THE IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF A SECOND REALITY:  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF A ROMANIAN EFL TEXTBOOK

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
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Abstract

Drawing on the assumptions that old ideologies persist over a long period of time, impact on intercultural communication, and can be identified in texts, this study is a critical analysis of the content of an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbook, which was published between 1983 and 1988 in communist Romania. Specifically, the research questions of the present study are: 1) How do the EFL textbook’s readings represent the relationship between Romanian and non-Romanian people?, and 2) What are the sociopolitical implications of these representations? Based on critical discourse analysis (CDA), as well as content analysis and literary theory, the method of analysis of this study builds on central concepts such as ideology and intertextuality, and delivers a multilayered framework of analysis that comprises the historical and ideological context of the texts, as well as the context of other texts. The findings show that the communist ideology was legitimated and transmitted in language textbooks, and, compared to the Romanians, non-Romanians were unequally represented.
Dedication

For my mother, Flori Carapanait.
(Mamei mele, Flori Carapanait)
Acknowledgements

This thesis is the result of many people’s contributions: there are those who provided the intellectual stimulus, and those who offered the emotional support. There are those who critiqued and praised, those who listened and those I listened to. Special thanks to my supervisor, Normand Labrie, for always being so positive, encouraging, and understanding, and to Maria José Botelho who continued to provide her valuable feedback even from a distance.

Two years ago, when I told my father that I had been accepted to an MA program at a University in Toronto, he asked me whether it was my mother’s idea to go back to school. Knowing my mother, no one would find it odd that both my sister and I owed our academic accomplishments to her. This time it wasn’t her persuasive nature, but my own thirst for knowledge that had propelled me into graduate study.
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Chapter One:
Introduction

Rationale: The Gap

For almost 45 years, the so-called Iron Curtain established a geographical and ideological separation between West and East Europe, leaving the latter slip under the influence of the Soviet Union, and overcast by the communist ideology. In Romania, one of the Eastern-bloc countries, the Romanian Communist Party promoted nationalist feelings, and denigrated political orientations other than communist by means of intensive propaganda. The collapse of the communist era in 1989, and especially Romania’s entry into the European Union (EU) in 2007, marked a new beginning for the Romanians; and it started out with a process of diminishing the differences between the two Europes: “As these states [Eastern European] now participate in EU’s decision making, their model of Europe may well affect the discourse of Europe in the EU as a whole” (Kuus, 2005).

Consequently, Eastern Europeans have been urged to make the transition from one political orientation to another, leaving behind 45 years of communist ideology and adopting behaviors and norms in line with the Western paradigm of living. In other words, Eastern Europeans are expected to catch up with the more developed world.

However, in spite of Romania’s and other Eastern European governments’ efforts for integration into political, economic and cultural structures of Western Europe, some scholars (Kozma and Poloniy, 2004) identify a gap in communication between individuals living in Western countries and those coming from Eastern Europe. They argue that for Eastern Europeans to catch up with the rest of Europe and to overcome the cultural gap, “Learning English is not enough. It is the meaning behind the words which counts” (p. 475). The authors differentiate between a
modernization gap that could be easily overcome by intensive learning of English as a foreign language, and a cultural gap, that encompasses a set of different values, norms, patterns of behaviors and attitudes.

According to Fairclough (2003), these “positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, etc. of social groups” (p. 9) with reference to relations of power and domination between groups are representations of ideologies; therefore, the cultural gap identified by Kozma and Polonyi (2004) refers to a difference in ideology between the two parts of Europe. This is not a surprising fact, as the transition from a totalitarian ideology that had been inculcated into individuals for 45 years to a democratic ideology does not occur instantaneously with the fall of the communist government. Political changes can be sudden and governments change overnight, but ideologies persist in the country’s policies and practices as well as in the minds of its people. Dominant ideologies inform people’s choices and actions, even if unconsciously. In a study on changes in education following the fall of the United Soviet Socialist Republics in Latvia, Silova (2004) maintains the view that ideology is carried over into a new era and explains how “the collapse of empires often leaves a legacy of political, cultural and educational institutions, as well as cultural norms and behaviors that continue to exist long after their demise, thus influencing post socialist transformation processes” (p. 78).

Historically, the focus of this study is the communist period between 1947 and 1989, particularly the last decade, the 1980s. However, a brief historical account of the years preceding 1947 contributes to a better understanding of the communist era. Before 1947, Romanians had enjoyed the freedom to choose and adhere to different political parties, and the freedom of speech similar to Western Europe. Romanians have always been proud of the Latin roots of their language, and for this reason Romance languages were highly valued, especially French, which was the
preferred language of the elites. Bucharest, the capital city of Romania, used to be called Small Paris (Micul Paris) due to its similarity in architecture with the French capital.

