

Cultural Representations in ELT Textbooks Used in a Multicultural School

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Article information	Abstract
<p>Article history: Received: Nov 9, 2020 Accepted: Apr 22, 2021 Available online: Apr 27, 2021</p> <p>Keywords: Cultural representations ELT Textbooks Migrant students Multicultural school SDG</p>	<p><i>The use of ELT textbooks in multicultural schools is an under-explored issue despite an increasing number of non-Thais studying in the Thai compulsory education system due to mobility within the ASEAN Community. This paper aims to explore the representations of cultural aspects in the ELT textbooks, which are used in a public primary school where Cambodian, Lao, Myanmar, and Thai learners have created culturally and ethnically diverse landscape. Drawing upon the content analysis, the findings reveal five cultural categories ranked in the following order: products (41%), practices (26%), places (20%), persons (6%), perspectives (6%), and unidentified (1%). These cultural aspects are, however, imbalanced and inappropriate due to the misallocation of cultural representations and learners' lack of recognition of the sociocultural background depicted. Language teachers and school administrators have become instrumental in narrowing down the cultural gap that exists between the textbooks' cultural content and learners' sociocultural backgrounds, experience, and contexts. This study can potentially inform language educators, school administrators, policy makers, and textbook writers who are involved in ELT textbook publication to be more culturally sensitive to Thai and migrant learners' cultural milieu. The right to education of these learners should be recognized, valued, and promoted in multicultural schools that meet the objectives of UNESCO Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4), namely Quality Education, which includes equitable education and recognition of cultural heterogeneity and multiplicity.</i></p>

INTRODUCTION

Textbooks play significant roles in English language teaching (ELT) and are considered as one of the key sources of cultural representations prominently studied and prevalently discussed among English language teachers, course developers, and scholars (Cunningsworth, 1995; Nomnian, 2013a; Richards & Renandya, 2002; Wu, 2010). Since language and culture are inevitably intertwined, ELT textbooks as teaching materials represent cultural and social identities for users via their content and illustrations, including teachers and learners who have different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to enable their better inter- and cross-cultural understanding. Previous studies (e.g. Beiki & Gharaguzlu, 2017; Inphoo & Nomnian, 2019), however, have not abundantly emphasized the ELT textbooks used in multicultural schools

despite an increasing number of non-Thai students engaged in the school landscape as a result of rapid mobility within ASEAN Community.

According to the Ministry of Labour (2019, p.13), almost all incoming migrant workers in Thailand are from three main countries: Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos. The Samut Sakhon province, the research site in question, hold the second largest number. Thailand has also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which obligates all states that signed up to the treaty to take responsibility for providing compulsory and free primary education for all children living within their territory regardless of the child's legal status. Hence, by virtue of accession, the Ministry of Education has approved and provided primary education for all unregistered children, including those without legal status, enrolled in any Thai public school since 2005 (IPSR & AIT, 2014; Save the Children Association & World Education, 2015; UNESCO, 2019).

Compulsory education in Thailand is designed to provide not only Thais but also migrant children with a practical education that develops their quality of life and helps them to be self-reliant in the future (Nomnian, 2013b; Office of the National Education Commission, 2003). Similarly, UNESCO (2016) states that primary education is one of the most important infrastructures for children to gain a better quality of living and welfare once they become adults. Furthermore, primary education is essential to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4). This goal aims to ensure that all children complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019, p.22).

This particular study aims to investigate cultural representations both in written and visual forms found in English language textbooks used in a primary school in the Samut Sakhon province in order to determine whether the selected ELT textbooks are suitable for Thai and migrant students who have socioculturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds. This study can potentially inform language educators, school administrators, policy makers, and textbook writers of the need to be cognizant of cultural representations in ELT textbooks and to actively review and analyze them in order to avoid cultural biases and stereotypes that may impact the right of migrant students to receive education that is at least equal to that of Thai students. This necessarily includes recognition of the importance of multiculturalism as a context-base for inclusive lessons in the classroom.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study adopts Yuen's (2011) categories of cultural aspects represented in ELT textbooks presented as the four 'Ps', namely, products, persons, practices, and perspectives. Each of these key terms is explained as follows:

Product refers to the physical cultural contents, including man-made products such as movies, songs, folklores, books, novels, comics, inventions, food, etc., that depict a particular national culture.

Person refers to popular or renowned figures (singers, artists, writers, poets, nationally and internationally famous figures, athletes, heroes, etc.), who convey a certain national culture.

