

Teaching Culture in the English Classroom

A study of two lower secondary classrooms

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Abstract

The aim of this MA study was to identify what characterizes the teaching of culture in two Year 9 English classrooms. In order to investigate this, the MA study combines teacher interviews and analysis of video-taped English lessons. The video data was collected as a part of the Linking Instruction and Student Experiences (LISE) project at the University of Oslo (project leader Kirsti Klette, project coordinator Lisbeth M. Brevik). The data was analysed to identify *what characterises the teaching of culture in English in two lower secondary classrooms*, in terms of *what* was taught by the two teachers, *why* they taught culture in their English lessons, and *how* they approached teaching these topics. Studying naturalistic instruction (i.e., not interventions) in English classrooms is valuable to identify patterns in the teaching of culture, as we know very little about what happens in the English classroom in Norwegian lower secondary schools. The filmed lessons were analysed using *Protocol for Language Arts Teaching Observation* (PLATO 5.0). Integrating these analyses with teacher interviews provided an opportunity to see what was occurring from different perspectives.

First, I found that the teaching in the two schools was mainly concerned with big-C culture (Kramsch, 2006), or culture as a humanistic concept, as topics in focus were historical. The teaching of the historical topics used both authentic and non-authentic materials, but with a majority of authentic materials. Furthermore, I found that the objective the teachers gave for the work with cultural topics in the English subject, was development of the students' general knowledge. Other perspectives that were mentioned included strengthening communication and helping the students gain insight into different ways of living.

The teaching in both classrooms are characterized by connections to prior knowledge, clear and accurate explanations, as well as many opportunities for student talk. The main differences between the two classrooms were found in the attention to conceptual understanding, as well the intellectual challenge posed by the tasks and questions. However, in both classrooms, the use of authentic materials were connected to intellectual challenge for the students, as well as classroom discourse with high levels of uptake, ie. teachers' responses to an elaboration of student ideas.

On the basis of these findings, I argue that the objectives of teaching of culture in the English subject, should be more directed towards developing the students' intercultural competence, which includes not only knowledge, but also attitudes and skills (Byram et al., 2002). As seen in the observed teaching, working with authentic materials could be suited for this, if we emphasize interpretation and discussion.

Sammendrag

Målet med denne masterstudien har vært å identifisere hva som karakteriserer undervisning av kultur i engelskfaget på 9.trinn. For å undersøke dette har denne studien kombinert intervju og videoopptak av engelsktimer. Videodataene er samlet som en del av Linking Instruction and Student Experience (LISE)-prosjektet (prosjektleder Kirsti Klette, prosjektkoordinator Lisbeth M. Brevik). Dataene er analysert for å identifisere *hva som karakteriserer undervisning av kultur i engelskfaget i to ungdomsskoleklasserom*, ved å se på *hva* som ble undervist av de to lærerne, *hvorfor* de underviste i kultur i engelsktimene sine, og *hvordan* de gikk frem for å undervise disse temaene. Å studere naturalistisk undervisning (det vil si ikke intervensjoner) i engelskfaget er verdifullt for å identifisere mønster i undervisningen av kultur, siden vi vet veldig lite om hva som skjer i engelsktimene ved norske ungdomsskoler. Analysen av videoopptakene ble gjort ved bruk av *Protocol for Language Arts Teaching Observation* (PLATO 5.0). Disse analysene integrert med lærerintervjuene gjorde det mulig å se på det som skjedde fra ulike perspektiv.

Først fant jeg at undervisningen ved de to skolene først og fremst handlet om kultur med stor K (Kramch, 2006), eller kultur som et humanistisk konsept, da temaene var historiske. Undervisningen av disse temaene inkluderte både autentiske og ikke-autentiske materialer, med en hovedvekt på autentiske materialer. Videre fant jeg at å utvikle elevenes allmennkunnskaper var hovedmålet som lærerne oppga for sin undervisning. Andre perspektiv ble også nevnt, inkludert å forbedre elevens kommunikativ evner og hjelpe dem til innsikt i andres levemåter.

Til sist fant jeg at undervisning av kultur var karakterisert av mange forbindelser til elevenes forkunnskaper, gode forklaringer, og mange muligheter for elevene til å snakke. Hovedforskjellen mellom de to skolene var hvordan de fokuserte på konseptuell forståelse, i tillegg til graden av intellektuell utfordring av oppgavene og spørsmålene stilt i timen. Imidlertid fant jeg at i bruken av autentisk materiale hadde en sammenheng med både intellektuell utfordring og klasseromssamtaler hvor elever og læreren bygger på hverandres utspill og idéer.

På bakgrunn av disse funnene, argumenterer jeg for at engelskundervisningen knyttet til kulturelle tema, i større grad bør rettes mot å utvikle elevenes interkulturelle kompetanse, noe som ikke bare innebærer kunnskaper, men like mye holdninger og ferdigheter. Som sett i den observerte undervisningen, kan arbeid med autentiske tekster være egnet til dette, hvis man legger vekt på tolkning og diskusjon.

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Sigrid Graedler Listuen

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1 Introduction

During my many years as a language learner, both in and outside school, I have often experienced that simply knowing the language's rules and vocabulary was not enough. This feeling became even stronger when studying abroad, where I would often end up in an environment where we all came from different cultural backgrounds. I found that my knowledge about other cultures, as well as the awareness about my own culture, not only helped me communicate better, but was also what made it possible to build relationships across these cultural differences. However, when I started teaching languages, both English and Spanish, my experience was that both in my own and my colleagues' teaching, the choice of cultural content of the lessons was often based on what we as teachers were most comfortable with. And while most teachers I know find the cultural part of the English subject important and interesting, we do not always agree on what is relevant for our students. These experiences made me curious to investigate further into the status of culture in language learning, and especially in English classrooms in Norway.

An element of cultural competence is usually a part of learning a new language, in or outside of the classroom, whether it be a foreign, second or additional language (Byram, 2014; Kramsch, 2006). Byram (2013) writes that his experience as a trainer of language teachers was that many wanted to "broaden children's horizons" (p. 2) through teaching them about culture. However, it is not clear what this means in terms of what and how we should learn about culture, as culture is a concept that can cover a wide range of topics. Although culture has been considered of importance in the teaching for foreign languages for a long time, there has often been less focus on teaching methods and assessment for this than for other areas of language learning (Byram, 2014).

The cultural aspect of the English subject is an especially complex and demanding task, as the English language is used in so many parts of the world, by diverse groups of people and for a variety of purposes (Dürmüller, 2008; Rindal, 2014; Simensen, 2014). This means that our students will most likely use English to interact with people from many different cultural backgrounds, and not just with people who have English as their native language. This raises questions about what cultures should be taught and how this should be carried out in a classroom.

The main aim of the present MA study is therefore to identify what characterizes the teaching of culture in the English subject in two Norwegian lower secondary school classrooms, by using video observation of English lessons and interviews with the observed teachers. Both these data sources will be used to investigate what is taught in the classrooms, why it is being taught and how it is being taught.

1.1 Culture in the English subject curriculum (LK06)

In the current curriculum, one of the four main subject areas in the English subject is called “Culture, society and literature”, and it is described as follows (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research [NMER], 2006, 2013):

The main subject area Culture, society and literature focuses on cultural understanding in a broad sense. It is based on the English-speaking countries and covers key topics connected to social issues, literature and other cultural expressions. This main area also involves developing knowledge about English as a world language with many areas of use. The main subject area involves working with and discussing expository texts, literary texts and cultural forms of expression from different media. This is essential to develop knowledge about, understanding of and respect for the lives and cultures of other people.

From this description, my understanding is that the culture part of the English subject should contribute to “cultural understanding” and “understanding of and respect for the lives and cultures of other people”. It also mentions “English-speaking countries” and “English as a world language”. However, what exactly is meant by “English-speaking countries”? English today is used all over the world as the language of international communication (Graddol, 2006), and many learners of English might not want or need to use the English language in the contexts of the countries considered as native speakers of English (Dürmüller, 2008).

And what aspects of culture should be the focus when the curriculum demands “cultural understanding” in a broad sense? The section describing the purpose of the school subject English in the current curriculum, concludes that “language and cultural competence promote

the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship” (NMER, 2006, 2013). This is also one of the goals of *intercultural communicative competence* (Byram & Zarate, 1997), which includes more than just knowledge of cultures, but also attitudes and skills (Byram & Zarate, 1997; Deardorff, 2011; Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014). Although intercultural competence is not explicitly mentioned in the English subject curriculum, it seems evident that the teaching of culture is supposed to prepare the students to become citizens of an increasingly more global world.

1.2 Culture in the English subject of the future

At the time of writing this thesis, the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research [NMER] has initiated the development of a new national curriculum which will shape the future of Norwegian primary and secondary education for years to come. One of the new proposed core elements of the new English subject as of November 9th is called “Culture and diversity competence” and includes “knowledge and skills that will contribute to the development of attitudes and cultural awareness amongst the students” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2017). Amongst the new cross-curricular focus, we can find “Democracy and co-citizenship”, which is already a communicated goal for the English subject today, and is also connected to the teaching of culture and intercultural competence.

Furthermore, an Official Norwegian Report (NOU, 2015) regarding the future of Norwegian education, suggests a cross-curricular focus on collaboration with others, discussions with people of different opinions, conflict solving and democratic competence. This should especially be a focus in relation to language competence. The fact that we live in a diverse society is also pointed out as a reason for why this should be in focus, suggesting that these competences also include intercultural competence (NOU, 2015, p. 30).

Even though the cultural aspect of the English subject was already expressed as important in the current curriculum, the proposed new core elements of “Culture and diversity competence”, as well as the cross-curricular focus of “Democracy and co-citizenship”, it seems that the English subject will have even more responsibility to prepare the students for a multicultural world. I hope that my thesis can be a contribution to this ongoing work, with providing insight into what characterized the teaching of culture in English classrooms currently, as well and providing some suggestions as to how we can improve and develop this teaching further. As

there have been no studies of this in a Norwegian context earlier, I hope that this might be a valuable contribution despite its small size and limitations.

1.3 The LISE project

In the present study, I use video recordings from two English classrooms, in combination with interviews with the same teachers. The access to the video recordings and contact with the teachers were available to me through my MA project being a part of the Linking Instruction and Student Experiences (LISE) project (Hjeltnes, Brevik, & Klette, 2017, pp. 70-77). LISE was initiated in 2015 in order to study instruction in the 9th and 10th grades in seven classrooms during the school years 2015-2016 and 2016-2017, and includes instruction in the subjects English, French, Norwegian, Mathematics, Science, and Social studies. LISE links video observations from classrooms with data from a student surveys in the video recorded classrooms, and national test data in numeracy, reading, and English. The LISE study has filmed four to six lessons in each subject, giving a total of 300 filmed lessons. Professor Kirsti Klette is the project leader of LISE, with Associate Professor Lisbeth M. Brevik as the project coordinator.

1.4 Research questions

Having the possibility of using the video data as a part of the LISE project, I decided to direct my study towards the teaching of culture in the English lower secondary classrooms. As the cultural aspect of English teaching has quite ambitious intentions, I wanted to investigate how this is being taught in English classrooms in Norwegian schools today.

The main research question for the present MA study was formulated to capture as many features of the teaching of culture as possible, in addition to the teachers' perspectives on their teaching in these classrooms.

The overarching research question for the present MA study is therefore: *What characterises the teaching of culture in English in two lower secondary classrooms?*

To help answer this question, I also formulated the following sub-questions, asking about the *what, why* and *how* of the teaching of culture:

RQ1: What topics and materials are used to teach culture in English in these classrooms?

RQ2: Why do the English teachers teach culture?

RQ3: How are the cultural topics taught in the English lessons?

All three sub-questions take into consideration the teachers' perspectives as well as observations from the filmed English lessons.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In addition to this introductory chapter, the present thesis comprises of five chapters. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framing for the study in addition to previous research. Chapter 3 presents the methods used, with a detailed account of how I carried out my interviews and video observations, as well as a description of the data analyses, and research credibility. Chapter 4 presents the findings of this MA study. In Chapter 5, the findings are discussed in light of the theoretical framing, prior studies, and with regard to implications for English teaching in the future. Finally, Chapter 6 provides my concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

2 Theoretical Framing and Prior Research

This presents the relevant theoretical framework for this MA thesis, and is divided into four main parts: 1) The English language today, 2) What is culture?, 3) Culture in language teaching and 4) Prior research. In the first section, the status of English in the world and Norway will be presented, including the implications this has for the teaching of English and the teaching of culture in particular. In the second section, culture will be defined, along with a presentation of some of the most prominent aspects of culture. Then, culture in language teaching will be presented and discussed, from a historical point of view and with regard to what the current English curriculum in Norway (NMER, 2006, 2013) requires of our students. This section will also include a presentation of intercultural competence, and its role in English language teaching. In the last section, relevant previous studies will be presented.

2.1 The English language today

Since this MA study concerns the cultural component of English language teaching in Norway, it is important to look at some background information about the position of English in the world and Norway, as this will have some implications for the teaching of English, and consequently the teaching of culture in English.

2.1.1 English in the World

As a consequence of British colonization and the later cultural and political impact of the USA, English has gained a unique position, in that it is the main language used for intercultural communication (Graddol, 2006). Today English is used for a wide range of purposes and for communication in many fields, such as media, education, business, popular culture and tourism (Rindal, 2014; Simensen, 2014). It is not only used by speakers who have English as their first or second language, but also by the growing group of speakers of English as a foreign language. In the 1980s, the sociolinguist Kachru attempted to categorize the different speakers in English with his famous model, “The Concentric Circles of English”, which distinguishes between the inner circle, the outer circle and the expanding circle of English (see Figure 2A). The inner circle consists of nations where English is used as a first language, such as the UK, the USA and Australia, and the outer circle consists of nations where English is used as an official second language, such as India, Nigeria and Ghana. The expanding circle consists of nations where

English is not an official language, but taught in schools as a foreign language (Dürmüller, 2008), such as China, Russia, Brazil and Norway.

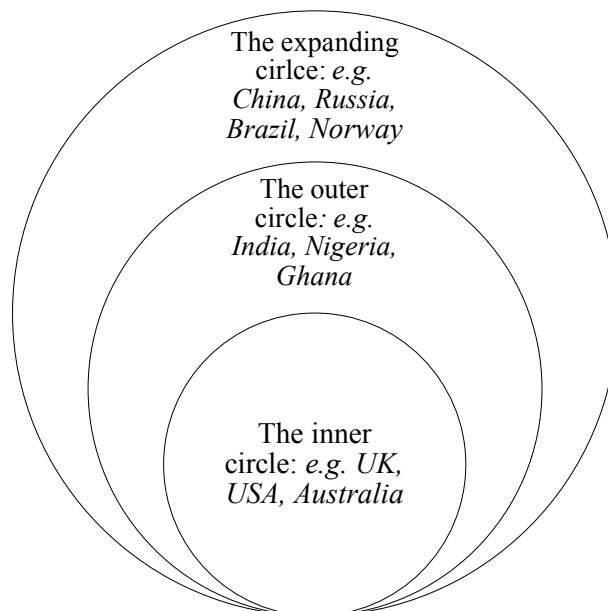


Figure 2A. The Concentric Circles of English, based on Kachru (1985).

This model has been criticised by many, including Kachru himself, and for many reasons. One of these reasons is that it fails to see the importance of the expanding circle. In the 1980s, when the model was introduced, the inner circle was considered the “owners” of English, and were *norm-providing*, while the outer circle was *norm-developing*, and the expanding circle was *norm-dependent* (Kachru, 1985; Simensen, 2014). In other words, the inner circle countries provided the norms or standard for how the language should be spoken, while the outer circle was developing their own variants, and the expanding circle dependent on the inner circle norms as a standard. Today, the group of speakers considered as the expanding circle of English is outnumbering the inner and outer circles, and English is often used for communication between speakers with different first languages, often referred to as *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) (Simensen, 2014).

Rindal (2014) argues that the distinctions between these three groups are not as clear as they might seem, since some speakers of English in the outer circle nations have grown up with English as their first language, and some speakers of English in the expanding circle use

English more efficiently and appropriately than both native speakers and second-language users. The edges of Kachru's old model are starting to get "fuzzy" (Rindal, 2014). However, the model might be useful to have in mind, as it represents a *nation view* of language, which is something we will also find in the discussion of culture (Kramsch, 2006), and is a view that is prevalent in many documents and practices when it comes to English language teaching (Rindal, 2014).

2.1.2 English in Norway

Using Kachru's (1985) model of the concentric circles, Norway can be considered an expanding circle country alongside the rest of Scandinavia, as well as countries such as China and Russia. While English is not an official language, most Norwegians who are alive today have had some sort of English teaching in their lifetime (Graedler, 2002). Furthermore, during the last decades young Norwegians have been increasingly exposed to English through media, and as we travel more frequently, we use English in communication with both native and non-native speakers of English (Graedler, 2002; Rindal, 2014). Consequently, English is becoming more and more important for Norwegian learners, because we need it for a range of different situations, both internationally and in Norway. Later years have also seen an increase in the use of English in different domains, such as large companies and higher education (Rindal, 2014). Some researchers have argued that the status of English in Norway has gone from being a foreign language to becoming a second language (Rindal, 2014; Simensen, 2014).

If we look at the English subject curriculum, we can find explicit references to these developments, especially looking at the section that states the purpose of the English subjects in Norwegian schools:

English is a universal language. When we meet people from other countries, at home or abroad, we need English for communication. English is used in films, literature, songs, sports, trade, products, science and technology, and through these areas many English words and expressions have found their way into our own languages.

(KD, 2006, 2013, p. 1).

The subject curriculum clearly states that Norwegian students should know English both for communication with people outside and in Norway, and because they will meet English in a wide range of situations. However, we also see some references to Kachru's (1985) model, for

example in the cultural part of the English subject. We can see that “the subject of English shall contribute to providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language” (KD, 2006, 2013, p. 1). This is an indirect reference to Kachru’s inner and outer circle of English (Rindal, 2014). In other words, while the curriculum reflects the view that the status of English today, both in the world and in Norway, is more complex than the view that was presented in the 1980s, we can also see traces of a national view of language (Rindal, 2014).

2.1.3 Implications for teaching culture

The status of the English language in the world and Norway, also has implications on how the English should be taught. Dürmüller (2008) argues that even though the English subject has traditionally been associated with the culture and language of the inner circle countries, the focus should now be on international communication, where the participants can be of many different nationalities. The English subject in Norwegian schools was heavily influenced by the British Council for decades, which led to British English and the British culture being the main focus for most of the teaching materials (Simensen, 2010). Today, however, most learners of English in the expanding circle do not specifically have an interest in British or American society, but are learning the language for the purpose of using it as a lingua franca in a range of different situations. Consequently, the inner circle countries and their national cultures need not be the main focus when teaching English, instead the students should acquire knowledge about a wide range of cultures that are expressed through the English language. These include not only cultures associated with outer circle countries, but also with expanding circle countries (Dürmüller, 2008).

2.2 What is culture?

Defining what we mean by culture is not an easy task, as it is a concept which is used in many fields, and can take on different meanings depending on your perspective (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Hofstede (2001) defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category from another” (p. 9). It is the way in which our minds work, and it encompasses values, beliefs and shared history. The use of “collective” implies that culture is something that is shared rather than individual, and “programmed” that this is something that we acquire, rather than something that is a constant. According to

Meadows (2016), the following definition by Claire Kramersch is representative for the complex view most researchers in the field of language teaching have of culture today:

Culture is portable schemas of interpretation of actions and events that people have acquired through primary socialization and which change over time as people migrate or enter into contact with people who have been socialized differently (Kramersch, 2015, p. 409).

It seems that culture has to do with 1) the way in which we understand and interpret the world around us, 2) that it is something we learn through socialization, and 3) that it is something that belongs to different groups of people. Kramersch's (2015) definition also adds the perspective that people can belong to more than one group, and that these "schemas of interpretation", or the way in which our "minds are programmed", can change over time.