This general receptiveness and acceptance of Western European values before World War II, as well as the freedom to choose between ideologies were crushed once the Romanian Communist Party came to power after the rigged elections in 1947. The decades of censorship and constraint that followed resulted in an increased Romanian Diaspora and imprisonment of many leading intellectuals whose voices raised questions of legitimacy of the new party, and warnings about the disastrous effect it would have on the country. The 1989 revolution meant the disposal of the communist ideology and the return to a freedom experienced before 1947 that had not been forgotten. However, the return proved more complicated, and the politics of catching up with the others strenuous.

Thus, this study is historically positioned at the end of the 1980s, the last years of communism in Romania. It is a partial analysis of the end of the communist ideology in Romania that traces down the baggage of knowledge carried into the new political era of democracy and capitalism in the 1990s and 2000s. More specifically, in this research I inquire into the cultural gap that seems to be difficult to bridge between Eastern and Western Europe, and the transition between ideological eras. Fairclough (2003) states that ideological representations, such as cultural norms and behaviors mentioned above, can be enacted in ways of acting socially, and inculcated in the identities of social agents, as well as identified in texts. Drawing on these theories, this study is a snapshot of what Romanians learned about themselves and about the values norms and beliefs underlying the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbook during communism in the 1980s.
**Why the 1980s?**

First, this decade sums up forty years of implementation of the communist ideology in Romania. The communist ideology reached its peak and collapsed in the 1980s when its censorship and constraints became unbearable. It is thus the decade that bears the most significant amount of ideological content. Second, 1980s represents the end of a political era and the beginning of another; therefore, this ideological shift brought upon a great number of changes in the social, political, and educational life of Romanians.

**Why English?**

Teaching English in a communist country is a politically sensible and controversial school subject: on one hand, it provides access to knowledge in a language of international communication, and on the other hand, it is the language of the enemy, of countries whose ideological beliefs are at the other end of the political spectrum. Hence, teaching English requires a compromise between the two, which was actually carried out through the translation of communist ideology into English. In addition, the geographical location of Romania, often called a Latin island in a Slavic sea because of its surrounding Slavic neighbours, allowed for spatial distance from English speaking countries. This geographical distance, together with the ban on travelling visas, left the Romanian students more or less unaware of the day-to-day realities in other countries, which in turn eased the manipulation of the textbooks’ content.

The EFL textbook, which I analyze in this study, was published in 1983, and a second edition in 1988, thus encompassing the decade of interest in this study, and the controversial subject of English. Furthermore, after December 1989, waiting for new books to be printed, schools continued to use the same textbook for a while, even if the content was ideologically compromised.
Research Questions

The importance of EFL textbooks was augmented in the context of a communist country because textbooks were usually the main, and often the only, source of exposure to a foreign language both for teachers and students. Other sources were scarce: the number of movies or radio stations in a foreign language was reduced due to the Romanian government’s censorship of texts not designed along the lines of the communist ideology. Furthermore, traveling abroad having been a challenging matter due to the harsh policy on visa issuance turned the EFL textbook into the official source of knowledge about another culture where people speak English.

The textbook under scrutiny in this study was used to teach and learn English in Romania before, and even after, 1989. As mentioned before, instruction in English, the language of the capitalist part of the world, was paradoxical in a communist country where speaking foreign languages was suspicious, traveling abroad was almost impossible, and capitalist ideology rejected. Given this paradox, the research questions of the study are an inquiry into the reality the textbook represents about non-Romanians and their relationship to Romanians.

As opposed to other school subjects’ textbooks, such as mathematics, chemistry and physics, foreign language lessons and textbooks tapped directly into cross-cultural communication issues, and presumed, to say the least, acknowledgement of non-Romanians. Hence, the textbook’s content was used in this study to answer the following questions:

1. How do the EFL textbook’s readings represent the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians?

2. What are the sociopolitical and cultural implications of these representations?
The textbooks’ genre in general shapes the students expectations and the reading process: readers assume that textbooks’ readings are factual and immune to ideologies; therefore, they are pure reflections of reality. I hypothesize that the textbook’s readings create a second reality both about the Romanians and non-Romanians through ideological discourse and communist propaganda.

