what the term apartheid means makes it less likely to be the case.

Without any historical explanation about apartheid prevalent in the text, it undermines the positive successes of black South Africans and Nelson Mandela since the readers still are subjected to an unnuanced portrayal of black South Africans as poor, living in less affluent townships in comparison to the South Africans of Western descent. Thus, in accordance with Massad (2007) and Said (2003) the non-West is portrayed as stagnant and timeless, which is de-emphasizing the positive information about Them.

4.2.4 De-emphasize information that negative about Us

In *English in the world* (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, p. 105) the English-speaking countries that are listed are "Britain, Ireland, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a handful of Caribbean countries" while African and Asian English-speaking countries are not specified.

> But in 57 countries in Africa and Asia English is either an official language, or a majority of the inhabitants use it as a first language. These are British ex-colonial countries which have integrated English into their chief institutions. (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, p. 105).

Why African and Asian countries are being unspecified can perhaps be connected to Modiano's (2009) explanation of Euro-English, where Europeans are exposed to American and British varieties of the English language, while largely unfamiliar with African and Asian varieties. Since the textbooks are most likely intended for a Swedish audience, the bias of Euro-English might have come to play in this text in question, where the unfamiliar African and Asian countries and their English varieties are left unidentified. However, one might argue that specifying 57 countries might indeed be too extensive. On the other hand, specifying the colonial past of Africa and Asia in relation to the English language while not discussing it in relation to the USA, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is de-emphasizing the colonial past of enforcing English onto a land already populated of native non-English speaking inhabitants.

The de-emphasis of negative information about Us continues in *the Help* (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 211-215). The description before the manuscript of a scene from the movie describes the protagonist as "[…] a black maid who cleans and takes care of children." No context is given about the historical context about the segregation era and its oppression toward African Americans in the description. However, since it is explicitly said that the movie is set in the 1960s and because the text is included in the Black lives matter chapter the readers could use context clues. As a standalone text, it is however de-emphasizing the negative historical information about Us. Therefore, there is a lack of

detail. Van Dijk (1998) expresses this through conditions and consequences of events, where facts and details that reflect badly on the ingroup or the Us, such as the segregation era in the USA, is omitted or lacks detail.

Finally, in *Asking the wrong questions* (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, pp. 222-227) the movie American History X and its manuscript is included with a short description that gives the reader an overview, as seen in the following extract.

> The brothers Derek and Danny Vineyard lose their father, who is killed in a shooting with blacks involved. The grief and hate drive Derek to radical actions, and he soon becomes the charismatic leader of a neo-Nazi movement. […] For Derek, a deadly shooting becomes the turning point. (Blueprint A 3.0, 2017, p. 222).

The description fails to explain the racial discourse and oppression in the USA and Derek becomes passive rather than an active agent as he is described as being driven to the neo-Nazi movement through the grief he experienced. Furthermore, the shooting in which Derek's father is killed is specified as being by black people, denominated through a subjectification as "blacks", while Derek's shooting directed towards specifically black people is omitted. Moreover, Derek being characterized as charismatic in his neo-Nazi leadership de-emphasizes the severity of his role in white supremacy through the positive connotation of the word charismatic. These results are therefore in accordance with Van Dijk's (1998) discussion about how the level of detail in the description can de-emphasize and emphasize information where the good acts of the Us and the bad acts of the Them is emphasized, while the good acts of Them and bad acts of Us are expressed through abstraction. Thus, the de-emphasis on negative information about Us takes the form of omitting and creating an abstraction concerning the facts about racialized violence and white supremacism within the USA.

4.3 Deviations

The selected texts that meet the requirements presented in 3.3 Analysis and Procedure while showcasing content that deviates from the Western-centric ideologies can be found in *The collector* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 100-104), set in England, and *Dead men talk* (Solid Gold 1, 2014, pp. 105-108), set in Ireland. Both texts are of the horror genre and therefore portray negative events such as kidnappings and killings in Western countries. However, this deviation in question could perhaps be a result of common themes in the horror genre rather than the intention of portraying the West as dangerous.

5. Conclusion & Pedagogical implications

The findings of the present study of the analyzed texts through the four dimensions of the ideological square are manifested through common themes of oppression and stagnation in depictions of the non-West, in comparison of the portrayals of the West as progressive

and developed while de-emphasizing historical wrongdoings. The extent of each dimension of the ideological square were 26 out of 50 that Emphasize information that is positive about Us, 3 out of 50 that Emphasize information that is negative about Them, 7 out of 50 that De-emphasize information that is positive about Them and 14 out of 50 texts that De-emphasize information that is negative about Us. Thus, it is highlighting the abundance of texts concerning Us and set in the West in *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*.