Ting-Toomey (1999) uses an iceberg metaphor to describe culture. The tip of the iceberg is all the visible aspects of culture, i.e. *cultural symbols*, such as fashion, music, art and foods. It also includes language, verbal and non-verbal behaviors. The much larger and hidden part is the underlying features, such as culturally shared traditions, values, beliefs and norms. *Culturally shared traditions* refer to myths, ceremonies or rituals that are passed on through generations (Ting-Toomey, 1999). The celebration of Thanksgiving in the USA, or the many different traditions connected to celebrating Christmas in different parts of the world are examples of this. *Culturally shared values* refer to what is considered important in the culture, and come with a set of priorities for what is considered good or bad, or fair and unfair (Ting-Toomey, 1999). *Culturally shared beliefs* refer to assumptions that are commonly held without question, and are often connected to the big questions in life, life and death, the afterlife, the supernatural, the origin of human beings, and time, space and reality. The answers to such questions are often found in the major religions in the world, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism (Ting-Toomey, 1999). *Culturally shared norms* refer to what is expected as appropriate behavior in a given situation, for example how you should greet people or how you should behave as a guest. These norms can to some extent be observed, unlike the beliefs or values, but in some situations we might not even be aware that there are norms to follow. Breaking the norm might create clashes, as we could violate what is considered to be the appropriate conduct (Ting-Toomey, 1999). The iceberg metaphor highlights that what makes a culture different from another might not be easy to observe as an outsider. In communication between people

with different cultures, conflicts can arise because of the underlying aspects of cultures, just like a ship colliding with the hidden parts of an iceberg. In other words, to understand a culture that is different from your own, it is necessary to go deeper than the “the tip of the iceberg”.

So far culture has been described as something that is the same to every person who belong to a culture. However, this is not necessarily the case. Ting-Toomey (1999) refers to the description that has been used so far as *normative culture*. The normative culture is the shared way of living, and similar shared beliefs, traditions, values and norms of a group of interacting individuals. However, on an individual level, people can place different degrees of importance of the different aspects of culture, which is referred to as *subjective culture* of an individual (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Consider for instance an individual who does not believe in the religion that is commonly shared by the other members of his cultural group. He might share traditions, norms and values with the normative culture, while his beliefs are different. Or we might consider people who have moved to a different country or grown up with parents who belong to a different culture than the one they are exposed to while growing up. Kramch’s (2015) definition takes this into consideration as well, by stating that it might “change over time as people migrate or enter into contact with people who have been socialized differently” (p. 409).

2.3 Culture in Language Teaching

When learning a new language, whether it is as a second or foreign language, this usually includes a cultural component (Byram, 2014; Kramsch, 2006; Risager, 2012). This has been the norm for language teaching for a long time, and most teachers will tell you that this is an important part of the subject (Byram, 2013). In the English subject curriculum, this is expressed both in the Purpose section, where it is stated that “the subject of English shall contribute to providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language” and by the fact that one of the main subject areas is called “Culture, society and literature”, which “focuses on cultural understanding in a broad sense” (NMER, 2006, 2013).

Although culture has been a part of language teaching for a long time, its position has changed over time. Lund (2014, p. 177) sums up the reasons for why culture has been and still is emphasized in language learning in four points. The first is related to the motivation of the learner, as learning about the country where the target language is used and its speakers might

be a motivating factor for the learners. The second point has to do with language learning and communicative abilities; cultural knowledge help the students communicate better and get references in the target language. The third point is developing the students' general knowledge, as learning about cultural topics in the English subject will contribute to the cognitive development and general knowledge level of the students. Finally, the last point is intercultural competence; gaining insight and knowledge about other cultures as well as our own will help communication with people from different cultural backgrounds (Lund, 2014). In the following sections, a few different perspectives of culture in language teaching will be presented.

2.3.1 Big-C or little-c culture?

Traditionally, the cultural aspect of language teaching was inherited from the classical languages and was a part of educating the students to become a member of an educated elite (Lund, 2012). The focus was on the arts, literature, history and important institution of the nation. This definition of culture has often been referred to as “big-C culture” or “high culture”, and then culture is seen as a humanistic concept (Kramersch, 2006; Sercu, 2002). This view has often been encouraged by national states, and it is also connected to the nation building processes that took place in the 19th century (Kramersch, 2006). We can see this perspective of culture can also help develop the students' general knowledge, and it might also be a motivating factor for some learners.

Teaching culture to help the students' language learning and communicative skills brought with it a shift of focus to seeing culture more as a sociolinguistic concept or perspective. This has often been referred to as “little-c culture”. (Kramersch, 2006; Sercu, 2002). The distinction between “big-C” and “little-c” culture started to become important in the 1960s, and the shift towards teaching “little-c” culture was meant to give the students insight into the everyday culture and lives of the speakers of a language (Meadows, 2016). This includes ways of behaving, customs, beliefs and values, all to prepare the students for situations of communication where they should adapt their behaviour accordingly. This perspective places a focus on the daily lives and practices of people within a cultural group, something which is often taken for granted (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). An example that has been widely used is the role of politeness in Britain. Kramersch (2006) states that this concept of culture has often lead to teaching of the stereotypical and the most “exotic to foreign eyes” aspects of a society or culture (p. 14). Alternatively, in foreign language teaching, the focus has often been

practical; on language and cultural information appropriate for tourists. This perspective might also have a clear motivational factor for many learners.

If we look at the English subject curriculum, we can see that both these perspectives can be found in the competence aims (Lund, 2014). In the aims students are to have achieved after finishing year 10, for instance, we can see that students should be able to both “discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialize in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway” and “explain features of history and geography in Great Britain and the USA” (NMER, 2006, 2013).

2.3.2 Post-modernist perspectives on culture

Both what have been referred to as “big-C” culture and “little-C” culture, assume a modernist perspective of culture (Kramersch, 2006). From this perspective, cultures are “clearly bounded by territorial, ethnic or ideological boundaries” which often assume homogenous national communities with shared history, traditions, institutions and ways of life (Kramersch, 2015, p. 405). During the 1990s this perspective was starting to get challenged, and many researchers saw the need to address these perspectives as promoting generalizations (Meadows, 2016). Atkinson (1999) attempted to revise the concepts of culture in order to meet this criticism, by emphasising the individual’s cultural identity. The complexity of cultural identities needs to be addressed when presenting foreign cultures and when preparing for how to communicate in the foreign language (Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Sercu, 2002).

Kramersch (2006, p. 16) states that culture seen from a post-modernist perspective is a “concept referring to discourse, identity and power”. This definition of culture is less concerned with geographical borders and more with individuals, and how they use language to express certain values and ideas to be a part of different groups and communities, and how we understand our identity and relationship with the world around us. Norton (1997) defines identity as “how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their relationship to the world” (p. 410). If we compare this definition with the earlier definition given from Kramersch (2015), which focuses on “schemas of interpretation” that change over time and through migration, they have a lot in common; however, the emphasis shifts from the collective to the individual. The focus on the

individual's cultural identity can help us avoid essentialism and stereotyping, but there are also some dangers, as Kramersch (2006, p. 19) puts it:

once a person has been stripped of her national culture and been made into a free-standing, rational, autonomous agent, the burden is on her to maintain her integrity and free will against the enormous pressure to conform to the will of the marketing industry, and the demands of the national political majority.

Atkinson (1999) points out that even the notion of individuality is cultural, and much more emphasised in Western cultures than in the rest of the world. So it seems that even though we should not teach culture as monolithic national cultures, we should still be aware that there are differences between cultural groups, and we can look at how individuals are a part of or relate to different cultural groups. This also means that minority cultures in society, whether we talk about ethnic or religious groups, sexuality and gender identity-based cultures or other groups, have a place in teaching, as well as the power relationships connected to these (Kramersch, 2006; Risager, 2007).

The post-modernist view of culture have not replaced the modernist view on language and culture, even though the modernist view does not correspond to the reality of our global world (Kramersch, 2015, p. 409). The monolithic views, such as the "big-C" or "little-c" cultures are still being reproduced in movies, television and novels, and in many teaching materials Kramersch (2015).

As mentioned earlier, the definitions of "big-C" and "little-c" culture are still prominent in the English subject curriculum, especially when we look at the competence aims. However, there are few clear references to post-modernist perspectives on culture in the subject curriculum. The purpose section states that "Learning about the English-speaking world and the increasing use of English in different international contexts will provide a good basis for understanding the world around us" (KD, 2006, 2013), but does not explicitly mention multiculturalism or multicultural identities. Rindal (2014) also points out that although the curriculum acknowledges the widespread use of English as a language of communication in the world and Norway, it does not discuss Norwegians as users of English.

The curriculum has a few competence aims that are somewhat more specific than some of the more open-ended ones, which might encourage the discussion of power relations. After completing lower secondary school, the students are to be able to “demonstrate the ability to distinguish positively and negatively loaded expressions referring to individuals and groups”, and “describe and reflect on the situation of indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries” (NMER, 2006, 2013). These competence aims ensure that ethnic and cultural minorities will have a place in the English teaching, thus avoiding only including the majority cultures of a country. Another competence aim, “discuss and elaborate on the growth of English as a universal language” could include discussing the power relationship that has come with imperialism, but could also be interpreted as a solely historical elaboration.

2.3.3 Intercultural competence

The last reason for emphasizing the cultural aspect of language learning, as mentioned by Lund (2014), is the development of the students’ intercultural competence. During the 1990s the term intercultural competence gained traction, and has continued to be an influential perspective for curricula and teaching materials up until today (Meadows, 2016). Intercultural competence focuses on the *intercultural speaker*, and how we can communicate with people with different cultural backgrounds than our own (Byram, 2014; Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014; Lund, 2012). The goal of intercultural communication should be that the speakers can negotiate shared meaning, including being mindful about how culture affects both ourselves and the other speaker (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Intercultural competence is a set of attitudes, knowledge and skills that should equip students to deal with these complicated situations of communication (Deardorff, 2011; Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014). Byram (2013) distinguishes between *cultural competence* and *intercultural competence*. While cultural competence is focused on one or more national cultures, intercultural competence is defined as “a matter of constant awareness of the mutual relationship between people of another language and country and ourselves as speakers of our own language and inhabitants of our country” (Byram, 2013, p. 36).

The theories around intercultural competence and its importance for effective communication were influential in making the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), which in turn was very influential for the Norwegian curriculum (Fenner, 2012). “*Byram’s Five Savoirs*” were developed in 1997, and describes the different elements of intercultural competence:

	Skills Interpret and relate <i>(savoir comprendre)</i>	
Knowledge Of self and other; Of interaction Individual and societal <i>(savoirs)</i>	Education Political education Critical cultural awareness <i>(savoir s'engager)</i>	Attitudes Relativizing self Valuing other <i>(savoir être)</i>
	Skills Discover and/or interact <i>(savoir apprendre/faire)</i>	

Figure 2B. Byram's model of five components of intercultural communicative competence, from Byram (1997, p. 34).

Attitudes are essential and form the foundation for further development of the student's intercultural competence (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002; Deardorff, 2011). To relativize yourself and value the other, he argues that we need respect for other cultures and cultural diversity, openness, curiosity and discovery. The students need to have a real motivation for learning and understanding people that are different from themselves (Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014). Attitudes are also useful for when the students will use the target language with people from different cultural backgrounds (Lund, 2012). Deardorff (2011) states that teaching methods that challenge assumptions are good for developing the requisite attitudes. This can be done through challenging stereotypes, or by using real people from foreign cultures as a basis for understanding (Lund, 2012). These approaches can also help highlight the complexity and diversity of culture.

Knowledge refers to several different things. The knowledge we need is not just *culture specific* knowledge about a specific national culture, we also need *culture general* knowledge about concepts that are important for understanding how communication between people with different backgrounds can be influenced, such as ethnocentrism, stereotypes and values (Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014; Lund, 2014). Cultural self-awareness has to do with understanding how our culture affects our identity, and what values and beliefs we hold.

Having a deep understanding and knowledge of culture has to do with understanding what culture entails, and being aware of the similarities and differences, the diversity, verbal and non-verbal communication (Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014). Culture-specific knowledge is also needed, both about other cultures and our own. In addition, Risager (2007) states that knowledge about issues in modern society should also be included, as intercultural competence also implies being a citizen of the world and being responsible when it comes to global challenges. Arguably, this is also a part of seeing the world from someone else's perspective (Deardorff, 2011).

In addition to attitudes and knowledge, the intercultural speaker also needs a set of skills. Byram et al. (2002, p. 8) point out a reason why this is an important both for learners and teachers:

No teacher can have or anticipate all the knowledge which learners might at some point need. Indeed many teachers have not had the opportunity themselves to experience all or any of the cultures which their learners might encounter, but this is not crucial. The teacher's task is to develop attitudes and skills as much as knowledge, and teachers can acquire information about other countries together with learners; they do not need to be the sole or major source of information.

From Byram's (1997) model, we can see that *skills* refer to two different elements of intercultural competence. Firstly, it refers to the skills of interpretation and relation. Deardorff (2011) argues that this also include observation, listening, comparison, evaluation and analysis. Looking at documents, ideas or events from different perspectives helps learners see how misunderstandings can arise from not knowing the cultural and/or social identity of the speaker or writer (Byram et al., 2002). The skills of discovery and interaction are important for acquiring new knowledge and integrating it with what they already know (Byram et al., 2002; Deardorff, 2011). These skills also connect learning about culture to becoming an autonomous learner, which implies that the students should be able to continue developing and taking part in society as global citizens (Fenner, 2005).

In the middle of Byram's (1997) model, we find *critical cultural awareness*. This is defined as "an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives and products

in one's own and other cultures and countries" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 9). To accomplish this, we need to develop the attitudes, knowledge and skills as previously mentioned.

In the English subject curriculum (LK06), intercultural competence is not explicitly mentioned, but in the purpose section, it is clear that the curriculum has been influenced by it. Here we can read that the students need English for "international communication" and how they need "to have knowledge of how it is used in different contexts", and that "when using the language for communication we must also be able to take cultural norms and conventions into consideration". The English subject is also supposed to promote "greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" and "promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship" (NMER, 2006, 2013). In these quotes from the curriculum, it is evident that both what we are supposed to learn in the English subject and why it is an important part of the subject, is influenced by the CEFR and intercultural competence.

2.3.4 Promoting the intercultural dimension in the language classroom

Deardorff (2011) emphasises that for students to develop their intercultural competence, it should be addressed and worked with in the foreign language classroom. Byram et al. (2002, p. 9) state that the role of the language teacher is "to develop skills, attitudes and awareness of values just as much as to develop a knowledge of a particular culture or country". However, in a classroom setting the most practical approach is to use the teaching of a particular culture or country to develop these skills, attitudes and awareness (Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014).

In order to promote the intercultural dimension in the classroom, Byram et al. (2002) suggest using authentic materials in the teaching, which can be defined as "a stretch of real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort" (Gilmore, 2007, p. 98). In contrast, non-authentic materials are designed for pedagogical purposes (Azri & Al-Rashdi, 2014). When using authentic materials, they should be presented in context, as well as the intention of the text. In other words, the students should have access to information about where and when the materials were published, the intended audience and relevant external events that might have influenced the production (Byram et al., 2002).

Further, Byram et al. (2002) suggest that these materials should be approached critically. This means that the activities should challenge the students to analyze the materials, and involve understanding, discussing and writing in the target language. It is recommended to involve several sources, so that the students are exposed to contrasting views (Byram et al., 2002). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which “studies the way text and talk may reproduce or resist racism, abuse of social power, dominance and inequality” (Byram et al., 2002, p. 21) can give some guidelines for how to approach materials, by looking what type of vocabulary is used about certain groups of people, or what implications or presuppositions are found in the text. Using principles from CDA includes a focus on skills just as much as the knowledge that the materials can provide. When using non-authentic materials, these principles should also be applied, although it is recommended to use additional materials as well (Byram et al., 2002).

Lund (2014) emphasizes the importance of approaching cultural topics with nuance, to avoid simplifications and stereotyping. This might also be a reason to try to include several materials with different points of views in the teaching. Challenging stereotypes and suggest differing points of views is an important part of the development of intercultural competence (Byram et al., 2002). Using personal accounts to explore a cultural topic, could also lead to a better understanding than just factual texts (Lund, 2014). This could be literary texts that deal with individual experiences, or using sources such as videos or interviews with real people. Fictional literary texts can also be used to convey and start discussions on cultural topics in the classroom (Myklevold, 2014). Again, these materials should be approached critically, with a focus on interpretation and analysis (Byram et al., 2002).

2.4 Prior research

To the best of my knowledge, there have been no previous studies of the teaching of culture in the English subject that use video data in the Norwegian educational context. However, there has been studies on textbook presentations of culture in the English subject (Brown, 2016; Jørgensen, 2011; Lund, 2007; Murray, 2015), and also about English teachers’ practices and attitudes (Álvarez & Bonilla, 2009; Andreassen, 2014; Bandura & Sercu, 2005; Bayyurt, 2006; Gómez, 2015; Yeşil & Demiröz, 2017). The following section provides an overview of some of the studies that are relevant as a backdrop for present MA thesis.

2.4.1 Textbook presentation of culture in English

In her PhD thesis, Ragnhild Lund (2007) did an extensive study of textbooks in the English subject, and found amongst other things that the textbooks largely favoured the UK and the US. She also found that a number of cultural groups were only mentioned in one text, which made the depiction of these cultures one-sided and over-simplified. In addition, she found that when the textbooks mentioned cultural encounters, they most often did not involve Norwegians, giving the impression that this is not something that concerns Norwegians or Norwegian society (Lund, 2007). It should be noted that Lund's (2007) study covered the former national curriculum (L97), and that in the following decade many new textbooks have been written to meet the needs of the current national curriculum (LK06).

In a more recent MA study, Jørgensen (2011) investigated how texts in the textbook series *New Flight* for lower secondary school presented cultural aspects. She found that 42% of the texts were *traditional culture teaching*, meaning that the text and tasks were mostly concerned with facts. However, the remaining 58% of the texts could be said to promote intercultural awareness, as 31% was categorized as *intercultural communicative competence*, which meant a focus on comparison between cultures, and 27% as "*the place of struggle*", where the texts focus on issues that affect the emotions of the learner. This study did not look at how often different cultural groups were mentioned, and it only looked at one series of textbooks, so it is not comparable to Lund's (2007) more comprehensive study.

In another MA study of English textbooks used in lower secondary school, Brown (2016) found that the depiction of indigenous people were often based on stereotypes. They were also much more likely to be depicted far away from the camera, and in a lower position of power, by being photographed from a high angle than other people presented in the textbooks. Brown (2016) argues that these images reinforce ideas of white Western people as a "default" group, with other peoples in an inferior position. In a different MA study, Murray (2015) also found that the texts on immigration in *Access to English: Social Studies* (used in upper secondary schools for the elective Social Studies English) presented ethnic minorities in a mostly negative light, they were portrayed only in relation to the dominant white culture, and they lacked their own voice in the textbook.

As this review of textbooks studies show, how culture is presented in textbooks that have been used and are being used in the teaching of English varies, and might well portray minority groups in a simplistic or stereotypical way (Brown, 2016; Jørgensen, 2011; Lund, 2007; Murray, 2015). This suggests that teachers need knowledge about the cultural dimension of language learning to be critical toward the textbooks they are using. Therefore the next section will focus on studies done on the teachers' perspective and attitudes to teaching culture.

2.4.2 Teachers' perspectives and attitudes to teaching culture

Internationally, there have been several studies on how teachers understand the role of culture when teaching English. Álvarez and Bonilla (2009) found that teachers in Colombia struggled with the concepts of intercultural competence and post-modernist perspectives of culture, which resulted in teaching of culture as something static, and a focus on fact-based teaching. In another study from Colombia, Gómez (2015) found that pre-service teachers were presented with mostly surface elements of culture in their teacher training, and that they lacked an understanding of intercultural competence and the relationship between language and culture.

In a study conducted in Turkey, Bayyurt (2006) found that the interviewed teachers did see the connection between language and culture; however, the teachers varied when it came to how they incorporated culture into their teaching, and what cultures should be represented. Yeşil and Demiröz (2017) also studied Turkish teachers of English, and found that the teachers wanted to help learners develop tolerance towards other cultures, and included culture elements in their teaching. However, some also mentioned difficulties related to the broad and general term "culture", and that some teacher might not have sufficient knowledge about cultural elements to include it in their teaching.