**Importance of the Study**

Our personal concern for children is played out against a background of texts. We look for children to produce texts of the sort we promote as offering the best versions of themselves. Identity, reading, writing are all somehow intimately connected, tangled up in the versions of English teaching we most commonly employ.

This textbook was the second edition of a textbook that had been initially published in 1983. What stands out, as one of the most important features, is the fact that it had been the standard EFL textbook for 9th or 10th grade students across the country. In other words, six annual cohorts of students nationwide learned to read, speak, and write in English using this *background of texts*, as Moss (1994, p. 180) calls it in the quote at the beginning of the section. Furthermore, the same number of cohorts have also been exposed to the ideology, propaganda and discourses presented in the textbook.

By identifying some of the discourses and values presented in the textbook through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study contributes to a better and deeper understanding of the communist legacy and its impact on the identity of Romanians. It is my belief that this understanding of the past leads in turn to a better understanding of the present.
Methodology

The EFL textbook, published in Romania during the communist regime by the Ministry of Education and Learning (Ministerul Educatiei si Invatamantului) was intended for the use of students in their fifth year of the study of English, which meant either 9th or 10th grade. In the 1980s Romanian students started learning their first foreign language in fifth grade, and their second foreign language in sixth grade. Teachers nationwide used the same textbook, and there were no other choices or optional textbooks.

The excerpts selected for analysis are the thirteen main readings of the textbook varying in length between half a page of text and a page and a half, and the pre- and post- reading activities and questions. The readings, as opposed to the grammar exercises, offer a solid basis for analyzing the ideological content. At the same time, the pre- and post- reading activities guide the students’ thinking even more in the direction of understanding the text in a particular ideological way.

The methodological approach of the study is related to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and encompasses content analysis and critical literary theory concepts as well. Some concepts that I will make use of across the study are ideology, us vs. others, intercultural communication, discourse, and intertextuality.

Positioning Myself as a Researcher

The topic of this study is the outcome of many of my personal experiences. Having lived and studied in Romania for the first 23 years of my life, the description of the day-to-day realities of the communist era, and the perspective on communist ideology are subjective. I would like to explain the subjectivity of the interpretation by using Blommaert’s (2005) concept of layered ideology, which refers to the fact that the same semiotic process may have different meanings in different
contexts, and to different individuals. The contexts that shaped my perspective were my age, and the political ideologies and events that I had witnessed and participated in.

I was 14 years old in 1989 when the communist regime collapsed, thus I experienced communism through the somewhat sheltered view of a child whose parents took on the heavy burden of day-to-day life in communist Romania. At 14, I witnessed the revolution which overthrew the communist leaders, and I experienced the transition to democracy, or at least the beginnings of it. I started learning English in 5th grade, and I used the standard EFL textbooks, which were then available, including a textbook identical to the one in this study.

A question that I have been often asked is how I came across the textbook at the centre of this analysis. When I became interested in textbook analysis, I asked family and friends in Romania whether they still had EFL textbooks that they had used before 1989. One of my friends mailed this textbook, which he had used in 9th grade. His name is stamped on the front page and small notes, such as pronunciation and translation aids are written in pen throughout the book. The original first page, the usual portrait of the President Nicolae Ceausescu, is missing because my friend used the textbook after the fall of the communist government. Thus, the textbook is truly a symbol of the transition from one political era to another bearing the symbolism of both.
Chapter Two:
Literature Review

Through its very nature, the study of a foreign language encompasses the learning of linguistic concepts, as well as the cultural and ideological knowledge that the language represents. Hence, this literature review places the EFL textbook in different contexts that rendered its content. As mentioned in the Rationale of the Study, the textbook is a compromise between competing ideologies, the one of the country it is taught in, and the ones of the countries the language is spoken in. Therefore, first, the literature review provides a background on the central concept of ideology and its role in foreign language (FL) teaching. Second, the review explores the relationship between us vs. others on which intercultural communication is based.

The theoretical framework that closes this chapter draws on these concepts of ideology and intercultural communication, and it is shaped by the methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); approach on which ideology has had a major impact. The theoretical background of the framework is enhanced by the review of general methods of text analysis, and ten case studies of textbook analysis. These studies inform the present research in terms of organization and content, and confirm the use of CDA as the preferred approach to analysis.

**Ideology and Intercultural Communication**

**Ideology**

To identify the way the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians was represented in the language of the other (English) while still supporting the communist ideology, the
theoretical framework of this study is founded on the concept of ideology, and the way ideology constructs and presents a second reality in textbooks (Wodak, 1989).