Practice refers to cultural elements in the form of rituals, celebrations, traditions, activities and cultural practices.

Perspective refers to the way certain groups of people regard something that can be compared and contrasted from other cultures, and that are relevant to the formation of attitudes, notions, values, myths, and beliefs.

Nomnian (2013a) further proposes '**place**' as an essential cultural aspect to extensively cover all cultural categories represented in the textbooks in his study analyzing Thai cultural aspects found in English language textbooks used in a Thai secondary school. According to this, the term 'places' refers to notable or alluring sites, national landmarks, or tourist attractions. For example, The Grand Palace and Wat Phra Kaew are the national landmarks in Bangkok, and simultaneously famous tourist attractions in Thailand.

Tangible cultures including products, places, and persons are explicit cultures that students can perceive easily (Lee, 2009). Likewise, Moran (2001) states that the cultural aspect related to persons should be displayed as a key factor to promote young learners' language learning because they are well-known icons who could serve as quasi-ambassadors of specific culture.

ELT textbooks are essential teaching materials used prevalently in Thai education contexts. Public primary and secondary schools can choose any of the ELT textbooks provided by the Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC), the Ministry of Education of Thailand. According to OBEC (2008), English language is one of the compulsory foreign language subjects from grades 1 to 12, the main objective of which is to equip students with the ability to use the foreign language for communicating in various situations, searching for knowledge, engaging in a profession and pursuing further education at higher levels. Thus, English language teaching is one of the significant factors to prepare and encourage students to creatively share the spectrum of Thai cultures with a global society (OBEC, 2008).

The government, however, has not prepared clear guidelines on the education of migrant children, and policies have not been explicitly discussed with the local schools (IPSR & AIT, 2014; UNICEF, 2019). As a result, many migrant children cannot access the primary education, and although current Thai educational policies enable migrant students to study in Thai public schools, the national curriculum, textbooks, and instruction are not culturally relevant and appropriate for migrant students (Arphattananon, 2013a, 2013b, 2018; IPSR & AIT, 2014; Save the Children Association & World Education, 2015). The main ongoing problems regarding education-for-all policies observed by IPSR and AIT (2014, pp.16-17) are as follows: a language barrier between teachers and migrant students; migrant students' inability to adapt; the financial burden on local schools in hiring of more teachers, translators, and local coordinators; the prejudices of some Thai parents; and inappropriate cultural content related to cultural bias. Most of these obstacles originate in the lack of a common language and cultural knowledge.

Culturally diverse content should, therefore, be integrated into ELT textbooks in order to raise cultural awareness in the students and how to conduct intercultural communication appropriately. As intercultural communication has become one of the necessary skills in the 21st century, ELT textbooks should be designed to provide intercultural issues that can allow students to further discuss their own and other cultures while learning English (Nomnian, 2013a).

Studies regarding cultural content represented in ELT textbooks are still mainly based on British and American cultures (Alshenqeeti, 2019; Anita, 2019; Böcü & Razi, 2016; Syahri & Susanti, 2016; Thumvichit, 2018; Waharak, 2015). Based on Kachru's (1992) concentric circles of English, Thumvichit's study (2018), for instance, investigated cultural representations in Thai secondary school ELT textbooks and found that native speaker context appear predominantly in both images and reading texts. Likewise, Waharak's (2015) findings show that the cultural content in textbook is mainly drawn from British and American experiences. In Indonesia, Syahri and Susanti (2016) investigated the source and target culture representations in ELT textbooks for senior high schools and revealed that target cultures were presented more than their source counterparts. Similarly, Böcü and Razi (2016) claim that various cultures of ELT textbooks in Turkey were represented without plentiful references to Turkish culture.

Drawing upon the linguistically and culturally diverse environments created by immigrant students on the Myanmar-Thailand border, Za and Ramnath (2016) explore the cultural content and activities set out in ELT textbooks used in a refugee camp and concluded that the content of the selected materials was relevant to the young Myanmar migrant learners. This study will go further to analyze the cultural representations found in ELT textbooks in terms of the five categories of cultural aspects in five respects, namely: products, persons, practices, perspectives, and places, and present an analysis of the findings before discussing the results.