In an extensive study surveying teachers from several countries, Bandura and Sercu (2005) investigated how the teachers approached teaching culture in the classroom. They found that traditional teacher-centred approaches were dominating, while skills making the students autonomous were less frequent. The findings also showed that teachers focused presenting their own knowledge and views, rather than encourage students to look for and analyse information independently (Bandura & Sercu, 2005). Another aspect of their study concerned the time the teachers devoted to different cultural topics. They found that topics considered little-c culture, like "daily life and routines, living conditions, food and drink etc" (Bandura & Sercu, 2005, p.

85) were taught extensively amongst the respondents, while topics considered big-C culture, such as history, literature and arts were taught somewhat less frequently. The least prominent topics, were topics related to international relations with the students' own country, and topics related to different ethnic and social groups (Bandera & Sercu, 2005).

In the Norwegian context, Andreassen (2014) did an MA study on English teachers' understanding of English as a *Bildung* Subject. The concept of *Bildung* is closely related to that of intercultural communicative competence (Fenner, 2012). Andreassen (2014) found that the teachers saw the cultural aspect of the English subject as one of the most important parts of English as a *Bildung* subject, as well as the use of literature, both to get students personally involved and by presenting them with diverse voices. However, she also found that the teachers were not very aware of the *Bildung* potential of the English subject when planning their lessons and teaching – they just expected this to happen (Andreassen, 2014).

This review of prior research related to the cultural aspect of teaching culture in the English school subject focus on teaching materials and teachers' views and self-reporting on such teaching; pointing to a need for research on what goes on in the English classrooms in Norway. Generally, there is a lack of knowledge when it comes to knowledge about what happens in the classroom (Aasen et al., 2012) and a need to gather more information on this systematically (Klette, 2013). This is the basis on which I decided to carry out the present MA study, in an attempt to contribute to this research gap. My study focuses on the teaching of culture in two year 9 classrooms, and looks at this in terms what, why and how they teach culture.

3 Methodology

This chapter will present and describe the methods used to examine my main research question: *What characterises the teaching of culture in English in two lower secondary classrooms?* In the following sections I will first describe the research design I have chosen for this MA study (3.1), then I will present the participants (3.2). Further, I will account for how the data was collected (3.3) and analysed (3.4). Finally, I will discuss the credibility of this MA study (3.5).

3.1 Research Design

To examine my research question, I chose a qualitative research design in two phases. Qualitative research is characterised by “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). As my research questions are about how teachers approach culture in the English classroom, I found that qualitative research design suited my MA study well. My data sources comprise both individual interviews with the English teachers, and video observations of their teaching in Year 9. Parts of my research design will have numerical data (codes for the video materials, see 3.4.3), however Twining, Heller, Nussbaum, and Tsai (2016) point out that numerical data are also a natural part of qualitative research, when it is viewed the same way as non-numerical data, as “symbolic representation, which needs to be interpreted” (p. 2).

Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011) argue for using both interviews and observation, as a way of gathering two different types of data about the same phenomenon. Therefore, being interested in what happens in the classroom, I considered it an obvious choice to use observation as my main source of data. In 2016, when preparing the work with my MA thesis, I therefore accepted the invitation to join the LISE project and use the video data collected by the LISE team as a part of my research. The main source of data has been from Year 9 English classrooms, with additional interviews with the teachers in these classrooms. This approach allowed me to examine my research question from different points of view to gain a more nuanced understanding of teaching culture in the English subject in lower secondary school. Figure 3A shows the two phases of my research design and the two different sources of data that I used.

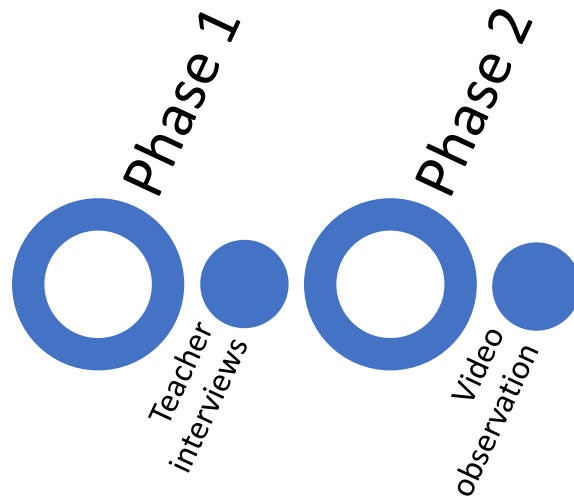


Figure 3A. Research design in two phases.

Phase 1

Aiming to capture the teachers' perspectives on teaching culture in the English subject, my main supervisor, Lisbeth M Brevik, provided contact with the English teachers at two of the LISE schools, where relevant instruction concerning culture in the English subject had been filmed. I first used these teachers as informants for a pilot for the present study, as part of my MA-programme, before I accessed the video material. This means that I had not observed the teachers' classroom teaching when I conducted the interviews. This was a deliberate choice to be open to their explanations and to consider their views before observing the English lessons in question.

Phase 2

To investigate how the teachers approached culture in their teaching, I then observed the filmed English lessons from the two teachers' classrooms. The videos were analysed in two steps. First, I analysed them thematically to identify sequences where they taught culture, and then I used the coding manual *Protocol for Language Arts Teaching Observation* (PLATO 5.0) to analyse the video material in depth (see 3.4.3). Although PLATO was used as an observation protocol in the LISE study, I was free to decide whether or not to use it in my MA study. The reason why I chose to use it, was on the basis that it captured relevant aspects of teaching culture and society in the English classrooms.

Table 3A offers a brief overview of my research design, with research questions, participants and data collection and analysis.

Table 3A. Overview of my research design.

Methods	Interviews	Video observation	
Participants	Two teachers	The two teachers and the students in their English classes	
Data collection	Two semi-structured interviews, one with each teacher (conducted by me).	Video recordings from two classrooms (recorded by the LISE research team)	
Analytical Concepts	<u>Analytical concepts (thematic analysis):</u> 1. How they chose what to teach 2. Why they teach culture and what they believe students could use the competence for 3. How the teachers approach teaching culture	<u>Analytical concepts (thematic analysis):</u> 1. Geographical area 2. Concept of culture 3. Materials 4. Personal, factual or fictional texts	<u>Aspects of teaching (PLATO analysis):</u> 1. Purpose (PUR) 2. Connections to prior knowledge (CPK) 3. Representation of content (ROC), including Conceptual explanations and Conceptual richness 6. Classroom discourse (CD), including Uptake of student responses and Opportunities to talk 7. Intellectual challenge (IC) 8. Text-based instruction (TBI), including Use of text and Production of text

Detailed descriptions of the participants, data collection, data analysis and the analytical concepts used, will be given in the sections below.

3.2 Participants

As the aim of my study was to investigate a specific kind of instruction in the English classroom (i.e., culture), the participants were selected on the basis of what Maxwell (2013) calls *purpose selection* or *purposive sampling*: “particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately to provide information that is particularly relevant to your questions and goals” (p. 97). As mentioned, the two teachers and their students were chosen as participants for this study because my supervisor had informed me that the filmed lessons included the teaching of culture. The two participating schools are located in two different counties in Eastern Norway. In Table 3B, I present information about the teachers and their academic background. This information was collected by the LISE team as a part of the data collection procedures.

Table 3B: The Participants

Pseudonyms	School no	Age	Years as an English teacher	Education in English
Simon	S07	20-29	6	61-90 stp
John	S50	40-49	18	31-60 stp

Note: S07 = school no. 7 in the LISE study. S50 = school no 50 in the LISE study. stp = study points (ECTS).

Both the teachers and the students were previously unknown to me, and I also had little to no previous knowledge about the schools before starting the work with this MA thesis. Both the students and the teachers have been anonymised, which included giving the teachers pseudonyms.

3.3 Data collection

Data collection refers to the methods used to collect the data material for the study (Maxwell, 2013). Being invited to join the LISE project, I was fortunate enough to have access to both the teachers and the video recordings from the two schools in question. I collected primary data myself, by interviewing the two teachers. As mentioned, I conducted the interviews before watching the videotaped lessons. The video recordings of the lessons are considered secondary data (Dalland, 2011). Table 3C presents the two schools selected, with relevant information about the lessons and the students.

Table 3C. Data Collection.

School	Teacher interviews (primary data)	Video Observation (secondary data)	
		Lessons filmed	Lessons with culture-related teaching
S07	10 min	4 consecutive lessons	4 (all four filmed lessons), each lasting for 70 minutes
S50	10 min	4 consecutive lessons	2 (filmed lessons 3 and 4), each lasting for 45 minutes

Note: S07 = school no. 7 in the LISE study. S50 = school no 50 in the LISE study.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

The first data I collected, were the two teacher interviews, one for each of the participating teachers. Conducting semi-structured interviews is a method well suited for investigating

opinions, attitudes or experiences amongst the participants, and they allow for some flexibility based on the informants' answers (Creswell, 2014; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Both interviews were conducted face-to-face, at each teacher's respective school. The interviews were held in Norwegian, for the participants' ease. They each lasted for approximately 10 minutes, they were audio recorded and later transcribed by myself.

When conducting these interviews for research purposes, I found it important to have a thought-out plan, which I did by making an interview guide. The interview guide was mostly based on relevant aspects of the English subject curriculum (NMER, 2006, 2013). The teachers were asked three thematic questions, all concerning their teaching towards meeting the competency aims in the main subject area *Culture, society and literature* in general, and specifically the competence aim, "to enable pupils to discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialize in Great Britain, USA and other English speaking countries and Norway" (NMER, 2006, 2013). First, they were asked how they chose what to teach. Second, the teachers were asked about their views on culture as a part of the English subject, why they teach culture and how they think the students benefit from it. Finally, they were asked how they about their approach to teaching culture. In addition to planning the interviews, I piloted the interview guide on a fellow student before I conducted the interviews. This person was also an English teacher, which offered an opportunity to get some insight into how the questions worked. Although the semi-structured interviews were well planned, I was also open for unplanned questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). The full interview guide can be found in Appendix A, translated into English by myself.

3.3.2 Video data

Although the video data represented secondary data, these were the main data source in my MA study. Using video data has many benefits when it comes to researching classrooms, as it makes it possible to analyse complex activities in detail (Blikstad-Balas & Sørvik, 2014). For my study, I used four consecutive English lessons in Year 9 at each of the two schools.

The videos were filmed using the LISE methodology, which includes two cameras and two microphones in each classroom (Klette, Blikstad-Balas, & Roe, 2017). One camera is positioned in the back, and captures the teacher and the front of the classrooms, while the other camera is positioned at the front of the classroom and captures the students. One of the microphones is on the teacher, while the other one is positioned in the middle of the classroom,

and captures sound from the students. There will always be limitations to a video study, as the camera will not be able to capture everything that happens in a classroom (Blikstad-Balas, 2016). This is also the case for the LISE methodology. However, I consider the advantage of being able to re-watch and transcribe greater than the disadvantage of a potential lack of detail (Blikstad-Balas, 2016). The sound of the recordings also varies in quality depending on who is speaking. Due to the teachers having a separate microphone, it is easy to make out what they are saying, while the students' microphone takes in a certain amount of background noise as well, which makes it somewhat more difficult to hear all their utterances. However, listening to and transcribing the lessons, I have used the utterances that I could hear. This included most of the student utterances from the whole-class discourses, while most of the utterances from students talking to each other in pairs or smaller groups were unclear and therefore not included in this study.

3.3.3 Use of Secondary Data

The largest part of the data material (video recordings) is the use of secondary data, which means that I reuse data that was collected by others (Dalland, 2011), in this case by the LISE team. This might be regarded a problem in qualitative research, as the importance of knowing the participants, the context and the research sites is often highlighted (Maxwell, 2013). Since I was not present for the recording of the video material, I was not able to get the full image of what the research site was like, nor was I able to meet all the participants personally. However, because of the interviews I conducted, I was able to meet the participating teachers at the schools in question, although this was on a separate occasion and in a different setting.

Even though the material is on video, there is a lot of information about the context that is not available, which might limit the way they can be reused (Dalland, 2011). My part was one of a complete covert observer, as I was detached from the setting, where the first observation and video recording was done, and only had access to the material later (Cohen et al., 2011). This also meant that I had no way of influencing the methods used to collect the data. However, Dalland (2011) argues that reusing qualitative data is not about reconstructing the original situation, but to construct data from the already existing material.

In my case, getting the opportunity to join the LISE study, gave me access to data that I probably would not have been able to collect by myself. Dalland (2011) argues that this is a

positive aspect of reusing qualitative data that might outweigh the negatives of not being present for the collection of data and the planning process. Moreover, I have information about the collection of data and a rich source of data that fits my research questions.

3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis should help the researcher going from description of the data, to a systematic presentation of patterns and meaning (Twining et al., 2016), based on the theoretical framing (see Chapter 2). For this MA study, I have used two approaches to analyse my data. The qualitative analysis of the interviews and the video data were somewhat deductive and somewhat inductive, where some categories were pre-existing, based on theory, and some categories emerged from the data. The quantification of the video data was a deductive approach, where I used the pre-existing coding manual (PLATO 5.0), which meant the watching was systematic and deductive (Cohen et al., 2011). The data analysis for this study was done in four procedural steps, beginning with the teacher interviews (step 1), then two steps of video analysis (steps 2-3), and ending with an integration of the two data sources (step 4). See Figure 3B for an overview.

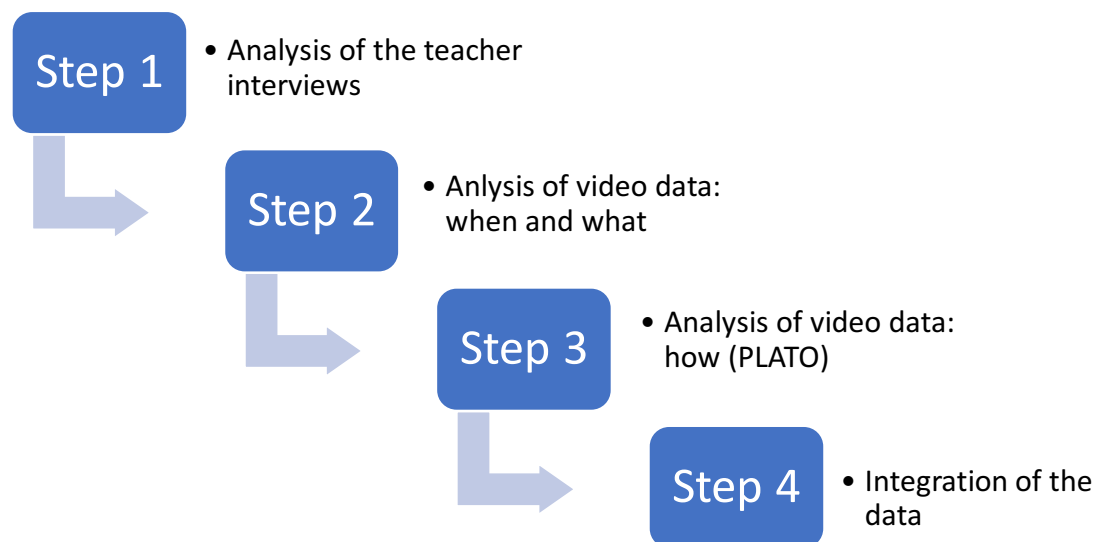


Figure 3B. Steps of data analysis.

3.4.1 Step 1

The first step of my analyses was looking at the teacher interviews. To analyse these, I listened through the interviews first, then I transcribed them in their entirety, before listening through them again to ensure that I had captured everything that was being said. As shown in Table

3A, I analysed the interviews thematically with a focus on (1), choice of topics and materials for teaching culture, (2) why the teach culture and what they believed the students could use this competence for, and (3) how the they approach teaching culture in the English subject. The transcriptions of the interviews allowed me to revisit them later, after having watched and analysed the video material.

3.4.2 Step 2

Step 2 consisted of watching the video recordings and identifying the parts that were relevant for my research questions. As my study is limited to the teaching of culture, which I have defined as all teaching towards the competency aims under *Culture, society and literature* in the English subject curriculum (NMER, 2013), and because the curriculum itself does not offer a strict definition of what culture means, I chose to use a broad definition, including the description of the subject area in the English subject curriculum (NMER, 2013) and the many definitions of culture commonly used in relation to culture in language teaching. This means that all lessons where the goal was explicitly or implicitly to learn about culture, society, history or geography was defined as relevant for my MA study. As shown in Table 3C, I identified that all four lessons at S07 concerned culture teaching, and two of the lessons at S50. I then watched a second time these six lessons, and transcribed the segments of the lessons that I identified to be relevant. Finally, I analysed the video data thematically, using the qualitative categories from the theoretical framework for my MA study, as shown in Tables 3A and 3D.

Table 3D. Analytical concepts used to categorize the video recorded lessons.

1. Geographical area	2. Concept of culture	3. Materials	4. Factual or personal
a) inner-circle	a) Big-C culture	a) authentic materials	a) factual texts
b) outer-circle	b) Little-c culture	b) non-authentic materials	b) personal accounts
c) expanding-circle	c) Post-modernist perspectives		c) fictional texts

The categories in Table 3D was based on relevant theory (see ch.2), and was used to categorize the teaching in terms of topics and materials used in the filmed lessons.

Geographical area

Even though Kachru's (1985) model for the spread of English is seen as outdated by many, including Kachru himself, these categories were applied to see if these distinctions were important for the choice of topics in the teaching of culture in the observed classrooms. It represents a nation view of language and culture, which is prevalent in many documents and practices when it comes to the teaching of English (Rindal, 2014). This is certainly seen in the English subject curriculum (LK06), where "English-speaking countries" are mentioned with regards to teaching culture (NMER, 2006, 2013). However, Dürmüller (2008) argue that the teaching of English should include knowledge about a wide range of cultures, from all three circles in Kachru's (1985) model.

Concept of culture

This concept is based on the distinctions between big-C culture (culture seen as a humanistic concept), little-c culture (culture seen as a socio-linguistic concept), and culture as a post-modernist perspective (Kramersch, 2006). Lund (2014) states that we can find references to all these perspectives in the English subject curriculum (NMER, 2006, 2013), especially big-C and little-c culture are prominent as expressed in the competence aims.

Materials

An authentic text can be defined as "a stretch of real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort" (Gilmore, 2007, p. 98). In contrast, non-authentic texts are designed for pedagogical purposes (Azri & Al-Rashdi, 2014). In this MA thesis, I will use these definitions, as they are in accordance with the PLATO 5.0 definitions. The use of authentic materials is recommended for developing intercultural competence, and should be presented in their context (Byram et al., 2002).

Factual texts, personal accounts and fictional texts

In the teaching of culture, there is good reason to use personal accounts instead of, or in addition to factual texts, as these will help the students develop a better understanding (Lund, 2014). Personal accounts could be different types of literary texts, or other audiovisual materials with a person talking about their own experience. In addition, fictional texts are often used to convey cultural content (Myklevold, 2014).

3.4.3 Step 3

In step 3, I used the PLATO coding manual, to analyse in depth the segments that I had identified in step 2. PLATO is an observation protocol, designed to capture English language arts instruction (Grossman et al., 2010). The PLATO manual consists of 12 elements of quality instruction. I identified six of these as relevant for my MA thesis.

To use the PLATO coding in my MA study was not an obvious choice, as it is made for capturing English Language Arts instruction in general, with no specific focus on culture in language teaching (Grossman et al., 2010). However, the elements I have chosen, either a) captures something that is essential when it comes to teaching culture, according to this MA thesis' theoretical framing, or b) was a way of investigating what methods of teaching were used. In addition, using the PLATO coding helped me identify patterns and tendencies in the video data. Another benefit of using an existing coding manual is that the scores I use in my research are validated by other researchers, which in turn help strengthen the validity of my results (Blikstad-Balas, 2016). The PLATO manual is based on already existing research on what is effective instruction, and the work that has been put into the manual is more than I could ever hope to do on my own for a project like an MA thesis.