To say the least, there is an abundance of definitions on ideology. Authors usually review some common ones, and subsequently provide their own explanation tailored to the goal of their studies. In Ideology and Curriculum, Michael Apple (2004) identified areas of agreement and divergence between these definitions. That ideology is “some sort of ‘system’ of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality” (p. 18) is subject of consensus; however, Apple maintains, ideology/ies differ in scope and function. In Ideology: An Introduction, Terry Eagleton (1991) tallies sixteen basic definitions of ideology, some contradicting or competing with each other. However, there seems to be a consensus among all authors that, historically, ideology can be traced back to two main conceptual foci: those of Marx and Durkheim (Apple, 2004; Eagleton, 1991; McClure & Fischer, 1969; Woolard, 1998), later on taken over and further developed by Bakhtin and the so-called Bakhtin circle in the 1920s (Gardiner, 1992).

On one hand, the Marxist current establishes ideology, further employed by radical theories as well, as the reproduction of the means of production that oppress the masses. Simply put, their belief is that when the oppressive ideology vanishes, people pursue happiness in freedom. Following this logic, the definitions of ideology vary in their different degrees of association with relations of power and domination. For example, Fairclough (1989), a well-known theorist and practitioner of critical discourse analysis (CDA), assigns negative connotations to ideology and defines it as “common sense assumptions, which assist privileged interests to establish and maintain unequal power relations” (p. 20).
The main second perspective views ideology in organic terms as part of the society at all times, whether communist, socialist, radical feminist, capitalist, and the like. Hodge and Kress (1993), for instance, define ideology as “a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view” (p. 6). Likewise, Wodak (1989) argues that, while in totalitarian systems there is only one ideological choice, in non-totalitarian systems citizens have the freedom to choose among several ideologies. Ideology is, therefore, perceived as inevitable even in the most democratic political systems, and absolute freedom from ideology practically nonexistent.

**The Second Reality**

Many authors call attention to another aspect of ideology: the second or imagined reality that ideology creates (Brunnbauer, 2008; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Sauer, 1989; Wodak, 1989). The second or imagined reality created by ideology lays the foundation for the analysis carried out in this study. Ideology through discourse changes the perception of reality. Sauer (1989) describes this process by stating that ideology interferes with the assimilation of experience, thus creating a “secondary reality” (Wodak, 1989), a reality in contradiction with the experience of the population. For example, Brunnbauer (2008) describes this divergence of social reality from ideological prescriptions by discussing various instances of social life in socialist Bulgaria, and notices “the inability of the party-state to render society a mirror image of its ideals” (p. 47), yet still hoping that, “The New Man was to represent the triumph of ideology in everyday life, i.e., the eventual coincidence of ideology with reality” (p. 48). Therefore, the ideological ideals are laid out first, and the discourses reflect them as real regardless of their actual nonexistence in the day-to-day life. In the same vein, Hodge and Kress (1993) argue that, “Political ideology is liable to project fantasy versions of reality” (p. 98). As a consequence, the discourses lose power and meaning, as they seem
inscribed into a fictitious world. This difference between what one experiences, and what one reads or says creates an attitude of distrust in the official discourse.

**Ideology and Language**

Ideologies are systems of symbolic forms, forms of meaning, which work to create and support systems of social power. It’s a short step to language (Register, 2001).

There are different views on language and ideology: one that sees language separate from ideology, and the second one that considers language intrinsically ideological. The first approach to language and ideology focuses mainly on post-communist and/or post-colonial countries, and view language itself as the bearer of cultural and ideological symbols. This approach to languages is called “language or linguistic ideology” (Woolard, 1998). In the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and in the days of colonialized Africa, some foreign languages (i.e., English, French, and Russian) changed their status since they became the official languages, and were favored over, and even replaced, the national and regional languages. In later years until nowadays, a return to the use of national, regional and local languages as official and education in the mother tongue gave birth to numerous studies on multilingualism and language planning (Blommaert, 1999). Ideologies play a central role in the debates over how many and whose languages should be official considering the linguistic abundance of African countries.