METHOD

Research setting

A case study approach was employed as it is designed to gain a more profound understanding of practices as they apply to particular circumstances in real-life contexts (Stake, 1995) despite the recognized limitations of case studies in providing generalized results (Yin, 2014). The research setting for this case study was a government primary school located in the district of Nadee in the Samut Sakhon province, which has the second largest number of migrant workers (257,559) in Thailand, originating from three main countries: Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos (Ministry of Labor, 2019, p.13). As a result, there is a large number of migrant students in this province. According to UNICEF (2019, p.27), Samut Sakhon Education Service Area Office (ESAO) reported that there were a total of 2,590 migrant and stateless children enrolled in public schools in 2017. The majority (1,620) were from Myanmar, and about 700 were stateless. In the school of this study, there were 45 migrant students in every level (grade 1 to grade 6), out of 404, the majority of them being from Myanmar (22 students), Laos (9 students), Cambodia (8 students), and other ethnic groups (e.g. Karen and Tai) (6 students). This provided a distinctly multicultural atmosphere in the school.

Data

Student’s books 1-6 were purposively selected as English learning materials used by a group of English teachers for primary school students in grades 1-6.

According to the publisher, the titles of the selected textbooks must be kept confidential in this study. The selected textbooks are a six-level beginner coursebook of American English for primary school learners’ cognitive and psychological growth based on an interdisciplinary approach that helps them acquire English.

The selected textbooks involve vocabulary and short expressions to practice coupled with cartoon stories, games, and special sections, including festivals and fun physical activities. Photographs introduce each unit to expose learners to the wider world and enable them to experience the English related to it.

Data analysis

Content analysis was applied to investigate the cultural diversity presented in these textbooks, and the data obtained constitutes the frequency of cultural diversity items presented within the content of each textbook. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis were undertaken in order to provide elaborate explanations and to analyze the data in depth with a greater degree of validity (Krippendorf, 2012). This data was then categorized and the themes discussed in terms of cultural content according to five categories: products, perspectives, practices, persons, and places (Nomnian, 2013a; Yuen, 2011).

FINDINGS

From the content analysis of cultural aspects represented in the selected textbooks 1-6, the five aspects including products, practices, places, persons, and perspectives, plus one unidentified category, are illustrated in a pie chart below in Figure 1.

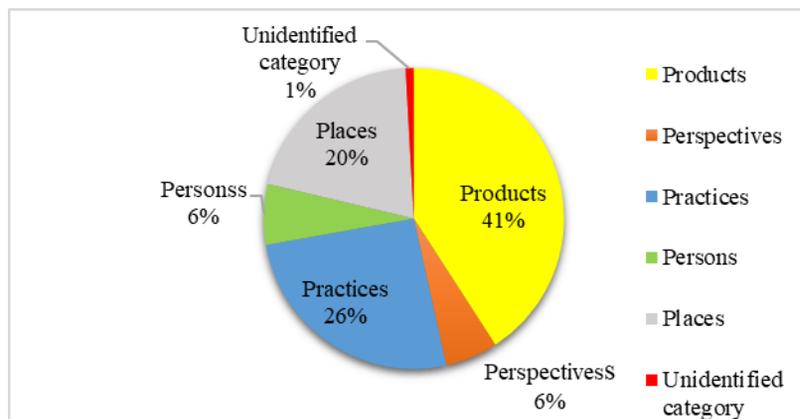


Figure 1 Overall cultural aspects represented in the selected textbooks

Figure 1 shows the overall result of cultural representations (five categories). These are categorized as follows: products (41%), practices (26%), places (20%), persons (6%), perspectives (6%), and unidentified category (1%), accordingly. Each cultural aspect will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

1. Products

Eight cultural product themes are represented in these six books, including *musical instruments, food and drinks, signs and symbols, accommodations, clothes, cartoon characters, sports, and cultural legacy*; each of which will be presented in turn.

a. Musical instruments are presented as both general and specific national musical instruments. The description ‘general musical instrument’ refers to international musical instruments, including the piano, trumpet, guitar, trombone, violin and drum, all of which are familiar worldwide. A specific musical instrument, ‘castanets’, refers to a percussive instrument (idiophone) commonly played in Spain.

b. Food and drinks are widely represented in illustrations in the textbooks. These can be divided into two types:

- a. general food and drinks such as sandwich, ice cream, potato chips, orange juice, coffee, tea, bread, and cake, which are universally familiar.
- b. food and drinks of a particular culture such as ‘Pavlova’, which is a traditional New Zealand and Australian dessert, and the story of meals in the USA such as American breakfast, which includes scrambled eggs, pancakes with maple syrup, or toast with butter and jam and a glass of milk.