Since PLATO captures more elements of instruction than those relevant for the teaching of culture and society, I identified the relevant elements. The elements I chose to look at for my MA study were the following: Purpose (PUR), Connections to Prior Knowledge (CPK), Representation of Content (ROC), Classroom Discourse (CD), Intellectual Challenge (IC), and Text-Based Instruction (TBI). These elements are scored on a scale from 1-4 to identify their prominence in the teaching of culture. A low score (1-2) signifies that there is little to no evidence of the aspects in the observed segment, whereas a high score (3-4) signifies that the observed segment provides strong and consistent evidence. An overview of the six elements and how they are scored is given in Table 3E below.

Table 3E: Overview of the six PLATO elements used in my MA study to characterize teaching of culture in the English subject (PLATO 5.0).

	1 Provides almost no evidence	2 Provides limited evidence	3 Provides evidence with some weakness	4 Provides consistent strong evidence
Purpose (PUR)	No clear learning goal or unrelated to disciplinary skills.	Communicated or inferred learning goal, as a general disciplinary topic.	Communicated, specific goal related to development of disciplinary skills. Activities align with goal.	Communicated, specific goal related to development of disciplinary skills. Activities align with goal. Evidence of student awareness. Teacher refers back to goal
Connections to Prior Knowledge (CPK)	No references to prior knowledge	Brief references to prior knowledge, not clearly connected to new material	Multiple references to prior knowledge, connected to the new material	Multiple and explicit references to prior knowledge, clearly connected to the new material
Representation of Content (ROC)	<i>Instructional explanations:</i> Weak/incorrect explanations of disciplinary concepts <i>No conceptual richness</i>	<i>Instructional explanations:</i> Incomplete explanations touch on surface-level features of subject content. <i>Conceptual richness:</i> Superficial representation, focusing on rules, labels, procedures. Little attention to deeper understanding	<i>Instructional explanations:</i> Accurate but unnuanced explanation of disciplinary concepts. May address student misunderstandings <i>Conceptual richness:</i> Balance of rules and procedures. Attention to deeper understanding	<i>Instructional explanations:</i> Accurate/clear explanations, addressing student misunderstandings and highlighting nuances. <i>Conceptual richness:</i> Conceptual understanding of content beyond the superficial to focus on interpretation or deeper understanding
Classroom Discourse (CD)	<i>Uptake of student responses:</i> Few or no response to students' ideas <i>Opportunities for student talk:</i> Few or no opportunities for student talk	<i>Uptake of student responses:</i> Brief responses with no elaborative discussion or help to develop <i>Opportunities for student talk:</i> Occasional opportunities for student talk	<i>Uptake of student responses:</i> Teacher/students occasionally build on student ideas (re-voices in academic language, asks for elaboration) <i>Opportunities for student talk:</i> At least 5 minutes of student talk	<i>Uptake of student responses:</i> Teacher/students consistently elaborate or re-voice student ideas <i>Opportunities for student talk:</i> At least 5 minutes of student talk where

				majority are active participants
Text-Based Instruction (TBI)	<i>Use of text:</i> No authentic text present <i>Production of text:</i> No production of text	<i>Use of text:</i> Refers to details in authentic text <i>Production of text:</i> Brief pieces of connected text (at least 3 min)	<i>Use of text:</i> Active use of authentic text to gain understanding <i>Production of text:</i> Sustained opportunities in a specific genre or structure (at least 7 min)	<i>Use of text:</i> Active use of authentic text for sustained period of time (at least 7 min) <i>Production of text:</i> Sustained opportunities with attention to issues of writing, style, or genre (at least 7 min)
Intellectual Challenge (IC)	Activities are rote or recall	Mostly rote or recall, some analysis/inference.	Mostly analysis/inference/idea generation/interpretation	Mostly sophisticated or high-level analytic and inferential thinking

The analysis of the video data was done in 15-minute cycles, of first observing and then coding each 15-minute segment of the English lessons separately. Since I am not a certified PLATO-coder, I was not able to do the coding myself, however, the entire LISE material has been coded by at least one certified PLATO coder, and given me access to the codes for the six English lessons in question.

The six elements I chose to use for my analysis, helped me look at how culture was taught in the filmed English lessons. In the following sections, each element is presented with an explanation for why it was included in this MA study.

Purpose

Purpose (PUR) considers if the teacher presents a learning goal for the lesson, and takes into consideration both intended and situated learning goal. In addition to identifying if and how the teachers present a learning goal in their teaching of culture, I will look at these goals in light of the four main justifications for teaching culture as presented by Lund (2014).

Connections to Prior Knowledge

Connections to Prior Knowledge (CPK) captures to what extent the teacher connects the content of the English lessons to the students' prior academic knowledge. By explicitly connecting the new content to the students' previous knowledge, the teacher can help the students integrate their new knowledge with what they already know, which is regarded as important for the skills of discovery and interaction in intercultural competence (Byram et al., 2002).

Representation of Content

Representation of Content (ROC) captures two aspects of the teachers' explanations. *Quality of Instructional Explanations* (ROC1) considers how clear and accurate the teacher's examples and explanations are. This aspect also takes into consideration how nuanced the explanations are, and whether or not misunderstandings are addressed. An accurate and nuanced approach to culture is important to avoid stereotypic views and essentialism in the culture teaching (Lund, 2014). *Conceptual Richness* (ROC2) captures to what extent the teacher focuses on deeper conceptual understanding. Focusing on understanding the cultural concepts that are brought up, can help the students acquire culture general understanding in addition to culture specific knowledge (Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014; Lund, 2014).

Classroom Discourse

Classroom Discourse (CD) captures both the quantity and the quality of the student talk. *Uptake of Student Responses* (CD1) captures to what extent the teacher and students follow up and elaborate on ideas previously expressed by a student. *Opportunities for Student Talk* (CD2) captures how much time there is for the students to engage in talk in the English lessons, and what format this talk takes. For my MA study, this relates to culture-related talk only. Discussion and participation is regarded as an important part of learning about culture (Byram et al., 2002).

Text-Based Instruction

Text-Based Instruction was used to identify and characterize segments of instruction where the students work with cultural themes in texts. The element captures reading and writing of text separately. *Use of Authentic Texts in Instruction* (TBI1) captures if and how the students use texts in the lessons (reading). *Production of Texts* (TBI2) captures if and how the students produce their own texts in the lessons (writing). The texts will also be characterized according

to the criteria presented in Step 2, i.e. factual texts, personal accounts and fictional texts (Azri & Al-Rashdi, 2014; Byram et al., 2002; Gilmore, 2007; Lund, 2014; Myklevold, 2014).

Intellectual Challenge

Intellectual challenge (IC) focuses on how intellectually challenging the activities the students engage in during the teaching are. For my MA study, this relates to culture-related tasks and activities only. This element captures whether the activities demand analytic or inferential thinking, interpretation or idea generation from the students. Being able to analyse and interpret is regarded as an important skill for the intercultural speaker (Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2002; Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014).

3.4.4 Step 4

The fourth step was to integrate the data that I had found in the first three steps. As is typical of qualitative research, the data collection, data analysis and research questions will all affect each other (Maxwell, 2013). This meant that step 4 also consisted of going back and readjusting some of the analytical concepts I had used in steps 1-3, as new topics of interest emerged during the steps of analysis.

3.5 Research Credibility

This section will discuss the credibility of my MA study, by looking at validity and reliability. I will also comment on ethical considerations.

3.5.1 Validity

According to Maxwell (2013), the term validity refers to “the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account” (p. 122). When it comes to qualitative methods, Maxwell (2013) argues that we need to identify the validity threats and find ways to rule them out, rather than attempt to eliminate these beforehand. The two threats he identifies for qualitative research is *reactivity* and *researcher bias*.

Reactivity is defined as “the influence of the researcher in the setting or the individuals studies” (Maxwell, 2013). He argues that it is not possible to get rid of reactivity in qualitative research, however we should account for how it might have influenced the situations. The effect of

reactivity needs to be discussed both when it comes to video observation and qualitative interviews. Since I was not present at the site of the video recordings, my presence did not influence the participants, but the presence of the researchers who recorded the lessons might have (Blikstad-Balas, 2016). The observer effect is defined as “any action by observers that reduces the validity or reliability of the data they collect” (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007, p. 273). In video research there is also the added aspect of one or more cameras being present at the site, which might take something away from the “naturalness” of the observation and is by many considered the main drawback of video analysis (Blikstad-Balas, 2016). It is the worry that the teacher and students might behave differently than normal because of the presence of a camera and/or an observer. However, Blikstad-Balas (2016) argues that issue of reactivity is often exaggerated when it comes to video research, and that both the teachers and the students get used to the camera after a short while.

A problem may arise if the teacher and students who are being observed are aware of the intentions of the observer, and change their behaviour accordingly (Gall et al., 2007). In the LISE video recordings, all the teachers and students were aware they were being recorded for the purposes of classroom research, but they had no insight into the exact research questions of my MA study. That the teachers were aware that their lessons would be used for educational research might prompt them to put more effort into their lessons than usual, so an effect of the cameras might be that the teachers in the study are the best versions of themselves. However, they cannot, as Blikstad-Balas (2016, p. 4) states, “act out a repertoire of social interaction they do not have access to in their everyday life, just because someone shows up with a camera”. Simply put, they cannot become better teachers than they are otherwise capable of, just because a camera is placed in their classroom.

In the case of interviews, the reactivity is an even more complex issue, as the interviewer will always have a large influence on the informants of the study (Maxwell, 2013, p. 125). My interview questions and follow-up questions will always determine what kind of responses I will get from the informants. As the interviews were done as a part of a pilot study, and was my first time doing academic research, I can see that my interviews and interview guide have some weaknesses. For example, one of the questions I asked my informants were, “How do you see the connection between culture and language/communication?”. This can be considered a leading question because it implies that the informants do in fact see that there is

a connection between the two. However, I would still argue that the answers this question prompted are valid, as the informants cannot explain a connection they do not see.

Researcher bias is about the subjectivity of the researcher (Maxwell, 2013). This can affect the data collection and choice of participants, and which part of the data “stands out” to the researcher. Qualitative research tends to be exploratory and less structured, and as a result the researcher bias is an important consideration to make. Part of the reason I wanted to do this MA study was my interest in the topic, and naturally I therefore had some preconceived ideas of what I thought I would find in the classrooms, and perhaps even more on how that should be analyzed. However, when collecting and analyzing the data, I was more interested in learning about different ways of approaching culture within and across the two classrooms. In addition, the video material that I have used for my study has been watched by other researchers as well (e.g., Mahan, Brevik & Ødegaard, under review), and I have been able to discuss my thoughts with them, which is recognized as a clear advantage of using video recordings (Blikstad-Balas & Sørvik, 2014).

To strengthen the validity of the data and the conclusions drawn from them, there are many strategies that can be used (Maxwell, 2013). One of these is the use of *rich data*. Rich data is defined as “data that are detailed and varied enough that they provide a full and revealing picture of what is going on” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 126). This entails having transcriptions of interviews, and video recordings and transcriptions of the lessons, instead of for example only limited field notes. Having rich data prevents me as the researcher from only collecting data that supports an expected conclusion, because any evidence against those conclusions will also be included in the data collected.

Another part of my research design that helps strengthen the validity, is the use of triangulation. Triangulation is when at least two different types of data are collected at the same time, to look at the same topic. In my case, I have looked at teaching culture both through video observation and interviews collected during the same school year.

3.5.2 Reliability

Reliability focuses on if a different researcher would be able to come to the same conclusions if they were to reproduce the study (Bryman, 2012). However, as this is a study that involves

people, and cannot be replicated be exactly replicated, because the classroom atmosphere cannot be recreated (Brevik, 2015).

The reliability of the video data coded using the PLATO manual is strengthened by the fact that two or more researchers have coded the lesson segments (Klette et al., 2017). Because I am not certified to score the videos with the PLATO scores myself, other researchers from the LISE team has scored the video segments that I used. The findings from the video data are therefore not only based on my observations and analysis, but on other observers' analyses as well.

3.5.3 Ethical considerations

While conducting this MA study, I have also taken into consideration some ethical aspects. Maxwell (2013) urges qualitative researchers to include the ethical concern into every component of their research design. I have done this by familiarizing myself with the guidelines set by The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committee (NESH) for research in social sciences (2016). Bryman (2012) has identified four main ethical concerns in social science research:

1. Whether there is harm to participants
2. Whether there is a lack of informed consent
3. Whether there is an invasion of privacy
4. Whether deception is involved

The first issue has to do with harm to the participants, and in the case of my study it can be linked to the confidentiality of the participants (Bryman, 2012). The NESH guidelines (2016) state that, "research must be conducted in accordance with basic considerations for data protection, such as personal integrity, privacy and responsible use and storage of personal data". The video data collected by LISE is safely stored on specific computers in a video lab at the University of Oslo, which can only be accessed with a personal username and password. Background information about the participating teachers, such as education, is only given out to researchers when relevant, and any personal details from the video material itself have been anonymized during the transcription process. The third issue has to do with invasion of privacy, and is also linked with the confidentiality of the participants of the study.

The second issue Bryman (2016) lists is lack of informed consent. The NESH guidelines (2016) address this by stating that the researchers have a duty to inform the participants of the purpose of the research, as well as the need for all participants to give their consent freely. Informed consent is considered very important in research using video, and is usually unproblematic in controlled environments, such as classrooms (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010). In the LISE study, all participating teachers and students have received information about the project and subsequently given a voluntary written consent of their participation. The students were of between the ages of 14 and 15 at the time of collecting the data, so their parents or legal guardians have also given their consent. As the interviews I conducted were not a part of what the teachers had originally agreed to, it was important for me to give them information and get their consent for that part of the data collection as well.

The last point raised by Bryman (2016) is that of deception. Again, it was important that the participants knew about the purpose of the studies related to LISE, and that they were informed what the results of the studies would be used for. My main supervisor, who is the Project coordinator for the LISE project, has also helped me follow the guidelines for the use of the materials.

4 Findings

In this chapter, findings of the present MA study will be presented. They are presented in three parts; first, what topics and materials are used to teach culture in English in these classrooms (4.1); second, why do the teachers teach culture (4.2); and third, how are the cultural topics taught in these English lessons (4.3). All three parts will have perspectives from the teacher interviews and the video recorded lessons. Both the teachers and the students are anonymized in the provided extracts.

4.1 Topics and materials in the culture lessons

This section provides the findings to my *RQ1: What topics and materials are used to teach culture in English in these classrooms?* First, this section presents the teachers' views on how to choose topics and materials (4.1.1), then gives an account of what was used in the observed English lessons (4.1.2). Finally, I include a summary of topics and materials (4.1.3).

4.1.1 Choosing what to teach (interviews)

The English subject curriculum has some competence aims that clearly define what the teachers need to work with, such as history and geography of the UK and the USA, and indigenous peoples (NMER, 2013) However, there is also room and need for the teachers to do a selection themselves of what they teach in their English lessons. During the interviews, John and Simon gave a few different answers as to how they chose what topics to cover, and what kind of materials they would use. Both teachers said that usually they would teach culture related to an English-speaking country. However, John also mentioned some approaches to his choice of topic, as he mentioned working with topics such as “The Sixties” and “It’s my life”, that were not strictly connected to a specific country. This might be a result of another difference between the two teachers. John reported that the deciding factor in which topics he chose to teach was the textbook. Simon, on the other hand placed less importance on the text book, and more importance on topics connected to an English-speaking country that he was interested in himself:

Simon: And a textbook can give some pointers, but it is from my own interests connected to the respective country.

John also placed importance on his own interests and how he could use them in the teaching of culture. However, he used them more when it came to finding different materials to supplement the topics that he has found in the textbook:

John: I also teach music, so when we are doing for example the sixties, I use a lot of music as well. We watch clips from Woodstock and include things like that.

Both Simon and John mentioned many different aspects of culture that could be included in their teaching. Like John, Simon also liked to include music in his teaching. Moreover, he mentioned cross-curricular work with other subjects, such as Food and health¹:

Simon: Food can be exciting. We have a project with Food and health for example, where they make Indian food.

They both agreed that choosing topics that could be connected to current events was important. The American presidential election and Donald Trump were mentioned by both teachers as relevant topics. Simon expressed that using the current presidential election could also be a way to explore other topics he thought important:

Simon: I think that it belongs with culture, because you can focus on why people vote like they do, which states are secure for the different parties. And I think that you have a good opportunity to look at ways of living. Yeah, amongst other things... Often there is a connection to the British empire, and I want to include that as well. What is the connection to Great Britain.

It is evident that there is a wide range of possible topics to teach, related to culture, and the teachers can find content to teach both from the textbook, their own interests, cross-curricular collaboration with other school subjects, and current events. Both John and Simon commented on this, and stated that they thought the teaching practices probably differed a lot between different teachers and different schools. John also pointed out that the textbooks might influence this choice:

¹ Norwegian: Mat og helse.

John: I am sure they do it differently in other schools where they have a different textbook. Because the books approach these topics from different angles.

Both John and Simon thought that this gave them many options for what to teach. Simon expressed that he saw this as both a negative and a positive feature of how the cultural part of the English subject is formulated:

Simon: The advantage is that it gives me a lot of leeway, but I am a bit afraid that we [various English teachers] don't have a common understanding.

4.1.2 Topics, contents and materials (video observations)

Table 4A provides an overview of the topics covered in the observed English lessons. John's teaching in S50 was about a period in time, rather than a country, while Simon's teaching in S07 was about a country, looking at that country's history and culture. This was an interesting finding, as it is also somewhat reflected in the interviews. Another striking difference between the two schools, is the amount of time they spent on teaching culture during the filmed lessons. In S07 all four lessons, a total of 270 minutes, were spent on Irish history. However, in S50 only 71 minutes were spent on "The Sixties", and the other parts of the filmed lessons in this classroom were about topics not related to culture (e.g. grammar). Even though their choice of topic is different, both John's and Simon's lessons addressed the same competency aims (NMER, 2013): (1) "The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to explain features of history and geography in Great Britain and the USA", and to some extent (2) "The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialize in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway".

Table 4A. Overview of topics and materials in John’s (S50) and Simon’s (S07) classrooms.

Lesson	Time	Materials
School S07		
Topic: Irish History and briefly the current situation in Ireland		
1	60 min	<u>Authentic map:</u> Ireland/Northern Ireland
2	70 min	<u>Authentic map:</u> Ireland/Northern Ireland <u>Authentic pictures:</u> “A Starving Boy and Girl in Cork” and “Irish Emigrants depart Liverpool for North America” from British newspapers <u>Authentic document:</u> Irish Declaration of Independence
3	70 min	<u>Authentic map:</u> Ireland/Northern Ireland <u>Authentic document:</u> Irish Declaration of Independence <u>Authentic text:</u> Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland
4	70 min	<u>Authentic text:</u> Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland <u>Non-authentic interview:</u> Interview with an Irish person (digital) for teaching purposes
School S50		
Topic: “The Sixties”: Historical events and pop culture from the 1960s		
3	45 min	<u>Authentic song/lyrics:</u> “John Brown” by Bob Dylan <u>Non-authentic text:</u> “Historic Events from 1960-1969” (from the textbook <i>Searching 9</i>)
4	26 min*	<u>Non-authentic text:</u> “Historic Events from 1960-1969” (from the textbook <i>Searching 9</i>) <u>Authentic song/lyrics:</u> “The Times They Are A-Changin” by Bob Dylan

*19 minutes of lesson four in S50 is spent on teaching of grammar, that is unrelated to the topic for the rest of the lesson.

Use of authentic and non-authentic materials

What John and Simon said in the interviews about their choices of topic and materials, can be seen in the observed teaching as well. In both S07 and S50 the teaching included both authentic and non-authentic materials. John taught a topic from the textbook: “The Sixties”, and he used texts from that chapter, as well as two authentic songs and their lyrics. In both cases, he had questions about the lyrics to the student afterwards, which focused on the meaning and message of the song. Simon, on the other hand, did not use a textbook at all during his four lessons on Irish history. The main material he used was a PowerPoint presentation he had made about the topic, and he used a few other handouts and texts. The authentic materials that were used in

Simon's classroom, were a map of Ireland and Northern Ireland, pictures from a British newspaper, a historical text "Declaration of Independence" from 1919, and a text about Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland. These materials were not only very different, but they were used very differently in the teaching as well. While the map served as a supporting visual material, both the pictures and the text were used as starting points for analysis and classroom discussion.