The representatives of the second approach argue that language is not inherently ideological, but it becomes so in the hands of individuals in power; therefore, ideologization occurs through discourse, which is language in use as social practice (in texts and speech). In this view discourses are inherently ideological (Gee, 1999), and the responsibility is placed on factors outside language, such as the authors of texts, socio-historical contexts, and specific linguistic means used in the
discourses. For example, in an analysis of National Socialist (NS) German texts, Sauer (1989) argues that “it was not [...] the German language that rendered fascism possible; on the contrary, it is the speaker and the socio-historical situation that are of prime importance” (p. 8). In *The language of the Third Reich* Victor Klemperer (2000) wrote that the Nazi transformed the use of certain existing linguistic expressions in the common German language which became used widely among the population as a sign of their integration of the new political ideologies, even among people who were victims of these new ideologies. Wodak (1989) also argues that language is not powerful *per se*, but it becomes so in the hands of the group in power. Soring (1989) recognizes that those who manipulate the language are responsible for the ideological character of words:

In fact, words can be used as instruments of power of deception, but it is never the words themselves that should be dubbed evil and poisonous. The responsibility for any damage that might have been done by using certain means of expression still lies with the users, those who, not being able to alter reality, try - through interpretative strategies - to change its reception and recognition by their interlocutors (p. 96).

Using the term *ideologemes* to describe the basic material of ideological operations, such as people, state, power, nation, and culture, Sauer (1989) explains how a particular combination and conjunction of ideologemes constitutes the ideological sphere and impacts social practices and their transformation. Therefore, a particular combination of ideologemes or extralinguistic factors and linguistic means, such as certain words that are used very often or repetition of elements of the official language, quotations as explicit declarations of allegiance (Sauer, 1989), metaphors (Lu & Ahrens, 2008), language of the politicians (euphemisms, empty words, nebulous half-statements, stereotyped expressions and common places) (Brekle, 1989), form the ideological discourse.

Discourses function ideologically as identity kits to obtain more goods (Gee, 1999), to legitimize, naturalize or disguise the inequities they sustain, or to get us thinking along particular lines, or what Lemke calls the “lines of common sense” (1995, p. 11).
Based on Foucault’s understanding of discourse, power, and knowledge, Botelho (2004) describes how ideologies are enacted through discourse and exercise of power on a continuum: domination, collusion, resistance and agency. Domination is the starting point and it includes “unequal voice, participation, decision-making, and access” (p. 106). At the other end of the continuum is agency, which is the stage of empowerment, of action and change, “the capacity to resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted” (p. 107). Discourses make available these positions into the text and present reading subject positions for the reader.

The Ideological Nature of Foreign Language Education

Pavlenko (2004) poses the question: “what is the ‘foreign’ in foreign language education?”, and finds that foreign is an ambiguous term conflating with minority or heritage languages in different contexts. New political, educational, and social dimensions and understandings have enriched the landscape of language planning and policymaking creating a discourse of their own (Blommaert, 2005). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) claim to shed light on the terminological usage by offering definitions under four headings: political, social, educational, and popular definitions. From a social perspective, foreign languages are part of the educational system and are defined as “that set of languages of which most people are aware” (p. 20). At the educational level, a foreign language is defined in terms of awareness of another’s culture. The popular definition considers “any language not normally spoken in the polity” a foreign language (p. 24).

Searching for a more comprehensive definition, some authors resort to a historical perspective of FL learning in formal settings (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Pavlenko, 2004). In medieval times, for example, the foreign languages taught in a formal school setting were Greek,
Latin, Hebrew and Sanskrit. These languages were taught at the post-secondary level with the goal of introducing classic literature and ancient philosophical thought to the students. No communicative skills were essential in mastering these ‘dead’ languages; therefore, grammar translation was the preferred method of teaching and learning, a method that was perpetuated even when languages still in use were introduced. Therefore, the reason students learned Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit was rather for individual purposes of development and enlightenment. The intercultural communication dimension was absent as few people used these languages as a *lingua franca*. Rather, the knowledge of ‘dead’ languages became a symbol of intellectual achievement and social status.

In this study I consider foreign languages (FL) from three perspectives: educational, ideological, and (inter)cultural. The educational perspective places FL in a fixed position as part of the school’s curricula in formal education along with other subjects taught in the national language, such as mathematics, history, chemistry, and so on. In this context, FLs overt objective is to achieve intercultural communication and understanding; however, its existence in the curricula is also a reflection of the state’s mutable political interests and ideological agendas. FL learning is one of the state’s forms of investment in human capital, with an expected rate of return. The fact that foreign languages are subject to change according to the political direction and the ideology contemplated by the governments at a particular time in history becomes apparent in empirical studies on FL education worldwide.

The state’s investment in foreign language teaching and learning has been often viewed as the path towards intercultural communication, granted that foreign language education implies foreign culture learning as well (Guilherme, 2002). These efforts have been endorsed by international organizations such as UNESCO.
The forces recognized to have shaped/changed interest in different foreign languages have stemmed from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research interests, the number of immigrants and second language learners, economical cooperation between countries, and historical political shifts in national or international governance (Kramsch, 2000; Pennycook, 1998). In this context, I will focus on the literature which sees FL as subjects of historical changes and political shifts, and considers FLs ideological nature.