c. Signs and symbols are represented extensively in terms of pictures and illustrations. They are widely demonstrated including environmental, traffic signs, national symbols such as flags and coins of a particular country. The flags represent USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Jamaica, India, and South Africa. The coins are of various denominations of ‘cents’ in American currency.

d. Accommodations represented in the selected textbooks show residences, including a house in San Diego (USA) and a flat in Birmingham (England). It is interesting to note that the word ‘flat’ is British English, which retains the same meaning as the word “apartment” in American English.

e. Clothes are worn for different purposes. The selected textbooks portray school uniforms in the UK and Canada. British school uniforms include a shirt and tie, and a blazer. In addition, there is a cross-cultural comparison of clothing terms between British and American English such as jumper (UK) – sweater (USA).

f. Cartoon characters are culturally specific and internationally well-known among children in the West as follows:

- Minnie Mouse, a cartoon character created by American animators, Ub Iwerks and Walt Disney;
- Spiderman, a fictional superhero created by American comic book writer, Stan Lee;
- Bloom, a fairy in an animated television series Winx Club created by Italian animator, Iginio Straffi;
- Garfield, a famous yellow cat in an American comic strip created by Jim Davis; and
- Shrek, a fictional ogre character created by American cartoonist named William Steig, which is used for pronunciation drills of //j/.

All characters, except for the European character Bloom, were created by American-based artists, and are widely recognize as evocative characters of American culture.

g. Sports includes international sports such as baseball, basketball, soccer, American football, tennis, golf, bowling, and volleyball. Most of these sports are universally generally enjoyed by Americans as well as universally by others all around the world. Yet, the terms ‘soccer’ and ‘American football’ may be confusing and misunderstood by Thai students who are not familiar with American culture. ‘Soccer’ is preferred in the US, Australia, and New Zealand, whereas ‘football’ is the international reference and the one used in Thailand. Thai teachers and students need to be aware of the different usages of the words ‘soccer’, ‘football’, and ‘American football’. In addition, there are national sports including cricket and rugby, which are popular in England, Australia, and New Zealand.

h. Architecture represented in this book highlights the ‘Pantheon’, literally meaning a ‘temple of the gods’ in Greek. This is under the theme of religion and mythology.

To sum up, the ‘cultural product’ represented in these selected textbooks are related to topics such as musical instruments, food and drinks, signs and symbols, accommodations, cartoon characters, sports, and architecture, which all refer to elements of Western-based cultures that are unnecessarily familiar to Thai and migrant students. These topics and illustrations, however, facilitate and help learners see what these cultural products look like.

2. Practices

The term ‘practices’ refers to cultural aspects in the form of norms, traditions, activities and cultural practices which help define a certain culture. In this study, these can be divided into four categories including *greetings*, *traditions*, *rules and social manners*, and *social movements*. These are discussed below.

a. Greetings are presented in both native and non-native-English-speaking countries such as Japan, India, and China, as well as Islamic countries.

b. Traditions that are represented, such as the ‘Easter Parade in New York’, are mostly practiced in native-English-speaking countries, especially the United States. American traditions are widely demonstrated including making Jack o’ lanterns on Halloween and celebrating Thanksgiving, St. Patrick’s Day, and Columbus Day.

There are only two short reading passages that represent practices in non-native-English-speaking countries, namely the use of tiger in Chinese medicine and the Brazilian Samba dance.

c. Rules and social manners are behavioral patterns that comply with this public agreement. The short reading passage describes what classroom etiquette is expected of students. For example, the grade 3 student book encourages students to raise their hand before speaking in the classroom. Moreover, the basic rules of American football and those of soccer are elaborated in the selected textbooks.

d. Social movements are represented in terms of environmental issues and animal conservation efforts with practical guidelines for students to preserve the environment in their own context. Environmental issues, regarding the protection of tigers and penguins, and waste recycling, are addressed.

To conclude, practices in these ELT textbooks include greetings, traditions, rules and social manners, and social movements, information about which would be beneficial for primary school students to apply in their daily lives.

3. Places

The term 'places' refers to popular and famous landmarks often considered as the national treasures of a particular country such as the Statue of Liberty (New York, USA), Niagara Falls (New York, USA), Eiffel Tower (Paris, France), Oriental Bridge (Taipei, Taiwan), Taj Mahal (Delhi, India), and Park Güell (Barcelona, Spain).