Geographical areas

Although the teaching of culture in S50 mainly concerned a time period, it was also related to geographical areas. In both schools, the focus is primarily on countries that have been characterized as the inner circle of English; Ireland and Northern Ireland (S07) and the UK and the US (S50). However, the teaching in S50 is not strictly bound by nationalities, and for example fashion and technology related to the 1960s is not talked about as specifically American or British. In addition, they also mention the Berlin Wall, which is an example of mentioning historical events from the expanding circle of English.

Concept of culture

In both schools, most of the teaching is concerned with culture as a humanistic concept, or big-C culture. The focus was on history in both classrooms, although very different parts of – and views on – history. While the teaching in Simon's classroom (S07) dealt with several historical events throughout the history of Ireland, including relations to Northern Ireland and England, John's classroom (S50) considered many different historical events that took place in the 1960s, which are otherwise not connected geographically. The only exception to this is a short segment at the end of Simon's fourth lesson, when the focus was on giving the students insight into the current situation in Ireland through an interview with an Irish person. Since the focus was on the experiences of one Irish person and her thoughts about the current situation, this is in line with post-modernist concepts of culture. Her answers about the situation in Ireland today, also connect the historical events to the present day, since she talked about how she experiences the aftermath of the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants.

Use of personal accounts, factual texts and fictional texts

In both classrooms, there were a mix of factual texts and texts that presented a personal account or fictional stories. In S07, the teacher's presentation of the interview with an Irish person about the current situation in Ireland, was a clear example of a personal account. The text "Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland" was factual text, however the pictures and "The Irish Declaration

of Independence” were harder to classify, as they are neither personal accounts, stories nor factual texts. In S50, they read the factual text “Historic events from 1960-1969”, but they also listened to and read the song lyrics of the two songs, which can be described as fictional texts.

4.1.3 Summary of topics and materials

In this section, I aimed to answer the question of what is taught when teaching culture: *RQ1: What topics and materials are used to teach culture in English in these classrooms?* I found that both teachers used their own personal interests when choosing what to teach. Simon saw this as an important factor both when it came to topics and choosing authentic materials, while John mainly saw this as a factor while choosing authentic materials to supplement the topics that he had found in the (non-authentic) textbook.

A considerable difference was found in the time spent on culture in the recorded lessons, with 270 minutes in S07 and 71 minutes in S50. In both schools, the teaching was mostly concerned with topics that can be described as “big-C culture”, and with countries and geographical areas that could be described as inner circle countries; historical events from Ireland, the UK and the US. The materials that are used are both authentic and non-authentic, but authentic materials seem to be favored. Both classrooms also had a mix of factual texts and personal accounts, and some materials that were neither.

4.2 Why the teachers teach culture

This section provides my findings of my RQ2: *Why do the English teachers teach culture?* First, the perspectives offered by the teachers during the interviews are presented (4.2.1), then how they stated the purpose of their teaching during their lessons (4.2.2).

4.2.1 The teachers’ objectives when teaching culture (interviews)

In the interviews done with the two teachers, they both talked briefly about what their goals with teaching culture were, and how they thought the students might in the future use what they have learned in the English lessons, specifically concerning culture. They had somewhat different objectives when it comes to their teaching of culture.

Simon's objectives for teaching culture (S07)

Simon expressed two different objectives for teaching culture, which were a) that it should help the students communicative skills, and b) that it should contribute towards the students' general knowledge, which could become useful for them in other school subjects in the future. He first mentioned his focus on communication when talking about how he connects culture to other parts of the English subject, when he emphasised the goal of communication in his teaching, and explicitly mentioned being recipient oriented. It seems that Simon regards teaching culture as a means to help his students be prepared for situations where they need this knowledge for communication. He used one example that further suggests this, where he talks about how the students should know about how different countries are divided into different geographical units:

Simon: If you talk about the geography of a country, then you use the right name for “*fylker*”. You have “counties” in one place [e.g., in Norway and the UK], and “state” a different place [e.g., in the USA].

However, while he did not further elaborate on how the teaching should prepare his students for communicative situations, the focus here was on learning culture-related vocabulary, where the cultural dimension is that the students should know which words are appropriate to describe different countries.

Simon's second objective was more directed towards the students' general knowledge, as he is concerned with how the students might need the knowledge they acquire in the English lessons for other subjects as well. He uses his lessons about Irish history as an example, and explains how this might become useful for his students in later school situations:

Simon: I focus on that they should be able to see that this knowledge will come back in other subjects, especially in social sciences, which I also teach. So then, when we get into, well, to use Irish history as an example. How the conflict in Ireland influence the Irish map, and when they then come back to a war in social sciences, where is Ireland in all of this?

He places importance on that the students should be able to use their knowledge for insight into different topics later. He emphasizes social sciences specifically, but it is also evident from his answer that he considers history and geography as well. However, Simon also points out

that this is can be difficult, as it might be hard to know exactly when and how this connection will be relevant:

Simon: I never really know where or when we will see that knowledge again. It is hard to point to specific areas. But having a focus on the fact that it will come back, what they do learn, and then underline when it happens. To focus on the continuity, so they can see that it was not entirely meaningless.

He concludes that there should be continuity in the students' education, and that working with cultural topics that they might be able to connect to other subjects later will be a way to achieve this.

John's objectives for teaching culture (S50)

What John said about his objectives for teaching culture was quite interesting, as he both negated that he has "an overarching goal" with his culture teaching, but at the same time described a few different intended learning outcomes that he wants for his students:

John: Well, it is a part of the general education to know something about British history and geography and culture, and American... But I don't have any overarching goal about why they should know anything about this or that. I think that there should be a certain knowledge about the English-speaking countries as foundation, I think. To compare ways of living that they know, to how it is in other places in the world, or how it has been.

Even if John stated that he did not have any overarching goal, he does express two objectives for his teaching of culture: a) That it should contribute towards the students' general education, and b) that they should gain insight into other ways of living. Just like Simon, John was also concerned with how the teaching of culture contributes towards general knowledge. However, he did not bring up how the topics from their English lessons might be useful in other subjects in the future.

Instead, he mentioned that the students should get to know new "ways of living". He talked about how the students should compare what they know with how it might be in other places (or times). This illustrates that John has an idea that his teaching of culture can help the students to gain insight into how people live differently in other places in the world. He exemplified

this when he gave an example of how they had compared young people in Norway and in Great Britain:

John: We have a poster with rights on the door to the classroom. When you are 15 you have a right to this and that, and then we have a similar list for Great Britain in the textbook.

To sum up, both Simon and John expressed a few different objectives for teaching culture during the interviews. They both brought up the perspective of the students' general knowledge, which was a somewhat vague objective that the students should have some knowledge about culture, history or geography. In addition, Simon focused on communication, while John brought up the students' gaining insight into different ways of life across time and countries. However, how this is expressed in their teaching gives us a slightly different picture.

4.2.2 The purposes in the observed lessons (video observation)

It might not be very surprising that there was a difference between what the teachers expressed in the interviews as the main objectives they saw for teaching culture, and what objectives they presented to the students in their lessons. Figure 4A illustrates that all the observed teaching of culture had a communicated goal (score 2 or higher). This means that there was an inferred or communicated goal throughout the teaching. However, it also shows that there was a clear difference between the two schools, as school S07 received high-end scores (3 or 4) some of the time (37%), while this was not the case for S50. In the beginning of lessons in S07 Simon explicitly and clearly presented the purpose of the lesson, as well as referring back to these when introducing new tasks or summing up the lesson. John never went further than introducing a general topic and activity in either of his lessons in S50.

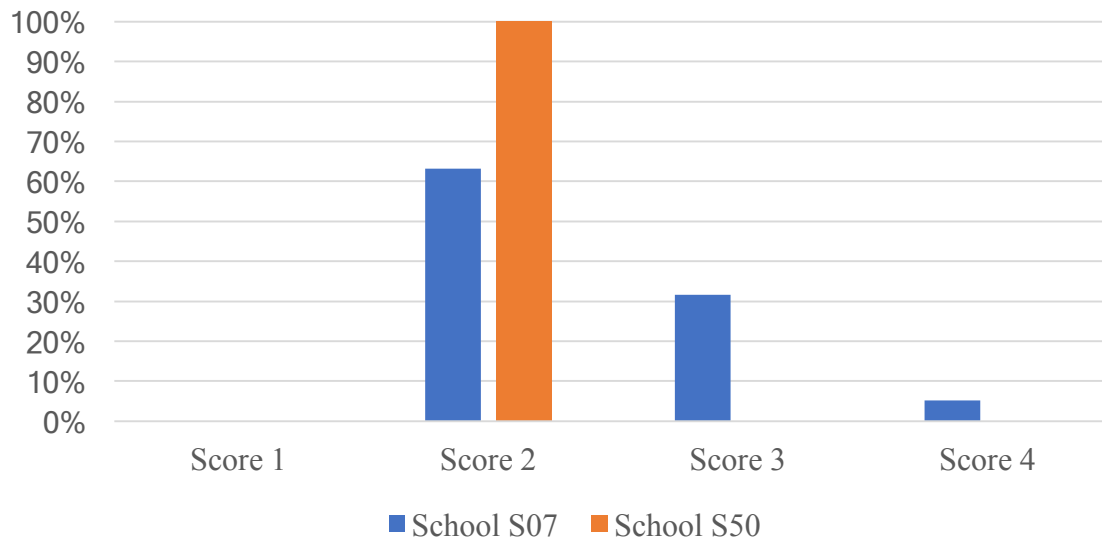


Figure 4A. Purpose (PUR) in the two observed classrooms.

Purpose in John’s classroom (S50)

As Figure 4A showed, John never explicitly stated the purpose of this lessons. He introduced the topic they were going to learn about, “The Sixties”, and went straight into the activities they were going to do. Extract 1 shows John talking briefly about what topics they will touch upon while working with “The Sixties”, including a song.

Extract 1. John introducing the song “John Brown” (PUR score 2).

John: And when we start working on the different texts in this chapter, you’re going to learn more about culture; there’s a text concerning the Beatles, the hippies, Marylyn Monroe, I think. JFK is mentioned, the moon landing is also mentioned. And the Vietnam War. Yes. Now I would like to listen to a song... which has something to do with the hippies, and the Vietnam War... because some of the hippies made protest songs, in which they protested against war. We’re going to listen to a song called “John Brown”.

When he was introducing the new activity, the song “John Brown”, he connected it with some of the topics they have already briefly discussed, the hippies and the Vietnam War, and it can be inferred that they were going to listen to this song to gain more insight into these topics. However, John did not provide any explicitly stated learning goals for his activities, which was true for both observed lessons in John’s classroom.

Purpose in Simon’s classroom (S07)

Simon’s lessons have four clearly stated learning goals for his lessons on Irish history. These learning goals were first introduced in the first lesson, and then repeated throughout the teaching, which were the segments scored 3 for PUR (see Figure 4A). Extract 2 shows the four learning goals and how Simon first introduced them in the classroom.

Extract 2. Simon presenting learning goals for the four lessons on Irish history (PUR score 3).

Simon: The learning point, the learning intentions. And it might seem quite much, but, remember, this is for four lessons. [Goal 1] So I need you to be able to explain how religion has influenced Irish history. Back from St. Patrick to present time. Present time of course, means today. [...] Again, religion plays an important role in the Irish history. [Goal 2] The second one, there are four of them I think. The second one is that I want you to be able to explain the difference between The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The difference you see in the map. Both in terms of geography – where are the countries placed – but also politically: Why... why are they separated? Why is there a difference? And of course, we will get back to that. [Goal 3] Number 3, I want you to be able to explain some major events in Irish history, and of course then explain how these have affected the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In this case, something might have happened, that made the separation as the two countries possible. It not like it just decided one day: Oh, let's split the country in two. No, something happened. Which is what you'll learn more about. [Goal 4] I'll put up number 4 as well, and this one is more general: I want to you to be able to comment on the present situation in Ireland and Northern Ireland. What is it like today? So for the next 250 minutes or so, this is what will be going on.

As this extract illustrates, Simon had learning goals that were explicit and detailed. The focus was on what the students should be able to do after the four lessons, and he used words such as “explain” and “comment on”, which indicated that the students were expected to gain an understanding of the topics they are going to work with. The learning goals also helped narrow down the topic, from the broader Irish history, to a few more specific points, such as “how religion has influenced Irish history” and the separation of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Simon explicitly asked the students to write down these learning goals, and emphasized that they cover four lessons. In addition, he discussed with the students why learning about Irish history might be useful, as shown in extract 3. Here PUR is scored as 4, because there is evidence that the students are aware of the learning goals as well.

Extract 3. The students' thoughts on learning about Irish history (PUR score 4)

- Simon:* What's the point of knowing more about the Irish history? [...] Does anyone think this knowledge, about Ireland, can ever become useful? You do, Student 1?
- Student 1:* Yes.
- Simon:* When?
- Student 1:* If you are in Ireland.
- Simon:* If you're in Ireland. Of course. Let's say you want to impress someone. If you go to a pub in Ireland, because that's what you do, and you end up talking about Irish history. Then you have something to talk about. Just be careful which, I mean, which side you support in a discussion. Em – eh, Student 2?
- Student 2:* I guess, if you are going to write an essay, or something. Or study it more.
- Simon:* Yes, I mean, if you are going to study Ireland more, then you need to know this. I agree. [...] Let us say in social science next year, for example. If you are going to comment on how religion has influenced the history of a country.

As this extract shows, Simon also gave the students an opportunity to think about how learning about Irish history might become useful in their lives. As Student 1 brought up that it can be useful if he is ever in Ireland, the teacher elaborated, and gave an example of a more specific situation. Student 2 brought up that the knowledge might become useful in future school situations, and again the teacher elaborated and mentioned a situation in school where it could become useful to know about Irish history.

4.2.3 Summary of objectives of teaching culture

In this section, I have presented the findings related to the teachers' expressed objectives for teaching culture. From the interviews and the video observations, I have found that the presented objectives were mainly related to the students' general knowledge, with some focus on usefulness in future academic situations. However, other perspectives were also given. Simon explicitly mentioned communication as a goal, and even though he did not present it as an objective himself, John talked about how learning about culture can help the students gain insight into different ways of living.

A second finding is that there is a significant difference in how the two teachers explained the objectives in the interviews to how they expressed them to the students in the English lessons. John did not give any clearly expressed learning goal in his lessons about “The Sixties”, beyond stating the general topics they would touch on. Simon, on the other hand, presented clearly defined learning goals, reflecting what the students should know, while a discussion with the students afterwards dealt with the question of why they should know it.

4.3 How are the cultural topics taught?

This section presents the findings answering my RQ3: *How are the cultural topics taught in the English lessons?* First, I present the teachers’ reported approaches to teaching culture (4.3.1), then teaching with regard to connections to prior knowledge (4.3.2) the teachers’ presentations, explanations and examples (4.3.3), opportunities for students to speak, read and write (4.3.4), and finally intellectual challenge (4.3.5). In addition, a section will summarize the findings from this point (4.3.6).

4.3.1 The teachers reported approaches to teaching culture (interviews)

Both John and Simon discussed how they best could introduce their students to a new topic while teaching culture. Both teachers stated that they often start with something the students might be familiar with, and they both put emphasis on the connections that they could draw from outside the English classroom. John explained that he typically begins his teaching with activating the students’ prior knowledge:

John: I usually think that I should activate prior knowledge, often they know something about the topic beforehand. They have seen movies or if there is a current story that we can draw parallels to, for example.

While Simon expressed a similar view, he also argued that starting with something that might be completely unknown to the students could be beneficial. His main argument was that the starting point when teaching a new topic should be something that will grab the attention of the students, regardless of whether it is previously known by the students or not. Simon mentions examples of cultural expressions, such as music or poetry, or an imaginary trip, as a good starting point:

Simon: I always want to start with a form of academic... call it input, to inspire. We can use a song from the area, if we are working with Ireland we can begin with limericks, that I make a limerick with the names of the students and rhyme with that. Well, I'm very fond of music, I'll bring my guitar to the classroom and play a little, to get them interested. Or I could do a guided trip, or an imagined guided trip to the area, London for example. A form of... well, I won't start a new topic by reading a text and do tasks.

From this quote, we can also note that Simon expressed that reading a text and doing tasks is not a suitable method when beginning to teach a topic related to culture. In the further descriptions of his teaching, Simon did not comment much upon what kind of texts or types of tasks he liked to use, but instead he focused on creating authentic situations where the students should need to acquire knowledge:

Simon: If my goal is that the students should gain a better understanding of a country as a whole, I sometimes do a... I have done this with India and Australia for example, I let the students plan a trip to the area, for a specific target group.

In contrast, John emphasized the use of oral tasks. Rather than spending time on reading and writing, he thought it important that the students should get to talk to each other about the topics in class, either in groups or in a whole class situation:

John: A lot of oral tasks, like when they get a question or two that they ask a partner, and then they present what the other person think about a topic, for example. Yeah. Or that we talk about it with the whole class.

What was expressed by John and Simon about approaches when teaching culture, was to some extent also reflected in the filmed English lessons, especially their thoughts on connections to prior knowledge (see 4.3.2) and John's reported use of oral tasks (see 4.3.4).

4.3.2 Connections to prior knowledge in the two classrooms (video observations)

Figure 4B shows to what extent the teachers refer to prior lessons or the students' background knowledge. For this analysis, I used the PLATO observation protocol (Grossman et al., 2010). We can see that both classrooms had some shorter periods of time (5-20%) where there was no focus on making connections to prior knowledge (score 1). However, for the most part, both teachers refer to the students' prior knowledge, even if it is just briefly (score 2 or higher).

There is a difference between the two schools here, with how clear or explicit these connections are. In school S50, the references to prior knowledge are evenly divided between being clear and relevant to the new topic (score 3, 40%), and brief or less relevant (score 2, 40%). However, in S07 there is a clear tendency that the connections are clear and relevant (score 3 or 4, 79%). In S50, the high-end scores for CKP were at the beginning of the lessons, activating their prior knowledge and referring back to previous lessons, whereas in S07, the high-end scores were found throughout the lessons, which illustrates that Simon used these connections actively during his teaching.

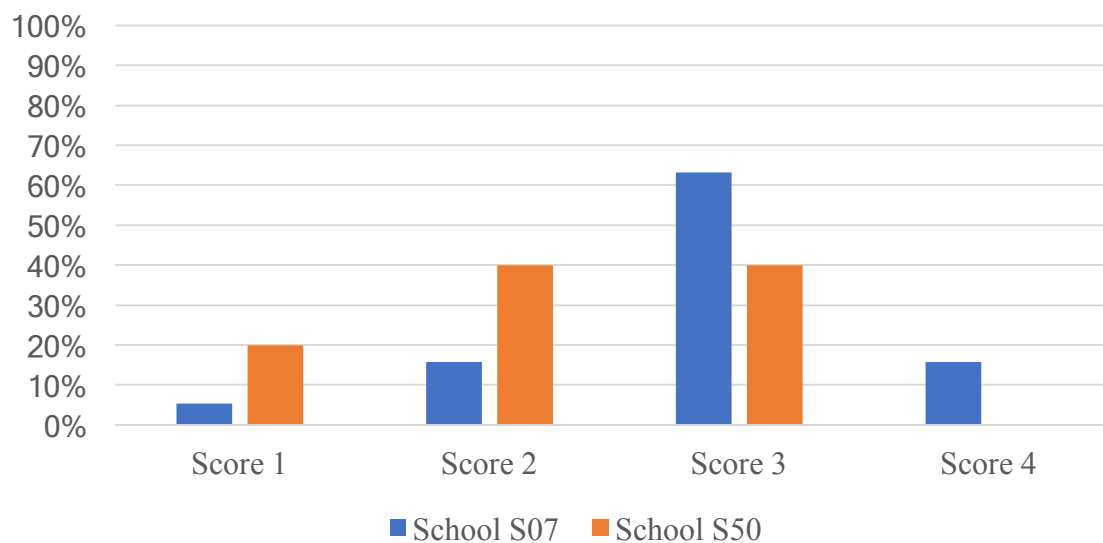


Figure 4B. Connections to prior knowledge (CPK) in the two observed classrooms.