This approach in FL research has been referred to by some authors as historical or historical-structural, and it follows the shifts in FL interest and development closely related to social and political changes (Kramsch, 2000; Tollefson, 1991). Others (e.g. Pavlenko, 2004; 2007) have referred to the aforementioned changes and shifts as consequences of ideological agendas of governments. At times, only parts of FL teaching were discussed as political or ideological, such as teaching of FL literature: “Literature is used (and misused) as symbolic capital to further political, social and national agendas that cannot be ignored, and these agendas themselves are contingent upon social and historical events” (Kramsch & Kramsch, 2004, p. 554).

This literature review shows how political discourses legitimize the exclusion or inclusion of particular foreign languages. I have selected several studies carried out in North America (the United States), Asia (China and Iran), and Europe (Russia) that support the same idea of FL as an ideological choice.

In The Modern Language Journal, an American publication for language matters since the 1920s, several authors offer an overview of the FL landscape in the 20th century (Girouard, 1984; Kramsch & Kramsch, 2000; Lantolf & Sunderland, 2001). Pavlenko (2004) adds valuable brush
strokes, and Taha (2007) completes the picture with a 21st century example of ideologization of FL in the United States.

Girouard (1984) documented the general inconsistency for specific languages in the United States. He noted that Russian was popular in the immediate post-Sputnik era, but its popularity quickly declined. The long-term cooperation and implications with South America mentioned in President Kennedy’s discourses generated an interest in Spanish and Portuguese; Arabic came into fashion for a while and, by the end of the 1970s, Americans seemed to have lost interest in FLs, since English was emerging almost as a lingua franca.

However, the most impressive linguistic shift in the United States took place immediately after World War I when German was almost completely wiped out from the formal and informal curricula. German had been recognized as the most widely taught foreign language in the United States in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century due to the large number of German speaking immigrants living in the country. The end of World War I brought a wave of hate against anything of German heritage. Considering language as a major influence on the thought of its speakers, the proponents of this view argued that languages are not equal in theoretical, practical, and moral values, and that it is necessary to protect American youth from languages that could ‘contaminate’ them, notably German, but also Russian, Japanese, Chinese, and Italian. An illustration of the poor linguistic decisions that followed was represented by Milwaukee where there had been 31,000 students taking German in 1917, but there were none two years later (Pavlenko, 2004). Kramsch and Kramsch (2000) capture the new ideology that emerged after World War I directly influencing the FL planning and policy in the United States: “The relevance of foreign languages, let alone foreign literatures, was not immediately apparent to those who were busy shaping the American ‘melting pot’”(p. 556).
9/11 is another event in the United States history that sparked particular interest in some languages. In January 2006, President Bush introduced the National Security Language Initiative in which certain languages were deemed critical need languages: American students were urged to learn those languages, such as Arabic, Persian, Russian and Mandarin, in particular for national security reasons (Bush, 2007). By introducing the National Security Language Initiative, President Bush induced a negative attitude towards these languages by calling them critical-need and linking them to the 9/11 events. Taha (2007) reacts to this initiative by maintaining that learning of foreign languages should be encouraged for reasons other than security threats:

First, the United States, the most developed country in the world, should not wait for major tragic events, such as 9/11, to take place in its border to realize the deficiencies in foreign language skills. [...] Moreover, all five languages referred to in the initiative are important in terms of international business, trade, economy and diplomacy since all function as official languages in their respective country/countries (China, Arabic speaking countries, Iran, Russia and India) (p. 151)

The linguistic ideology adopted by the United States towards FL throughout history, together with the status of English as the world language has been partly perpetuated until recently. The melting pot ideology has made possible the English-only policy that is in place in the United States, in some states officially, and unofficially, but obviously there, in others.


To the events that led to the decreased interest in German in the so-called melting pot of the United States, the Russian government responded in a different manner: by encouraging the students
to learn the *language of the enemy* to better understand it. As a consequence, during World War II, German was the most widely learned language in Russia. The demise of German followed when a new enemy reared its head up: the United States. During the Cold War English became the most popular language. The ideological underpinnings of FL teaching are captured by Pavlenko (2003) in the English teacher’s welcome speech to her students: “Your knowledge of this language will prove crucial when we are at war with the imperialist Britain and United States and you will have to decode and translate intercepted messages” (p. 313). Even though necessary, English maintained its status of a capitalist language, and the communist ideology and propaganda was heavily introduced in the form of reading texts in textbooks. The Military Publishing House published the FL textbooks.