There are additional texts regarding places that are classified into two types: natural wonders and man-made attractions. Natural wonders are recognized by each country as 'must-visit' tourist attractions, including Angel Falls (Venezuela), Amazon Rainforest (Brazil), Uluru (Australia), and Niagara Falls (USA and Canada). There are two man-made tourist attractions that are internationally renowned due to the large number of visitors each year. The first one is a theme park called Six Flags in the US and the other is 'Stonehenge' in the UK.

In sum, places in these textbooks are tourist attractions located overseas, far from Thailand. Students may find them interesting. However, because they are so far away, they may learn about them but never have an opportunity to visit these places.

4. Persons

The term 'persons' refers to notable individuals who are highly regarded by people in a certain country for their contribution in society. Most of the famous people represented in these textbooks are American, such as John Lee Love, Neil Armstrong, Oliver Hardy, Spencer Silver, Stan Laurel, and The Wright Brothers. There is one British soccer player, Wayne Rooney, and a ballpoint pen inventor, Laszlo Biro from Hungary.

To sum up, Americans are represented more than people in other countries. All of these people are not, however, illustrated with their pictures, hence, students may not be able to recognize them if they ever see them in other media.

5. Perspectives

The term 'perspectives' refers to the way certain groups of people view the world, which may differ from those of other cultures. The perspectives represented in these books involve the promotion of social values related to environmental conservation.

The selected textbook taught in the 5th grade, in particular, addresses a critical issue in children's rights in a written text that uses abstract terms such as 'cruelty', 'discrimination', and 'protection', which primary school students may have difficulties understanding the meaning of.

In conclusion, the perspectives presented in these textbooks relate to social values and worldviews that are not represented as illustrations due to the fact that they are relatively abstract and difficult to depict concretely. Primary school students are likely to find comprehending the abstract meanings of these texts challenging, and teachers may need to provide concrete examples for clarification and discussion in class, such as international news related to those cultural issues.

6. Unidentified category

An unidentified category is not culturally bound and geographically specific to any particular nation; and thus, it is not categorized as any cultural aspect. A picture represented in the 6th grade, for instance, portrays a girl singing and riding a pink-haired camel to school located in a desert, which students may find interesting and amusing. In reality, however, they may not know whether it is an actual event.

Due to the nature of these ELT textbooks that are used by young learners at a primary school level, some illustrations are based on the authors' imaginations that aim to draw the learners' attention to particular lessons and texts with no cultural relevance or realistic representations. It can, therefore, be considered as fictitious rather than factual information that contributes to the learners' knowledge and understanding of the world.

DISCUSSION

The findings in this study reveal that these ELT textbooks convey a variety of cultural aspects, including products, practices, places, persons, and perspectives, as well as an unidentified category. Persons and perspectives are, however, represented in written texts without illustrations; and thus, primary school students may face difficulties understanding these texts. The findings also suggest that these cultural aspects are too imbalanced and inappropriate to be employed in this multicultural school for a number of reasons, including the allocation of cultural representations and recognition of learners' sociocultural backgrounds. These are discussed below.

First of all, cultural aspects including products, places, and persons are examples of tangible cultures that refer to the apparent and explicit cultures that students can perceive and recognize easily (Lee, 2009). Moran (2001) suggests that persons, as a cultural aspect, should be considered as a key factor to develop young learners' language learning because they are notable model who could serve as representatives of a specific culture. In addition, these cultures are commonly represented and included in ELT textbooks in various contexts (Anita, 2019; Kaewsakul & Teo, 2016; Kim & Paek, 2015; Srithi, 2014). Practices and perspectives, on the other hand, fall into intangible cultural categories such as ways of life, customs, and traditions, which are vital in language learning as they also determine the standards of appropriateness and use of polite language (Lee, 2009; Nomnian et al., 2020; Phumpho & Nomnian, 2019; Suebwongsuwan & Nomnian, 2020).

Although practices can be regarded as one of the most important cultural aspects of ELT textbooks, they are rarely found in ELT textbooks (Raigón-Rodríguez, 2018). Davidson and Liu's (2020) study indicates that the cultural representations based on global contexts are meaningful and beneficial because they reinforce language learners' sociocultural awareness, growth mindset, and global citizenship. It is, therefore, important for textbook writers to allocate an appropriate number of cultural categories both global and local to enable young learners to recognize varieties of cultures from various practices and in multiple contexts.