Connections to prior knowledge in John’s classroom (S50)

John’s first lesson about “The Sixties”, began with to the teacher activating the students’ prior knowledge. He drew a mind map on the board and asked the students to contribute with what they already knew about the topic. Extract 4 illustrates how he explicitly asks the students to present their prior knowledge.

Extract 4. Activating prior knowledge about “The Sixties” (CPK score 3)

John: I would like to find out what you already know about the sixties. So what we’re gonna do first, is that you’re going to talk together for a few minutes, what you know about historical events, things that happened in the Sixties.

This first activity that John introduces was the mind map about the sixties. This activity prompt the students to activate their prior knowledge. There was a clear link between the prior

knowledge the students are being asked to activate, and the cultural topic he has introduced for the lesson (CPK score 3). After a few minutes of students talking amongst themselves, the teacher started taking key words from the students for the mind map on the board. In extract 5, John and the students were talking about relevant connections between the cultural focus on the 1960s and their previous music lessons; presumably since the English teacher is also their music teacher.

Extract 5. Making a mind map about “The Sixties” (CPK score 3).

- John:* Let’s start with culture. Do you know anything about music, for instance? Because in our last music lesson, we talked about the music, and we mentioned some artists. Student 1?
- Student 1:* The Beatles?
- John:* The Beatles. Very good! The Beatles were great. Ta-da. [writes it on the board] Other names? It’s been a while... Student 2?
- Student 2:* Elvis.
- John:* Sorry?
- Student 2:* Elvis.
- John:* Elvis, yes. He he, Elvis.
- Student 3:* Presley?
- John:* And how would you describe his music? His style? What did we call this kind of music?
- Student 4:* RnB, or..?
- John:* Well... Student 5?
- Student 5:* Rock’n Roll.
- John:* Rock’n Roll, yes. So rock’n roll was important in the sixties. Later in the sixties we are going to read about a movement. They let their hair grow. Does anyone know what I’m thinking about? People who let their hair grow.
- Student 6:* Hippies?
- John:* The hippies! Very good. So you’ve heard about the hippies.

As this extract shows, the teacher elicited the students’ prior knowledge from a different subject, by referring to something they had discussed in their music lessons. He then went on to hinting about the Hippie movement, and made it clear that this was something they were also going to come back to later, while working with “The Sixties”. This reflects what John

said during the interviews, where he expressed that starting with “activating prior knowledge” and “drawing parallels”.

Connections to prior knowledge in Simon’s classroom (S07)

The four observed lessons in Simon’s classroom were all one long session on Irish history, and in the first of these he spends time on connecting the new topic to their previous English lessons. First, the focus is on referring to a previous lesson they have had about Ireland. This is illustrated in extract 6, where Simon and the students are talking about limericks, which is something that Simon also mentioned in the interview.

Extract 6. Prior knowledge on limericks (CPK score 3).

- Simon:* Ireland is still our main topic. What kind of poetry did we talk about? Student, do you remember?
- Student:* Wasn’t it “libermicks” or something?
- Simon:* Almost. The exact word...?
- Student:* Limerick.
- Simon:* Limericks. So, do you remember what a limerick is? Student?
- Student:* Poem.
- Simon:* A kind of poem. What is so special about this kind of poem?

This illustrates how Simon connected the content to the previous English lesson, where they evidently learned about limericks, to the new topic. He makes it clear that their main topic is still Ireland, which was also the topic for when they learned about limericks. After this introductory session of activating the students’ prior knowledge, he leaves the topic of limericks, and moves on to Irish history. This was he connects the two cultural sub-topics.

Simon also regularly refers to other subjects to activate the students’ prior knowledge about culture, especially history lessons, as they are especially relevant for the topic of “Ireland” in these English lessons. He does so even though he is not their history teacher. This is also something that Simon emphasized in the interviews, when talking about the purpose of teaching culture. He stated that he wanted his students to see that the knowledge they acquire in English class can also be relevant in other subjects (see 4.2.1). Later, in the fourth lesson, when they are discussing the historical event in Ireland known as Bloody Sunday, Simon

prompted the students to compare this to what they knew about the Russian revolution, which is illustrated in extract 7.

Extract 7. Connections between Bloody Sunday and the Russian Revolution (CPK score 4).

Simon: Do you remember any other Bloody Sunday that have taken place in history? Please?

Student: The Bloody Sunday in the Russian Revolution

Simon: Absolutely, the Russian Revolution, there was a Bloody Sunday there as well, good to know actually, whenever someone ask you what Bloody Sunday was you can give them two options. Please?

Student: So should we just stay indoor on Sundays? Just in case?

Simon: If you are in a country during a revolution or civil war then stay inside on Sundays.

Student: Stay in bed.

[...]

Simon: So the British opened fire. And Student 1, you mentioned what happened in the Russian Revolution, what was that again?

Student: Some Russian soldiers shot the people, because they were... yeah.

Simon: What were the people doing?

Student: They were protesting.

Simon: Protesting against...?

Student: The..

Simon: The leader.

Student: The leader. The Tsar.

Simon: Yes, and the leader he asked his soldier to shoot at the demonstrators. Right. Quite... Well, some people died, so there are some similarities between the two Bloody Sundays in Russia and in Northern Ireland. What happened after the Bloody Sunday in Russia? Did ... [switching to Norwegian, translation by me] *If you think back on Russia, after the Tsar ordered the shooting of protesters, did the revolution stop there? Oh come on, you have been present in the history lessons. If not, me and [the history teacher] needs to have a serious talk. Did the revolution in Russia stop then? The answer is pretty obvious, Student 1?*

Student: No.

- Simon:* No. [switching back to English] What happened?
- Student:* [replying in Norwegian, translation by me] *I'm not entirely sure, but I think that it was what really got people to start even more demonstrations, because people got mad, because there were over a hundred people who got shot outside the Winter Palace to the Tsar.*
- Simon:* Yes.
- Student:* [reply in Norwegian, translation by me] *And then they did a big uprising and the army...*
- Simon:* OK, yes, so the leader decides to shoot the protesters [...] hoping that it will make them quiet. Surprise, surprise, it worked the opposite way. The conflict didn't stop, it became even more tense. But the British soldiers opened fire, simply because, or, to stop the demonstrations. As one of you said, the British wanted to show: "We are stronger than you, so there is no need to keep this going, stop bothering us!"

In this extract, the teacher uses the students' prior knowledge about the Russian Revolution to help them understand the Bloody Sunday in Ireland. By doing this, Simon puts Bloody Sunday in a larger context of protests that have ended up in violence against the protestors. He might bring up these connections to highlighting that there are similarities between the two historical events. The connection that Simon makes here is explicit and specifically tied to the new material, which means that the Connections to prior knowledge is scored as 4 for this segment. There are many instances of Simon making connections like this, which is why his teaching was scored with high-end scores for CPK for as much as 79% of the recorded lessons. These include connections to the Middle East conflict, Norwegian history, the colonization of America, the War on terror, The Crusades, the Cuba crisis, the two World Wars and Indian history.

4.3.3 Representation of content (video observations)

When it comes to the new content of the lessons, the teaching of culture in both classrooms was also characterized by clear and accurate teacher explanations of the disciplinary content. Figure 4C illustrates that the overwhelming majority of the observed English lessons was characterized by accurate and clear explanations and examples of the 1960s in the UK and USA, and Irish history, respectively (79% in S07 and 80% in S50). These relatively high scores show that the teachers are competent when it comes to explaining the cultural topics that they are teaching, and are able to explain these using relevant examples and analogies. This is further supported by the fact that the few segments of teaching that did not consist of clear and accurate

explanations (21% in S07 and 20% in S50) were typically segments where the teachers were introducing tasks, student work or situations with a lot of student talk, in pairs or groups.

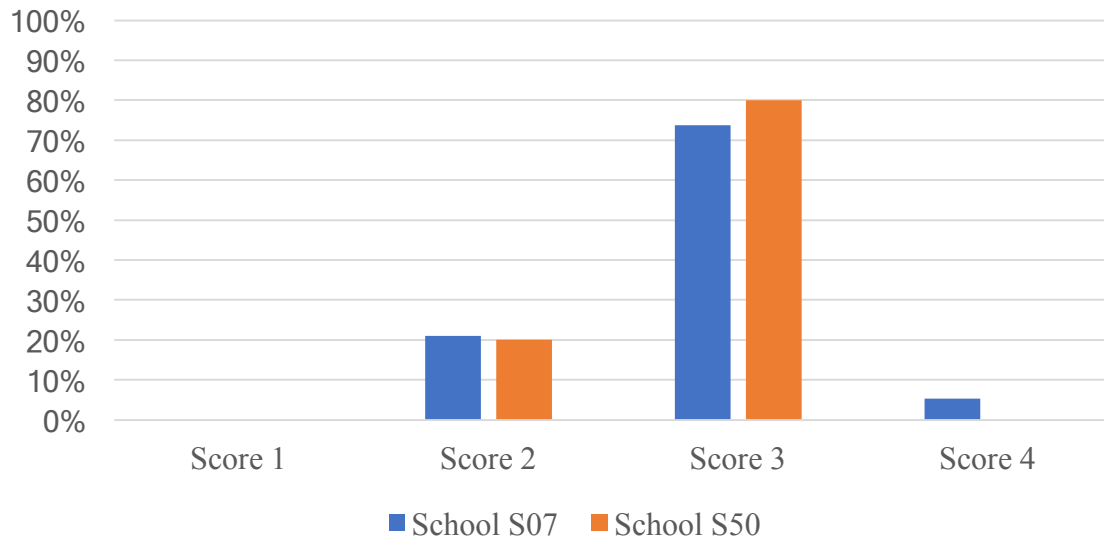


Figure 4C. Representation of content (ROC1): Quality of explanations in the two classrooms.

There was a larger difference between the two classrooms regarding focus on conceptual or deeper understanding. Figure 4D shows that while the majority of the teaching in John’s classroom was characterized by superficial explanations (score 2, 80%), in Simon’s classroom, this was true for 53% of the segments only (score 2), while 47% had evidence of explanations with a focus on deeper conceptual understanding and interpretation (scores 3 and 4).

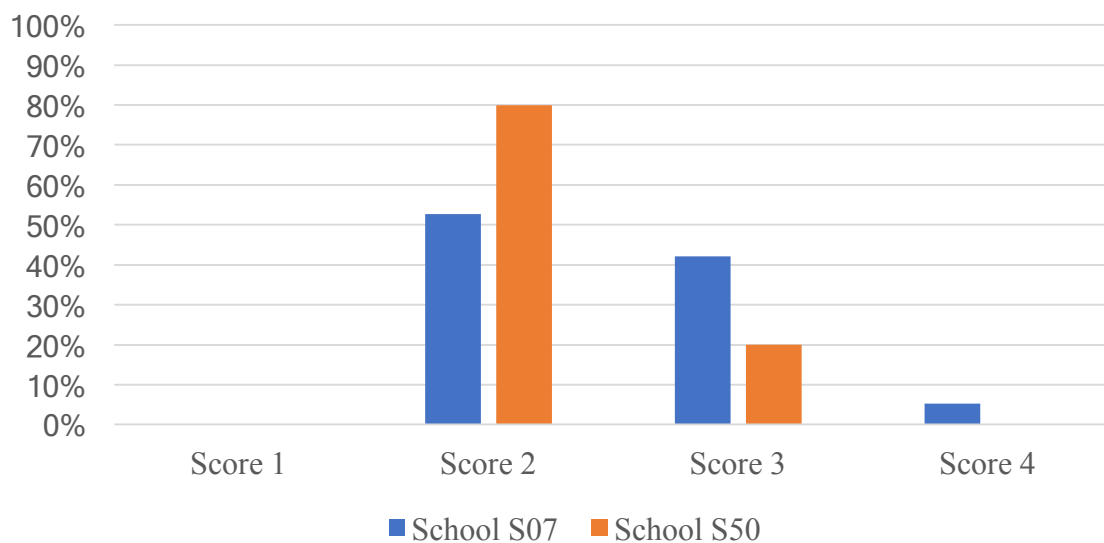


Figure 4D. Representation of content (ROC2): Conceptual richness in the two classrooms.

Representation of content in John's classroom (S50)

As Figures 4C and 4D showed, the explanations in John's classroom were mainly clear and accurate (80%), while the attention to the conceptual understanding was only present in 20% of the segments. John's lesson about "The Sixties" covered a wide range of topics, although it was not particularly long, which might be why the explanations rarely go further than the superficial. In extract 8 this is illustrated by the conversation they had about technology in the 1960s. This extract is from their initial activity, where John drew a mind-map on the board, on the basis of the students' responses to the activation of their prior knowledge.

Extract 8. Technology in the 1960s (ROC1 score 3).

- John:* Technology! Of course the moon landing has a lot to do with technology, but did they have anything, eh, back then that, no... Let me rephrase. Do you think they had mobile phones? No. Did they have cars? No?
- Student 1:* Yes.
- John:* They had cars. It was more and more common for people, regular people, to have cars. What about television and stuff? Do you think they had television, Anders?
- Student 2:* Eh, I don't know. Black-and-white televisions.
- John:* Yes.
- Student 2:* [unclear] pictures and of course the sound.
- John:* TV, I'm not quite sure when colors entered the TV set, but eh, color films were introduced in the 50s I think, so films in the 60s were in color. I know that for a fact. OK, any other things they had or didn't have in the 60s? Student 3?
- Student 3:* Gramophones?
- John:* Gramophones, yes, that's how they listened to music, right? They had now this old fashioned gramophone with the horn and stuff, like this [draws on blackboard]. They had electric gramophones. So they played something called LPs. Does anyone know what LP stands for? We'll get back to this in the music lessons. When Elvis started his career in the 50s, they only had single albums, small - small disks. And, LPs were bigger and it stands for Long Play, so you could, you could have maybe 5, 6, 7 songs on each side of the - the disk. So that was quite a revolution. From just being able to play one song on each side, you could play maybe half an hour on each side.

This extract is representative for the kind of explanations that were typical in John's lessons, where the explanations were accurate but rarely went beyond the superficial. This extract was

the only time they touched on technological advances in the 1960s, before they moved onto a different topic. During the two lessons, they touched upon many different aspects of the 1960s, such as popular music of the time, the fashion, and some famous people such as Marilyn Monroe, John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. In addition, they talked about famous events such as the moon landing, and most of the explanations were similar to the ones given in extract 8 about technology.

Representation of content in Simon's classroom (S07)

As illustrated in Figure 4C and Figure 4D, Simon's explanations were also typically clear and accurate (79%). In addition, almost half the time (47%), he paid attention to conceptual understanding. During the first lesson, Simon spent time on the topic of religion, specifically Catholicism and Protestantism, as they are important for understanding Irish history. Extract 9 shows him explaining in detail what the differences between the two branches are.

Extract 9. Simon explains the differences between Catholics and Protestants (ROC score 3).

Simon: Well, I looked up the difference between the two religions, eh, on the internet, because I didn't know the exact definitions myself, so what I found out was: There are two branches of the same religion, and they were divided after the reformation in the early 1500s. What is most important for you to write down is that the Catholics believe that the church is God's voice on Earth. So whatever God wants to tell the people, he does through church. In our case: priests. *Altså prester*. The Catholics also believe that priests can forgive sins. As Student 1 talked about, when you do something wrong, you confess to a priest, who is in touch with God. So he can forgive your sins. And finally, the Catholics believe that the Pope, *Paven*, is the leader of Christians on earth. So if you're a Catholic, the Pope is your leader. The Protestants have quite a different view on it. Just a second Student 2, OK? The Protestants believe that God's will is written in the Bible. They that that what it says in the Bible, that's what God wants us to know. He doesn't let, eh, or they don't let the church decide. They believe in what the Bible says. The Protestants also believe that faith alone can redeem a soul, you don't need to confess you sins to a priest. As long as you believe in God, your sins will be forgiven. Finally, quite difficult: The church is secular and belongs to the state. The problem in the middle ages, eh, as Student 3 said, was how eh, the church made a lot of money. People had to pay the church every now and then. That is not the case in the Protestant eh, faith. Student 2, I saw your hand?

Student 2: Yeah, do the Protestants have sort of a leader like the Pope?

Simon: Eh, well, no. Eh, because their leader is God. Or the Holy Trinity, really. *Treenigheten*, right? The main difference lays of course within the first bullet points here, or the two first. How does God express his will? The Protestants say through the Bible, the Catholics say through church.

As this extract shows, Simon explained the content in detail, with a focus on deeper conceptual understanding. He used several examples to illustrate the differences between Catholics and Protestants, as well as explaining these examples in an understandable way, like what is really meant by “the church is God’s voice on Earth”. In addition to explaining well the differences between these particular branches of religion, Simon also drew attention to the concept that religions can have different branches, and that there are other conflicts where this is one of the causes. Extract 10 is from after the students have discussed this a short while later than the previous explanation, where a student expressed a connection to Islam, and the division between Sunni Islam and Shia Islam.

Extract 10. Simon and the students talk about conflict and religion (ROC score 3).

Simon: [Student], I think it was you who mentioned Israel or Palestine conflict, right? Are there any other examples, where religion has been split into two branches? And that has led to problems? You know one more?

Student: Well, we talked about it earlier. Islam, with Shia and Sunni, and they going to war and they fight over which law should be in the country.

Simon: Absolutely. Because they both believe in much of the same, but there are different ways of approaching it, right?

As mentioned, these kinds of explanations and exchanges were representative of almost half of Simon’s teaching, and were used to help the students understand the historical events they talk about. In addition to explaining the difference between Catholics and Protestants, Simon also gave detailed explanations of The Potato Famine, Immigrants and Emigrants, Loyalists, as well as explaining relevant concepts such as *truce*, *ambush*, and *innocent*. The rest of the time (53%), the explanations were less focused on conceptual understanding, and often took the form of narrating the historical events without much attention to nuances or deeper understanding, or the explanations were fewer because the focus was on other aspects of the teaching, such as reading, discussions in pairs or groups, or repetition of the cultural aspects of Irish history.

4.3.4 Opportunities for writing, reading and speaking (video observations)

To characterize what type of work they did in the filmed lessons, I looked at the opportunities for writing, reading and speaking. Table 4B illustrates the amount of time the students had opportunities to write, read or speak about the cultural topics covered in the recorded lessons. The table shows percentages of the segments which received a score of 3 or 4, meaning that it provided evidence of which skills were used in the teaching of the cultural topics. Across the two classrooms, there were no instances of writing in the teaching of culture. Reading was not a particular focus in the classrooms either, although there was a difference between the two classrooms, as a result of Simon’s teaching being mostly lecture based, whereas John relied more on the textbook. However, the 20% in S50 and the 5% in S07 account for the same amount of time reading, the difference in percentages is due to the fact that the total times of cultural teaching in the two classrooms differ.

School	Writing	Reading	Speaking
S07	0%	5%	36%
S50	0%	20%	40%

Table 4B. Percentage of segments showing opportunities to read, write and speak in the two classrooms. *Note: Speaking = Classroom Discourse (CD), sub-category Opportunities. Reading = Text- Based Instruction (TBI), sub-category ‘Use.’ Writing = Text-Based Instruction (TBI), sub- category ‘Production’ (See Table 3E). Each segment can include any aspect of speaking, reading, and writing. Therefore, each category can score up to 100%.*

An interesting finding is that opportunities for speaking were similarly prominent in both classrooms, with respectively 40% (S50) and 36% (S07) of the recorded segments offering opportunities for student talk (scores 3 or 4). This is in line with John’s statement from the interview, where he explained that he preferred oral activities while teaching culture. In addition, there seems to be a concern in both classrooms that the students should be able to speak their mind during teaching of culture.

In addition to the opportunities for talking in the two classrooms, the uptake of the students’ responses was categorized in order to look at how the students and teachers interacted during

the classroom talk. Figure 4E shows that the discourses in both classrooms were more often than not characterized by high uptake. This means that the teacher or other students built on the students' responses or clarified these (scores 3 or 4). In Simon's classroom (S07), this was particularly prominent, with 74% of the segments on this high level, where as much as 21% was characterized by constant high level uptake (score 4), compared to John's classroom with 60% high uptake (score 3) and none of this on the highest level (score 4). The relatively high degree of uptake means that what the students contributed to the culture lessons was being used to further the teaching.