In the beginning of the Cold War, the so called satellite-countries of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, such as Romania, Bulgaria, former Czechoslovakia, shaped their FL policies according to the political ideology of the moment as well. The so called *language of the Fatherland* or the *international language of communism*, Russian, became mandatory in all schools in the 1940s and 1950s. However, despite Romania’s ideological allegiance to the Soviet Union, English replaced Russian in the 1960s due to economical reasons: increased trade with Western Europe, the United States and Canada required a change in language skills that would facilitate access to information and trade.

During the *English as the world language era*, Tollefson (1991) wrote a refreshing chapter about the low status of English in Iran. In spite of its ‘tool for modernization’ status, English remained in the linguistic periphery and the political ideology triumphed once more. The political shift to the conservative Islamic party under Khomeiny changed the previously positive attitude towards English. English became the symbol of the demoralization and failure of the Iranian population.
In the field of second language education (SLE), much research has been carried out on the learners’ motivation, or investment to learn a foreign or a second language (Dornyei & Csizer, 2002; Gardner, 2001; Kruidenier & Clement, 1986). These studies focus on the learners and their motivation to learn a second language, but venture only timidly in connecting the learners to their social context. The SLE field, therefore, offers a fixed notion of the learner, frequently disregarding the social and political context where learning takes place. Relying on a poststructuralist perspective, Bonny Norton (1995) amends SLE theorists for their disregard of social context by arguing that they “have not mentioned how relations of power in the social world affect social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers” (p. 12). Indeed, a different perspective in a broader context of political and social change, struggle, and power is needed, as there are few research studies on the subject.

This literature review showed that language teaching is the creation of a historical context and the choice of FL is based on ideological considerations, whether that of the melting pot, or the national security. “A country’s current allegiances and oppositions could impact the choice of languages to be offered for modern language study – imposing the language of a colonizer/political ally or discarding the language of the enemy” (Pavlenko, 2000, p. 17). Awareness of such a perspective should aid in making FL education a true intercultural communication tool, regardless of ideological agendas. The idea that curriculum content is ideological is not new; however, little research has been carried out in regards to FL teaching and learning.

Us vs. Others

Ideology establishes a mental dichotomy between us and others, which is more treacherous than the already established geographical boundaries between nation-states. Otherisation occurs as a
consequence of the majority’s or the privileged’s subjective perspective. “It is enough for us to set up these boundaries in our minds”, writes Edward Said, “they become they accordingly, and both their territory and mentality are designated as different from ours (1979, p. 54). Blommaert (1998) refers to the “eternal” other, indicating generalisability and adding a temporal dimension as well: are in they are presupposes timelessness, stereotype and opposition to progress. “The other is the other, condemned to remain the other: the eternal other.” (p. 18).

Relying on a balance of power, otherisation may occur between and within communities, countries, and regions. The geographical distance is overcome by differences in culture. To illustrate, Gumperz (1982) conducted a study on the topic of otherisation in bilingual communities within one country. The individuals in his study live in ethnically and culturally diverse settings and spend much of their day interacting with others of different linguistic backgrounds. To be effective at work or in business, they must have near native control of the majority language. Yet, at the same time, they also actively participate in functioning, ethnically based, peer, friendship or kinship networks, which stress separate values, beliefs, communicative norms and conventions (p. 65). Gumperz describes the duality of the interaction with others, and the shift from one’s cultural setting and language to that of the other. The author identified a number of components that may affect the interpretation process in communication between people who belong to these communities: physical setting, particular background knowledge, attitudes towards each other, sociocultural assumptions, as well as social values associated with various message components.

I mentioned in the Introduction of this study that after 1990, Eastern Europeans are still blamed for not having changed their values, attitudes and norms according to the new ideology from the West. Here, the otherisation of the East occurs without doubt. Which norms, values, patterns of behavior and attitudes are at fault? A study by Olson and colleagues (2006) examined the job values
of American and Western European as opposed to the Eastern European university students after the 1990s. They analyzed the students’ desire for high pay, personal achievement, the desire to help others, and the desire to have a job that allows a lot of time with one’s family.

As many of the students in the Eastern European countries had been educated for a part of their lives under the socialist education system, the researchers hypothesized the differences based on previously learned values during communism. For example, based on the assumption that socialist idealism taught people to help others by working for the state, and that personal fulfillment was valued in Western societies, the authors hypothesized that “wanting to help others” (Olson et al., 2006, p. 359) would be higher in the former socialist countries.