In accordance with Said (2003) the analyzed texts showcase a production of a Western identity as superior in contrast to the implied inferiority of the non-West, where the non-West becomes the opposing image of the West. The dimension of Emphasize information that is positive about Us, is manifested through portraying the Us as developed, progressive and also relatable to a teenage audience through texts about the success of Western brands, Western activism, Western mental health awareness and stories about love and friendships set in the West. Emphasize information that is negative about Them is manifested in ways where the non-West is depicted oppressed, undeveloped, and stagnant and timeless through an Othering where the Western audience observes, evaluates, and corrects the non-West. Moreover, the only non-standard English with grammatical incorrections being connected to a non-Western character, while the Westerners are depicted in positive terms in combination with only grammatically correct Standard English, further highlights the Native-speakerism as a norm where the non-native undergoes a peripheralization in accordance with Phan (2016). Similarly, the dimension De-emphasize information that is positive about Them portrays the non-West as stagnant and timeless unaffected by historical progression but also ties its successes to the West. As for Emphasize information that is negative about Them, the results show an abstraction in the details in the retelling about the historical bad acts of the West, in accordance with Van Dijk (1998). Furthermore, the unspecified nature of describing African and Asian countries in a text about English-speaking countries can perhaps be a product of the Swedish context of Euro-English, where African and Asian varieties are more unfamiliar than American and British varieties as stated by Modiano (2009). Moreover, the results indicated that the common themes of the non-West as timeless and stagnant, similarly to Massad's (2007) statements, have also been accompanied with the Western values of liberating and educating the generalized monolithic depiction of the other, where the Other undergoes an Othering through generalization, in accordance with Holliday (2006).

In relation to previous studies, this present study also finds traces of Native-speakerism as Lindqvist and Soler (2022) and numerous evidences of Orientalism with a Western Us and non-Western Other similarly to Thomas (2017) and Choi (2005). The pedagogical implication of this present study is that the textbooks do not adhere to Läroplanen för gymnasieskolan (Skolverket, 2022) and should therefore be addressed and made up for in classroom settings, as a way to avoid an internalization of the peripheralization and Othering by non-Western students, such as students who have newly arrived to Sweden from a non-Western country, as well as to counteract a potential false sense of superiority toward the non-West.

The prevalence of Western-centric ideologies that portray the West as developed and progressive while de-emphasizing historical nuances, in contrast to the portrayal of the non-West as stagnant, timeless, and oppressed, creates an Othering in the eyes of a Western audience. The Othering of the non-West can as discussed previously be internalized by the non-Westerners themselves. These findings must therefore be taken account for concerning the students who are the audience of the textbooks *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1*. In today's multicultural Sweden, Läroplanen för gymnasieksolan (Skolverket, 2022) clearly states that schools have a responsibility to educate about cultural diversity and to enforce democratic values while also creating the students' identities as global citizens, which is as previously mentioned interpreted in this present study as a responsibility to enforce a global perspective where non-Western cultures are included, in a non-Western-centric manner, in correlation to the wording of "culturally diverse". While the textbooks in question were written before 2022, the 2011 version of Läroplanen för gymnasieksolan (Skolverket, 2011) also encouraged a global dimension. The Western-centric ideologies through the eyes of both Western and non-Western students must therefore be taken account for. Thus, the depiction of the non-West as the negative antitype of the West, does neither adhere to Skolverket's principles nor takes the non-Western student, such as newly arrived students from non-Western countries, into account. The non-Western student can internalize the Othering or feel peripheralized, while the Western students might develop a false sense of superiority toward the non-West.

Based on the findings of this research, while it has been previously acknowledged that no statistics are available concerning the actual extent of usage of the textbooks in question, I hereafter encourage teachers who use *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* to address the Western-centric ideologies present in the contents of the analyzed texts, as well as providing more historical contexts in places where it has been omitted to de-emphasize the negative information about Us. Moreover, providing complementary texts or other forms of media where there is a multifaceted depiction of the non-West, such as a love story set in the non-West or about non-Western metropolitan cities, as an addition the respective chapters of the textbooks is advised. Furthermore, I advise the editors of *Blueprint A* and *Solid Gold 1* to include more non-Western settings to a higher extent in the textbooks, as well as including a more multifaceted depiction of the non-West.

Further research on a wider array of textbooks is encouraged since it perhaps will result in finding a textbook that deviated from the Western-centric ideologies, which could be suited for a comparative analysis. Furthermore, an analysis of the pictures, exercises and audio files accompanying the textbooks could be of great importance, since I have noticed some Western-centric ideologies during my brief overview of them.

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