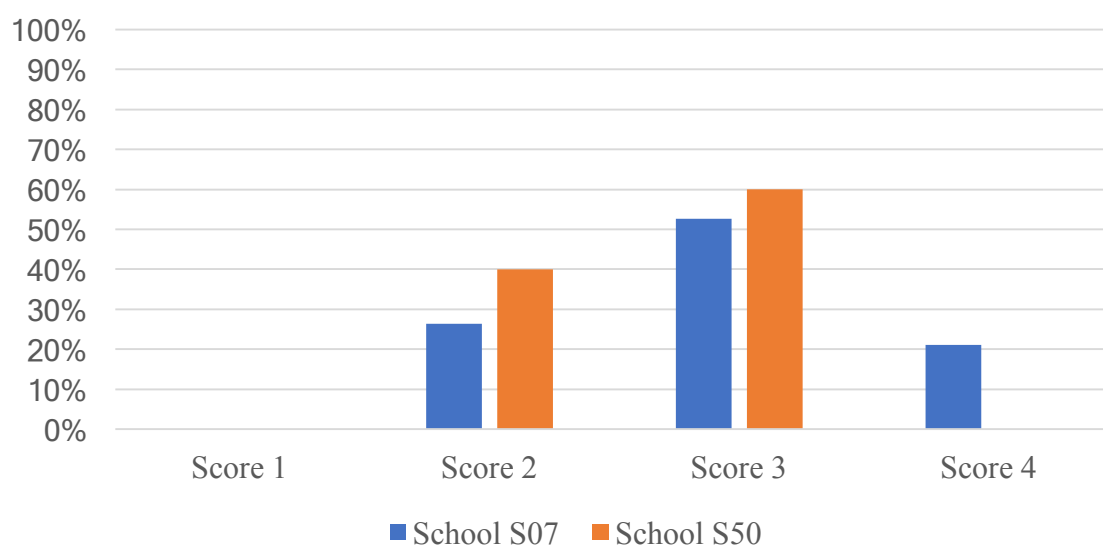


Figure 4E. Classroom discourse (CD1): Uptake of student responses in the two observed classrooms.

Uptake in John's classroom (S50)

During John's lesson 3, there were generally good opportunities for the students to talk, as the two activities they did were making a mind map on the board, and then listening to and discussing the song "John Brown", which also concerned the 1960s. Extract 11 is an example of how the discussion of the song went.

Extract 11. Whole class discussion about "John Brown" (CD1 score 3).

John: Do you feel that the characters change during the song?
Anyone, Student 1, what do you think?

Student 1: Yes, his mom was very happy in the start, and like, he wasn't happy, but John he wasn't happy, but he was content with

going to war. And when he came back, and he was all hurt and stuff, and then the mother was sad, because he was hurt.

John: Very good. Anyone else who would like to add something about...? Why was she happy to begin with, Student 2?

Student 2: She was proud of him.

John: She was proud. Is it something to be proud of, sending your son off to war, do you think? Maybe at that time it was. It was, if you weren't rich then you needed something else to brag about, so maybe having your son in a war in a distant country was something to brag about. I don't know, but often it's those who don't have much money who end up fighting wars, unfortunately. OK, [task] number three, do you think the author of the song has a message? I would like to see some girls raise their hands. Student 3, what do you think?

Student 3: I think it's sort of like: War isn't that great as you might have thought. Like mother he - she sent her son away, thinking to was all going to be OK and he would come back as a proud man with battles and it would be all right and he would have earned money and everything would be great, but when he comes home and he's hurt, it isn't that great anymore.

John: Exactly, so the message is that simply...

Student 3: War isn't something to be proud of, because...

John: No. "A good old-fashioned war", she says in the song, but maybe it's not that good at all. So maybe the message is as simple as: War is bad. Maybe you shouldn't send your sons off to war.

This extract illustrates both how the students elaborated on each others' answers, and how John elaborated and re-voiced his students' responses. The sequence was teacher directed, but John asked for elaboration on the students' responses, first when Student 2 elaborated on Student 1's answer, and John responded to Student 2's comment. Next, John responds to Student 3's utterance, and then helps clarify her response about the message of the song. The video recording also showed that in this segment, several students were active during the class discussion, and that John actively tried to get even more students to join in, by encouraging some of the girls who were not raising their hands to contribute as well. This segment was scored 3 for both Uptake (CD1) and Opportunities for student talk (CD2), as more than a third of the time is dedicated to student talk, and both John and students elaborated on the responses given by other students. It is interesting to note that the work with this authentic text lead to classroom talk with a high level of uptake.

When they worked with the text “Historic events 1960-1969”, on the other hand, there is less room for student talk, and the teacher responds much more briefly to the students’ input, usually only confirming that it was correct, and sometimes adding some additional information, as illustrated in extract 12.

Extract 12. Summing up task about historical events in the 1960s in class (CD1 score 2).

John: So, anyone. What happened in 1961, do you think? Student?

Student: The Berlin Wall was built.

John: That’s correct, very good. The Berlin Wall was built.

Most of the classroom talk in lesson 4 was like extract 12 illustrates: there were only limited opportunities for the students to contribute and the teacher never build on or clarified any of the students’ ideas.

Uptake in Simon’s classroom (S07)

During Simon’s lessons, as much as 74% had evidence of the teacher and students building on the students’ ideas. This happened both in the situations where the students had many opportunities for student talk, such as class discussions, but also while Simon was lecturing, where he was often asking the students for responses or taking questions from them as a part of the lecture. This means that even when the opportunities for talk were limited (i.e. not a part of the 36% characterized by high-end opportunities for speaking, see Table 4B), Simon frequently built on student ideas and clarified or re-voiced these. Extract 13 shows a sequence when a student idea turns into a small conversation in the classroom, where both Simon and another student participate, in addition to Student 1 who initially asked the question.

Extract 13. Class discussion of Ireland (CD1 score 4)

Student 1: Just a question. The British are of course superior in the war because, yeah you know... World War II and stuff, and therefore they got these *stridsvogner* [English: tanks], why don’t they just take like hundreds of these and just roll them into Ireland and just “Ireland is ours”? Because Britian is...

Simon: Well, that’s an interesting question!

- Student 1:* Well, I mean, they are so much more powerful than Ireland are.
- Simon:* That's an interesting question my friends! Why couldn't Great Britain just erase Ireland? Why couldn't they just roll tanks into Ireland and make the problem disappear? What would be the problem there? We have been talking about it, and Student 2, now you wake up, I like that!
- Student 2:* I think the problem would be the international attention. People would react very strongly to England just taking over Ireland like that.

As extract 13 shows, Simon built on the student idea to further the conversation, by opening up for the students to elaborate, instead of just answering the question himself. The way in which Simon responded to the student's questions also seemed to prompt more students to join in, like we see in this extract. This extract is from a segment scored 4 for Uptake (CD1), as this is representative not only for this segment, but also the other segments that scored 4 (20%). However, this is also the kind of teacher and student talk we see during the segments scored 3 (53% of the segments), although it does not happen consistently. As with S50, these high levels of uptake were often linked to the work with authentic texts, such as "Declaration of Independence", "Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland" or the pictures from British newspapers, as well as the work with the interview with an Irish person.

4.3.5 Intellectual challenge in the culture lessons (video observations)

The last element I looked at in the teaching of culture, was the intellectual challenge of the questions and tasks provided in the lessons. The difference in the scores identified between the classrooms accounts for one of the most striking differences between the teaching of culture in the two classrooms. Figure 4F shows that as much as 80% of the time in John's classroom (S50) was characterized by tasks and questions that focused on recalling information or facts (score 2), while only 20% of the time was characterized by tasks and questions that required analytical thinking or interpretation (score 3). In Simon's classroom (S07), however, 42% of the observed lessons were characterized by repeating or recalling fact and information, whereas the majority (58%) of the time, the tasks and questions required the students to interpret, analyze, and justify their positions concerning the cultural topics in question.

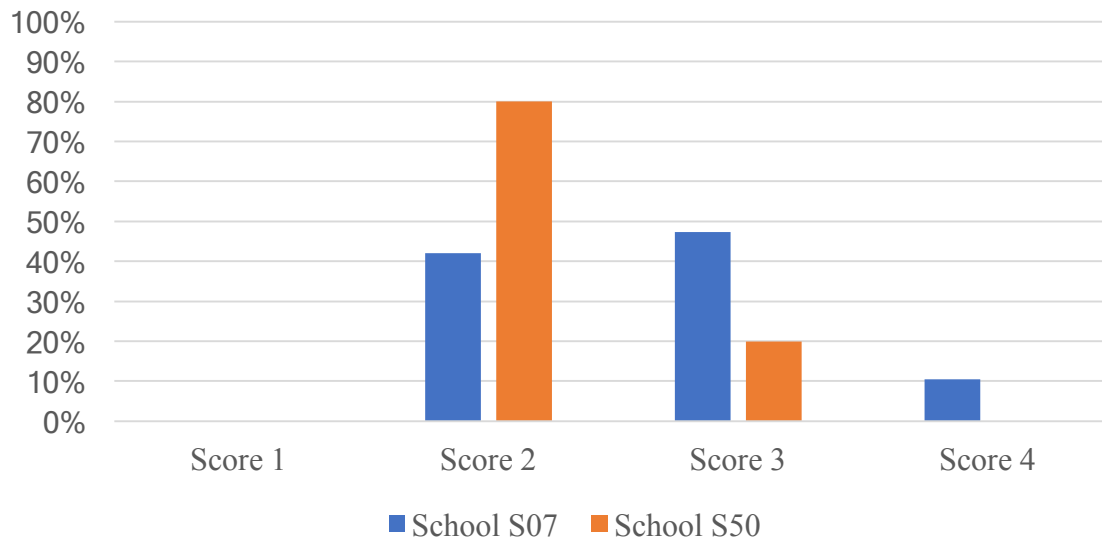


Figure 4F. Intellectual challenge (IC) in the two observed classrooms.

Intellectual challenges in John’s classroom (S50)

The activities in John’s classroom were generally characterized by a low intellectual challenge. The questions that were asked most often demanded nothing more than recalling facts or information from the text they were reading in the textbook (*Historic events from 1960-1969*). An example of these kinds of questions is shown in extract 14.

Extract 14. Task about historical events in the 1960s (IC score 2).

John: Discuss for two minutes, which one of these events do you think took place in the 1960s? And I can reveal there are three belonging to the 60s, and three not belonging to the 60s. OK? Your job is to find out which ones.

As this extract illustrates, the questions were characterized by recalling information and facts, which did not prompt the students to analyse, interpret or generate ideas. John even further decreased the challenge in this activity by stating how many historical events in total did take place in the 1960s, which might have prompted the students to sort some of the events by default. This was typical of 80% of the segments in John’s classroom, where the main portion of the questions were of this kind.

The exception to this line of questioning in John’s classroom was when the students were working on the song “John Brown”, which challenged the students to analyze the song’s lyrics. Extract 15 shows John presenting the questions he wants his students to answer about the song.

Extract 15. John’s questions about the song “John Brown” (IC score 3)

John: And while you listen and go through the text, I want you to find out: Who are the two main characters in the song? Do you feel that the characters change during the song, if so in what ways? Do you think the author of the song has a message?

In contrast to earlier tasks given in John’s classroom, the students were now asked to analyze the material instead in just finding pieces of information. The song lyrics also prompted the students to try and understand the characters, John Brown and his mother, as well as the songwriter. It is also interesting to note that this discussion was what provided John’s classroom with a discussion characterized by high uptake (see 4.3.5), and again the work with authentic materials scored higher than other segments of the teaching.

Intellectual challenges in Simon’s classroom (S07)

Generally, Simon’s classroom presented a high level of intellectual challenge for his students. The questions that were asked during the teaching of culture were often very demanding and had no correct answer, prompting the students to analyze and think for themselves. In Simon’s teaching this was the case for most of his activities, both discussion topics that he introduced, and when they worked with the different authentic texts and the interview with an Irish person. Extract 16 illustrates how they talked about the historical document “Declaration of Independence” in class, where they were asked to identify what claims are made in the text, what opinions are expressed on England, as well as their own thoughts about the text and its content.

Extract 16. Working with “Declaration of Independence” (IC score 3).

Simon: Does the text say anything about England? What opinions are expressed on England? What do they say about England? What did you find, Student 1?

- Student 1:* They say, to sum up, I think they say: We don't like England, we want them out of our country and, yeah, don't come back.
- Simon:* Yeah, did you find any positive words on England?
- Student 1:* Not really.
- Simon:* No, so basically what they are saying is: England sucks, so get out of here, we don't like you English people? Student 2?
- Student 2:* They accuse the British for terror.
- Simon:* Yeah, they accuse the British for terror, which is quite a big accusation. Do you think, Student 2, this is a fair [accusation] for the Irish?
- Student 2:* For like the Irish people to get with by England, or?
- Simon:* Well, if it's fair of them to claim this.
- Student 2:* I think so because in the start it wasn't fair for England to go into Ireland.

As this extract illustrates, the work with the authentic text “Declaration of Independence” was based on interpretation of the text. Through looking and positive and negative words, they concluded that the text was negative towards the English. In addition, Simon asked the students to justify their opinions on the matter, as can be seen in the exchange between Simon and Student 2. The way they worked with this text, is also representative of how they work with the other authentic materials in class (apart from the authentic map, which is not the centre of any prolonged work but a visual aid referred to several times), as well the interview with the Irish person.

However, tasks that are not strictly connected to any text or material were also typically intellectually challenging in Simon's classroom. In Extract 17 Simon introduces a particularly challenging discussion about religion, which was scored as 4 on IC.

Extract 17. Introducing group discussion on religion (IC score 4).

- Simon:* Now, another group discussion for you. We'll do five minutes, [...] to discuss the following questions: Why do you think two branches [...] of the same religion, have troubles living next to each other? Why is there a problem, when Student 1 being Catholic and Student 2 being a Protestant, why is there a trouble for them living next to each other? I

mean, they are both nice guys. Two, can you think of other examples where different branches of one religion have led to problems? You kind of mentioned that earlier, but think about it again. And then 3: What do you think is the best way to solve such problem?

In this activity, the students were asked to first consider how different branches of religion can cause conflict, then relate this to conflicts they already know, and lastly, they were asked to come up with solutions. These were activities that demanded that the students could evaluate and consider very complex issues. It was interesting to note here that Simon does not immediately mention Catholics and Protestants (which have obviously been the main focus when it comes to religion in the teaching thus far), which opened up for the students to think outside the conflict in Irish history. Another interesting aspect of how he presented this task was when he brought in the two students, and made them models of Catholics and Protestants. Both these techniques could be seen as a way of making the conflict more relevant to the students, as well as brining the discussion out of a strictly historical context and as a result making the discussion relevant to both present day and potentially future conflicts. The intellectual challenges were not only related to the students trying to understand the historical event that they were discussing, but they were also asked to come up with and evaluate different solutions to the problem of how people with different religious beliefs can live together peacefully. This is a question that extends to many conflicts, both past and present, and the students reflected on this, as shown in extract 18.

Extract 18. Student response during discussion on religion (IC score 4).

Student 1: I think it's best to realize that there is different, to think about the same religion and you just have to accept that. And it could, we could say that if you have this area, and I have this area, and we don't do any conflict. It could work, or we could just decide that we just don't fight.

Simon: Absolutely. Student 2?

Student 2: I think you could just tolerate that not all people think the same as you, you just let them be who they are, and just think what they think, without fighting over it? And like, even if you believe some people are going to hell, maybe don't they, maybe they don't have anything against going to hell? Or maybe you're wrong? What If Greek mythology is the right - is what's right?

4.3.6 Summary of approaches to teaching culture

In this section, I have presented the findings for RQ3: *How are the cultural topics taught in the English lessons?* by taking into consideration the teachers' responses in the interviews as well as their video recorded classroom teaching.

In both classrooms, the teaching of culture had explicit connections to the students' prior knowledge, and the teachers represented the content by using clear and accurate explanations. In addition, the teaching of culture offered limited or no opportunities for reading or writing, but many opportunities to speak. In addition, the classroom discourse was focused on building on student ideas most of the time.

The main differences in the teaching of culture in the two classrooms, were found in the attention to deeper conceptual understanding and in the intellectual challenge of the tasks and questions provided by the teacher. Simon's classroom (S07) had much more evidence of intellectually challenging tasks and disciplinary explanations with attention to conceptual understanding than did John's classroom (S50).

An interesting finding in both classrooms, were that the work with authentic materials and personal accounts were characterized by high-end scores for both intellectual challenge and uptake, and these authentic materials were used as basis for interpretation and analysis and lead to discussions where the teacher and students built on each other's ideas. This was also true for the interview with the Irish person in S07, which was not considered an authentic text, since it was made for teaching purposes, but characterized as a personal account from a real Irish person.

5 Discussion

Initially, this MA thesis posed the research question: *What characterises the teaching of culture in English in two lower secondary classrooms?* In chapter four, the findings were presented in detail, and were centred around three main points; what was taught in the two classrooms, why culture was taught, and how culture was taught. These findings can be summed up as follows:

1) In both classrooms, the main focus of the teaching was historical topics, that were taught by using mostly or entirely materials that have been categorized as authentic, fictional or personal accounts.

2) The teachers' objectives for teaching culture were mainly concerned with the students' general knowledge, although there were also brief mentions of communication and insight into other ways of living.

3) The teaching in both classrooms were characterized by high-end scores for connections to prior knowledge and instructional explanations. In addition, the teaching provided many opportunities for student talk, and this classroom talk was more often than not characterized by high uptake. The main differences were found in the attention to conceptual understanding and intellectual challenge, which had higher scores in Simon's classroom (S07).

4) In addition, I found that when using authentic materials, fictional texts or personal accounts, the teaching in both classrooms are characterized by intellectually challenging tasks and classroom talk with high levels of uptake.

In the following sections these findings are discussed in light of the relevant theoretical background and previous research. First, I will discuss the purpose of teaching culture (5.1), then I will discuss the use of authentic materials, personal accounts and fiction in the teaching (5.2). Third, I discuss how the teachers convey knowledge (5.3), while the last section discusses the unused potential of using the students own cultural identity (5.4).

5.1 The purpose of teaching culture

As presented in the second chapter of this thesis, the reasoning for emphasizing cultural content in the English subject can be summed up in four main points; motivating the students, language learning and communication, developing the students' general knowledge, and developing intercultural competence (Lund, 2014). However, not all of these were reflected in the teachers' responses. Both John and Simon did see the cultural topics they used in their English teaching as a way of developing the students' general knowledge, however only Simon mentioned that it should help the students communicate better and only John mentioned that the teaching could give the students insight into other people's way of life. However, the most striking of the findings is that neither John nor Simon mentioned intercultural competence as an objective for their teaching of culture.

To some extent, these findings are in line with previous studies done internationally, where teachers struggle with the complexities of the concept of culture and intercultural competence (Álvarez & Bonilla, 2009; Gómez, 2015; Yeşil & Demiröz, 2017), as the teachers seem to mostly focus on the knowledge that the students could acquire from the teaching of culture. Although Simon did explicitly mention that communication was a goal for his teaching, he did not explain this further than introducing different vocabulary for different geographical areas, and did not mention any other aspects of culture that could be relevant for communication.

As seen in the Ice berg metaphor by Ting-Toomey (1999), language and other easily observable aspects of culture are not the only thing that can cause misunderstandings in communication between people with different cultural backgrounds. The underlying features, such as values or beliefs, can often cause much more difficult conflicts, as they are not easy to anticipate (Ting-Toomey, 1999). The English subject curriculum also seems to express this, as part of the subjects' purpose is described as follows: "cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" (NMER, 2006, 2013). It seems that the perspectives of intercultural competence are considered important in the subject, although not explicitly mentioned.