Secondly, it is understandable that, given its title, 'American English' would emphasize American cultural aspects and perhaps necessarily ignore Thai and other Asian cultural representations in the series. Given that this cultural source is essential for students of ELT, a number of studies reveal that content that includes the learners' own sources is often underrepresented (Alshenqeeti, 2019; Anita, 2019; Böcü & Razi, 2016; Syahri & Susanti, 2016; Thumvichit, 2018; Waharak, 2015). Although referencing the learners' own cultural sources can potentially make it easier for them to talk about their own cultures with people who have different cultural backgrounds, students' cultural backgrounds, including those of Cambodian, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand were found to be absent in this study. This absence of learners' cultural schema goes against the national curriculum policy in that students should be able to share their Thai culture with a global society (OBEC, 2008). Familiarity with the students' own cultural backgrounds can build valuable experiences and awareness when done through ELT textbooks. This can bridge their experience with other cultural representations in these ELT textbooks and develop intercultural tolerance and cross-cultural understanding for constructive intercultural communication with students of diverse sociocultural backgrounds both inside and outside of the classroom settings. The absence of representation of migrant students' cultures found in this study is consistent with Save the Children Association & World Education (2015) addressing that textbooks and other educational materials are generally not relevant to the cultures of migrant children

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study brings to light the limitation of Thai and migrant students' cultural representation in these selected textbooks, and that teachers and school administrators are instrumental in

bridging the cultural gaps between the textbooks and the learners' own sociocultural reference points and experiences. This raises two main pedagogical implications for teachers and school administrators.

First, teachers should provide a learning space for students to discuss their own cultural identities in order to promote cross-cultural understanding, open-mindedness, and intercultural awareness (Jhaiyanuntana & Nomnian, 2020; Nomnian, 2018; Setyono & Widodo, 2019). Teachers play a vital role because they not only recognize the cultural elements exhibited in ELT textbooks, but can also apply cultural implications through classroom activities and lessons in order to make them relevant to their students' own cultural contexts (Inpeng & Nomnian, 2020; Messekher, 2014; Nomnian & Arpattananon, 2018a, 2018b). Likewise, Mahmud (2019) points out that teachers should integrate elements of local cultures into English language lessons, and such incorporation should include migrant children's cultures. Given that in multicultural classrooms have become a familiar feature of Thailand's education landscape, this aspect should be taken into serious consideration.

Second, this study suggests that school administrators should be more aware of migrant and ethnic students who may feel alienated using the textbooks that mainly represent mainstream native English-speaking cultures (Nomnian & Arpattananon, 2018a, b). In this regard, they should recognize and promote cultures of Thai ethnic groups and those of neighboring countries. Chalermnirundorn (2019) suggests that teachers, educators, and stakeholders involved in multicultural education and classroom diversity in Thai education contexts have the responsibility to meet challenges in finding an ideal balance in terms of sociocultural and linguistic diversity among migrant and Thai ethnic learners, the rights of all of whom should be recognized, valued, and promoted.

These pedagogical implications would enable school administrators, English teachers, and language educators to uphold equity, inclusivity, and social justice in schools where harmony in diversity should be created and valued.

CONCLUSION

This study investigates the representations of cultural aspects in the student books, levels 1-6 used in one government primary school located in Samut Sakhon, Thailand. The school is regarded as being especially multicultural because there are Cambodian, Lao, and Myanmar students attending it whose parents have immigrated and been working in Thailand as part of policies that promote labor mobility within the ASEAN Economic Community.

In compliance with the compulsory education guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education, they learn English using the prescribed ELT textbooks taught by Thai teachers of English. According to recognized cultural categories (Nomnian, 2013a; Yuen, 2011), the content analysis of these textbooks reveal five such cultural categories as follows: products (41%), practices (26%), places (20%), persons (6%), perspectives (6%), along with unidentified category (1%). The contents of these cultural categories are, however, inappropriately chosen in that they

over-represent aspects more common in native English-speaking cultures than non-native ones. Learners' sociocultural and ethnic backgrounds appear to not have been taken into account in the textbooks. Cultural-specific content has the potential of leading to misunderstanding and confusion for learners who are unfamiliar with it. Language educators, school administrators, policy makers, and textbook writers are key agents of change to create, develop, and employ ELT textbooks that are sensitive to learners' cultural norms, practices, and values, and demonstrate an appreciation of diversity.

This study makes no claim to universal applicability, but can serve to support researchers who seek to apply the principles highlighted in other education contexts. All learners have a right to feel included, with a sense of belonging in the midst of diversity, and only in such atmosphere, can their intellectual and social prowess thrive. Furthermore, this also goes some way in addressing a number of obligations and objectives set forth in UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goal 4, namely, quality education, in which 'education for all' and 'all for education' can then be attained.

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