Although John did not state this perspective as a goal for his teaching, he did mention that he thought cultural aspects could help the students gain insight into other people's way of life, which is an important part of intercultural competence as well (Byram et al., 2002). However,

it is interesting that he mentioned this when talking about activities he used, instead of stating it as one of the ways his students should benefit from the teaching of culture. When the students are most likely going to use the English language to communicate with people from a variety of cultural backgrounds in many different settings (Dürmüller, 2008), knowing about different ways of life and perspectives than your own is of importance.

Another finding related to the purpose of teaching culture, was the difference in how the two teachers expressed this to their students. While John did not explicitly state any learning goals or a purpose for why they worked on the topic, Simon introduced this in detail. The goals that he presented were largely focused on knowledge, and were mostly descriptive of what they were going to learn, instead of focusing on why they were going to learn this. However, Simon addressed why learning this could be important, by asking the students themselves (see extract 3), and that talk brought up the perspective that the knowledge about Irish history might become useful in Ireland, and Simon also commented on the fact that being conscious about “which side you support in a discussion” could be important. This perspective shows attention to how deeper levels of Ting-Toomey’s (1999) “cultural iceberg” can affect communication.

Both John and Simon did mention some perspectives outside developing the students’ general knowledge, but we can conclude that these were not the main objectives that they expressed for their teaching. Knowledge is certainly an important part of intercultural competence, but we should also give just as much focus to attitudes, skills and awareness (Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2002). However, if we look at the specific competence aims in the curriculum, they state that the students should be able to “discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialize in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway” and “explain features of history and geography in Great Britain and the USA” (NMER, 2006, 2013), which do not really express a focus on skills, attitudes or awareness. Competence aims that express the needs to develop skills, are described as aims towards “Communication”, and are separated from the competence aims that are described under “Culture, society and literature”. The teachers’ thoughts about the purpose of teaching culture, seem to reflect these divisions to a certain extent, which I see as an argument to emphasize the connections between language skills and cultural competence in the future curriculum.

However, in the observed teaching, I would argue that the students get several opportunities to work with some important skills of intercultural competence, even though this is not something

that teachers explicitly focused on in the interviews or when presenting the learning goals to the students. The teaching that provided some of the best opportunities for the development of these skills, were the segments when the students worked with authentic material, which will be discussed in the following section.

5.2 The use of authentic materials, fiction and personal accounts

An interesting finding, was that both teachers used several authentic materials in their teaching, and that the use of authentic materials in the observed teaching seemed to have a correlation with several high-end scores. In addition to the authentic materials, which included both fictional texts and other text types, the teaching in S07 also included a short interview that Simon had done with an Irish person. This is in line with Byram et al. (2002) who recommend using authentic materials, and state that they are the most appropriate for promoting the intercultural dimension in the language teaching. However, simply using these materials instead of textbook texts is not enough; Byram et al. (2002) also emphasizes that the approach to these materials needs to be a critical one. The analysis showed, however, that in both S07 and S50, the segments of teaching where they used authentic materials and personal accounts were characterized by intellectual challenges for the students, as the work involved interpretation and analysis, as well as classroom talk with a lot of uptake. In S50, especially, the teaching where they used these materials, were much more challenging than the work with factual, non-authentic texts from the textbook.

The work with the song “John Brown” in S50 involved the students reflecting on the characters of the song and their feelings about going to war. As the teacher and students also comment upon, this song is like a story, with characters and a clear narrative. Lund (2014) states that students could gain a better understanding of topics if they are presented as personal experiences through literature. By working with “John Brown”, the students got an opportunity to reflect on the experience of war from a different perspective than their own. In addition, the students were asked what they thought the message of the song could be. This is a way of approaching a text where they are asked to interpret, and look for different perspectives. When working with the text like that, the classroom talk also became a conversation with high uptake, where students and the teachers built on each other’s ideas. This is a very different approach than when they are working with the factual text “Historic Events 1960-1969” where the tasks

were limited to finding and repeating facts from this text, and no interpretation was required, which assumes that there is only one perspective and one right answer to the topic in questions (Byram et al., 2002).

During Simon's lesson, the authentic materials ranged from newspaper pictures, to the Declaration of Independence. However, a common feature of the work with these materials was the tasks that focused on interpretation and analysis. When working with the Irish Declaration of Independence, the students were asked to analyze the way in which opinions of the British were expressed. By working with the text this way, the students meet the text looking for different perspectives, and are not being asked to read the text as just a source of facts, but looking for features in the text that can explicitly or implicitly say something about the authors' opinions regarding a group of people. In fact, this way of approaching a text has some elements of critical discourse analysis, which Byram et al. (2002) recommend as a way of approaching texts to develop cultural awareness.

Of Byram's (1997) *savoirs*, the classroom conversations that emerged when working with authentic materials could help the students develop their attitudes. Deardorff (2011) states an important aspect of attitudes of intercultural competence is to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty. Another feature of the work with authentic materials in the two classrooms is that the teachers do not claim to have the right answer. The students came up with interpretations, and the teachers indicated that while they agreed, there was no "right" answer that they were looking for. Especially in the work with the pictures from the British newspapers in S07, Simon stated several times that he did not have the correct answer, and different interpretations from the students were encouraged in class.

Byram et al. (2002) state that the use of authentic materials also need to take into consideration the context and the intent of these. In both S07 and S50, the teaching also gives the students the relevant information about this. In S50, although somewhat briefly, the teacher and students talked about the historical context of the songs, and in S07, the authentic materials were presented with their original context and with thorough explanations of the historical contexts, which might have helped them understand the perspectives and opinion expressed better than they could have otherwise.

In addition to using a critical approach and presenting the materials with their contexts, Byram et al. (2002) encourages the use of multiple authentic materials to show contrasting perspectives. This is something that is not widely used in any of the classrooms. Even though Simon's teaching in S07 uses many different authentic materials, they are not compared with each other, or used to show different perspectives or opinions on the same topic. A suggestion for both teachers would be to either use several materials offering different perspectives, or that they could introduce differing perspectives themselves.

Even though the interview with Simon's Irish friend was not categorized as authentic, this segment of his teaching was in many ways similar to the segments where they worked with authentic materials. It was intellectually challenging and gave the students many opportunities to work with their skills of interpreting and relating – one of the skills needed for intercultural competence (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2011). This segment of the teaching also gave the students an opportunity to meet with a real individual from the culture that they were learning about. Lund (2012) suggests that using real people is a good basis for teaching. This could help the students understand the complexity of cultures, especially if more than one perspective is offered. Here it would be especially relevant to follow Byram et al. (2002) suggestion of using materials with contrasting views, which could make the students see the issue from more than one side. In the case of this interview, it might therefore be relevant to ask whether Simon should have included a different source on the present-day situation as well. After almost four lessons on Irish history, all heavily focused on the conflict between Catholics and Protestants, the students are only presented with one present-day perspective on the Republic of Ireland, which was that of a Catholic. While this is the majority religion in the country, including the views of the Protestant minority as well could have enhanced the understanding of the situation and the conflict.

From these findings, it seems relevant to ask whether the choice of materials was the only factor contributing to the high-quality aspects of these segments of the teaching. Would it not have been possible in S50 to ask more intellectually challenging questions to the factual text "Historic events from 1960-1969", going further than just finding and repeating facts? According to Byram et al. (2002) authentic materials are preferable to promote the intercultural dimension of language teaching, but textbook texts can also be approached in a critical way. The approach to the material is always the most important, and the students have more use for "concepts for analyzing texts more than factual information" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 18). In

light of this, there might also be reason to suggest a more explicit focus on the skills of interpretation and relation, or *savoir comprendre*, while working with authentic materials. Even though the teaching shows that they get the opportunity to use skills of interpretation, these skills are never talked about or commented upon in the teaching.

In light of earlier research done on textbooks (Brown, 2016; Lund, 2007; Murray, 2015), a focus on approaching materials in a critical manner should be emphasized. Especially considering the findings from Brown (2016) and Murray (2015), who found that texts or images in the textbooks all-too-often showed some minority groups (native peoples and ethnic minorities in the UK, respectively) in ways that made the white majority cultures the default. To avoid passing on these assumptions and attitudes to the students, it is important that teachers have skills of approaching texts critically and analytically, as well as developing these in the students.

5.3 Conveying knowledge

In addition to the work with different authentic materials, the teaching of culture also had many segments where the teachers were the ones conveying knowledge. Knowledge in Byram's (1997) model should be "of self and other" (p. 34), which means that the students need knowledge about themselves and their own culture, as well as other cultures. In addition, Dypedahl and Eschenbach (2014) point out the need for the students to gain not only culture specific knowledge, but also culture general knowledge. In both classrooms I observed, knowledge first and foremost was focused on culture specific knowledge about "the other", as the main topics were about historical aspects of the US, the UK and Ireland.

In Simon's teaching about Irish history, however, I would argue that he succeeded in highlighting many concepts that were not specific to the context of Irish history. His in-depth and nuanced explanations meant that the teaching often focused on deeper understanding of different concepts, such as what it means "to claim" something or what it means to be "innocent" when it comes to war, but also detailed explanations about the differences between Catholics and Protestants. In addition, how Simon connects the new material to the students' prior knowledge helps make the teaching seem relevant also to other, more general topics outside of Irish history. Moreover, in Simon's teaching there are many other examples of how the topic they are working with in relation to Irish history is discussed in a way where it is

compared to other, more general situations that either the teacher or the students bring up because of the similarities. Examples of these were different conflicts where religion has been an influence, for example the conflicts in the Middle East, or the comparisons made between Bloody Sunday in Irish history and in the Russian revolution (see extract 7).

Simon's use of connections to prior knowledge, in terms of good comparisons and nuanced and extensive explanations, in combination with the intellectually challenging questions he asks his students, contribute to making his teaching go from just being about historical events in Irish history to helping the students develop their understanding of concepts such as conflicts and protests. As Risager (2007) also emphasizes that intercultural competence should also include being aware of present challenges, the way Simon uses comparisons to current conflicts and has the students discuss solutions to these complex questions, is a way for the students to practice this. When the students discuss conflicts between two religious branches, they are not explicitly being asked to talk about Irish history, but rather to talk about a difficult problem that is relevant in many parts of our world today. This is a way for the students to work with the fifth of Byram's (1997) *savoirs: savoir s'engager*, which can be characterized as political education. Here the students should critically evaluate different sides to these complex problems. There is also evidence in the classroom that these discussions make the students become aware of the possible diversity of perspectives, which indicate that they to some extent show openness to other perspectives that could be as valid as their own. In extract 18, one of the students concludes that we should tolerate that people think differently than ourselves, "even if you believe some people are going to hell, maybe they don't have anything against going to hell? Or maybe you're wrong? What if Greek mythology is the right – is what's right?"

There might be several reasons as to why Simon's teaching had more focus on conceptual understanding and nuances than did John's. A possibility is that John's teaching just did not leave time to explain concepts in greater detail. Even though the segments of culture related teaching in John's classroom were not very long, the teaching touched upon many topics, such as fashion, music, technology, the Vietnam War and the Hippies, to mention some. All of these are topics that could have been explored in much greater detail, if the schedule had allowed time for that. John expressed in the interview that he wanted his students to, "compare ways of living that they know, to how it is in other places in the world, or how it has been". However, in most of the observed teaching he only touches upon surface levels of what it meant to live

in the 1960s, and did not bring in elements of comparison with the students' own lives. Based on the interesting work the students do when talking about the song "John Brown", a suggestion could therefore be that he used more time on working with the authentic materials, or limit the number of topics to cover, so that they could be approached in more detail and from other perspectives.

5.4 The unused potential of using the students' own cultural identity

As mentioned, the knowledge in Byram's (1997) model does not only concern knowledge about others, but just as important, knowledge about ourselves. However, in the teaching of culture in the two classrooms, there was little focus on the students' own culture and reality. The instances where this was done, for example when, it was very brief and still not particularly connected to the identity of the students, as mainly historical aspects were discussed. Not explicitly talking about the students' own cultural identity will take away an important aspect of the cultural learning, as it might lead us to the false belief that our culture is "neutral". A more explicit focus on "knowledge of the self" (Byram, 1997) could be done through tasks, and will help the students gain a better understanding of their own culture in relation to others. As mentioned, this was something that was touched upon by John in his interview, but was not reflected in his teaching.

Another reason to involve the students' own cultural identities in the teaching more extensively, is because Norwegian students of English are also users of English in their own right. Rindal (2015) suggests that many Norwegian speakers of English see English as a language that is personal to them. Amongst the many cultures that are expressed through the English language, we could argue that Norwegian culture is one of them. However, as Rindal (2014) has pointed out, the English subject curriculum (NMER, 2006, 2013) does not focus explicitly on Norwegian students as users of English. In the competence aims, one can see that the students are expected to be able to compare their ways of living to ways of living in "English-speaking" countries, but there are no references to the use of the students' own culture or identity. For this reason, it was not a very surprising finding that this was not prominent in the observed teaching.

6 Conclusion

This MA study combines video analysis of 8 videotaped English lessons in lower secondary school (Year 9) and interviews with the two teachers. The video data were collected as a part of the Linking Instruction and Student Experiences (LISE) project and were analyzed to find what characterizes the teaching of culture in the two observed classrooms.

The background for writing this thesis was my own interest in the subject, as well as an evident gap in the research. There have been several studies focusing on how textbooks deal with the teaching of culture (e.g. Jørgensen, 2011; Lund, 2007), or investigating teachers' perspectives (e.g. Andreassen, 2014), but there is generally a lack of knowledge about what happens in the classroom in the English teaching (Aasen et al., 2012). On the basis of the lack of classroom research of the teaching of culture and my participation in the LISE study, the main research question of this MA study is: *What characterizes the teaching of culture in English in two lower secondary classrooms?* In addition, I answered three sub-questions regarding *what, why and how* of the teaching of culture.

The main findings of the present study showed that the teaching in both classrooms were concerned with culture as a humanistic concept, or big-C culture (Kramsch, 2006), as the topics they focused on were historical. The teaching used both authentic and non-authentic materials to explore these topics, with a majority of authentic materials. Furthermore, the objectives the teachers expressed for the work with cultural topics in the English subject, were mainly related to the development of the students' general knowledge. Other perspectives that were mentioned included strengthening communication and helping the students gain insight into different ways of living. However, these were not elaborated on nor communicated to the students.

In both classrooms, the teaching of culture was characterized by connections to prior knowledge, clear and accurate explanations, as well as many opportunities for student talk. The main differences between the two classrooms were found in the attention to conceptual understanding, as well the intellectual challenge posed by the tasks and questions. In addition, I found that in both classrooms, the use of authentic materials was connected to high-end scores for intellectual challenge and uptake in the classroom discourse.

6.1 Implications of the present study

Since the teachers did not see developing the students' intercultural competence as a goal for their teaching of culture, I argue that there is reason to emphasize intercultural competence as a goal for the English subject. As intercultural competence is not only concerned with knowledge, but also attitudes, skills and cultural awareness (Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2002; Deardorff, 2011; Dypedahl & Eschenbach, 2014), and this should also be a part of the teaching related to culture.

My classroom observations showed that the teachers focused primarily on conveying knowledge, and their teaching could benefit from increasing the focus on developing attitudes and skills. The use of authentic materials in the two classrooms provided opportunities for the students to interpret and analyze the different materials, which is regarded an important skill for intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2011). In addition, these materials lead to classroom talk with high levels of uptake. However, the teachers did not use two or more authentic materials to look at different or contrasting views, which could further strengthen the development of skills necessary for intercultural competence.

I have also argued that the teachers could have used the students' own cultural background more actively in the teaching. Even though the teaching was focused on conveying knowledge, they did not focus on what Byram (1997) calls "knowledge of the self". Insight and awareness about your own culture is regarded just as important as knowledge about other cultures, and this is something the teaching did not reflect.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

As the present study only comprises data from two classrooms, my primary suggestion for further research is to investigate the teaching of culture with a larger sample, since the findings from this MA study cannot be generalized to other settings. Conducting similar studies using data from different classrooms could provide a better understanding of the teaching of culture in the English subject. Since this study only focused on classroom observation and the teachers' perspectives, it could also be interesting to include the students' perspective and experiences in future research.

Another interesting finding of this study was the correlation between the use of authentic materials and high-end scores for both intellectual challenge and uptake in the classroom discourse. One of my suggestions for further research would be to investigate further the what extent and how authentic materials of different kinds are used in the teaching of English, especially as a means to teach culture.

6.3 Concluding remarks

The process of writing this MA thesis has been a very educational experience. I leave this project with a much better understanding of the cultural aspects of language teaching than I had before. The awareness of how my students can be challenged and engaged in meaningful discussions about cultural topics, is something that has already changed the way I approach teaching. The findings of this study have been a reminder to include more authentic materials into my teaching, and to work with these critically. In addition, I have become more attentive to include the students' own cultural background in the teaching more frequently. In an increasingly more diverse country and globalized world, I find that teaching to develop the students' intercultural competence is one of the most interesting and meaningful parts of being a language teacher. The knowledge I have gained from this project has helped me develop this aspect of my own teaching in both English and Spanish, which has been immensely valuable.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Norwegian original:

- Med utgangspunkt i følgende kompetansemål fra hovedområdet ”Kultur, samfunn og litteratur” i læreplan for engelsk (etter 10.tinn): *Målet for opplæringen er at eleven skal kunne drøfte leveste og omgangsformer i Storbritannia, USA, andre engelskspråklige land og Norge*
- HVA?
 - Hvilke emner velger du?
 - På hvilket grunnlag velges disse?
- HVORFOR?
 - Hva vil du at dine elever skal bruke kulturkunnskapen de lærer i engelskfaget til?
 - Hvordan ser du sammenhengen mellom kultur og språk/kommunikasjon?
- HVORDAN?
 - Hvilke type undervisningsformer bruker du i undervisningen? Hvorfor?
 - Hvilke type læremateriell bruker du i undervisningen? Hvorfor?
 - Hvor mye tid bruker du på undervisning rettet mot dette kompetansemålet?

Translation in English:

- Based on the following competence aim from the main aras “Culture, society and literature” in the English subject curriculum (after year 10): *The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialize in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway*
- WHAT?
 - What topics do you choose?
 - On what basis are they chosen?
- WHY?
 - What do you want your students to use the cultural knowledge they learn in the English subject for?
 - How do you see the connection between culture and language/communication?”.
- HOW?
 - What kinds of teaching methods do you use in the teaching? Why?
 - What kinds of teaching materials do you use in the teaching? Why?
 - How much time do you spend on teaching towards this competence aim?

Appendix B: Signed Consent Form

UiO : Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet
Institutt for lærerutdanning og skoleforskning

Institutt for lærerutdanning og
skoleutvikling
Postboks 1099 Blindern
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Vev-adr.: <http://www.ils.uio.no/>

Dato: 01.12.2015

Erklæring ved tilgang til LISA (Linking Instruction and Student Achievement) sine forskningsdata

Forskningsprosjektet LISA (Linking Instruction & student achievement) har forpliktet seg til å følge personopplysningslovens retningslinjer ved all registrering, lagring og bruk av det innsamlede datamaterialet. Ved tilgang til dette materialet er du forpliktet til å gjøre deg kjent med og følge disse retningslinjene (se: <http://www.lovdato.no/all/nl-20000414-031.html>). Datamaterialet skal ikke under noen omstendighet deles med tredjepart eller fremvises til andre

Jeg bekrefter herved at jeg har gjort meg kjent med personopplysningslovens retningslinjer, og lover å følge disse i mitt arbeid med datamaterialet tilhørende forskningsprosjektet LISA.

Undertegnede plikter også å referere eksplisitt til LISA prosjektet (ved prosjektleder og dataeier Professor Kirsti Klette) ved all bruk av data/ design, kodeskjema og tekniske løsninger som bygger på dette prosjektet, jf. Forskningsetiske komiteers krav til God Forskningspraksis/ Henvisningsskikk (<http://www.etikkom.no/Forskningsetikk/God-forskningspraksis>). Enhver situasjon der datamateriale som tilhører LISA benyttes i analyser i publikasjoner skal være kjent for prosjektleder og dataeier Professor Kirsti Klette før publisering.

Sted	Dato	Underskrift
Blindern	26/8-16	
For LISA Blindern	15/11-17	



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