However, the findings showed that the students’ values were not predicted as much by former socialist ideologies, but rather by poor or better economic conditions: “wanting a job that pays well was associated with poorer economic conditions, whereas wanting a career was associated with better economic conditions. Results for wanting a job that allowed time for family were mixed” (p. 372). The findings also suggested that the desire to help others is less affected by economic factors than others. The authors also acknowledged that the economic conditions are only one of many factors that may have consequences on students’ values. Other important influences might include “parental values, formal education, and the media” (p. 373).

To conclude, even in a bilingual community there is a “marked separation between in- and out-group standards” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 65). The separation is, therefore, more marked in situations where the speakers of a second language are also geographically separated, such as different countries. Moreover, the difference in attitudes, values and beliefs between us and others
does not always rest on ideological considerations, but on socio-economic factors as well (Olson et al., 2006).

**Intercultural Communication**

Culture is ranked by Eagleton (2000) as one of the most complex words to define. Etymologically, culture embraces the “historic shift from rural to urban existence, pig-farming to Picasso” (p. 1). A historical view of the term adds philosophical and political dimensions, and shows the multiple facets of the term. Throughout centuries, different versions of culture have come into view, such as culture as civilization, and culture as a distinctive way of life. Herder pluralized the term culture, speaking of “the cultures of different nations and periods, as well as of distinct social and economic cultures within the nation itself” (Eagleton, 2000, p.13).

Blommaert (1998) views culture as intrinsically linked with the concept of the *other*. The author goes on to argue that culture comes into discussion in relation with an *other* from whom the speaker needs to be separated or differentiated. Similarly, Ronen (1979) argues that “language, culture, a real or assumed historical origin, and religion, form identities for an *us* in our minds, and only so long as they exist in our minds as unifying factors do the entities of *us* persist”. Following this line of thought, culture is defined by what is similar and different from another, therefore the concept of culture itself changes continuously. As a consequence, some cultures are more or less marginalized than others depending on how different they are from the one that is in power, and a wide or narrow gap between cultures may be created as a result of these differences.

According to Blommaert (1998), the culture gap (also mentioned in the Rationale of this study) is part of the static, essentialist theory that encloses culture within the perimeter of nation-state borders: one language, one country, and one culture. The rival of the essentialist theory is the
one that understands culture as a more flexible, fluid, and changing process. However difficult it is to define culture, there are a number of factors that usually appear associated with it, such as common language, customs, history, laws, and attitudes towards others.

Intercultural communication is based on these ingredients of culture and its main goal is that of understanding, tolerance and empathy towards others.

In the FL teaching context, the debate whether culture is or should be taught together with language resulted in numerous studies regarding the students’ intercultural understanding, the teachers’ objectives, and their attitudes. For example, Larzen-Ostermark (2008) posed the question: How do teachers interpret the concept of culture? As shown in Figure 1, this interpretation has consequences on how and if culture is taught.

![The Intercultural dimension in EFL-teaching](image)

**Figure 1. The intercultural dimension in EFL teaching (Larzen-Ostermark, 2008).**

The results of this study revealed teachers’ three orientations towards culture:

1. cognitive orientation: culture is perceived as “factual knowledge” and the teaching of culture is defined in terms of the transmission of facts.
2. action-related orientation: “culture as skills of a social and socio-linguistic nature and the teaching aims at preparing students for future intercultural encounters.”

3. affective orientation, culture is seen as “a bi-directional perspective. Students are encouraged to look at their own familiar culture from another perspective and learn to empathize with and show respect for ‘otherness’ in general, not just concerning representatives of English-speaking countries.”

In the context of foreign language teaching, this interpretation adds to culture a three-dimensional character: culture may be facts to be remembered, skills to be practiced, or a perspective from which we view the world and ourselves.

The review of some of the literature showed that culture is essentially subject for interpretation, and it needs to be defined in close relation to context. It usually encompasses some components, but not always the same ones. For instance, common language is part of most definitions of one culture, but there are many examples worldwide that contradict this (i.e. many South American countries share the same language, but have their own national culture). Drawing on Blommaert’s theories and Larzen-Ostermark’s study, I define culture as a dynamic sum of components, such as language, history and attitudes towards others; dynamic, as opposed to static, because it is altered continuously by ideologies that leave their mark even when long gone. Furthermore, I view intercultural communication as a multidimensional process of facts, skills and perspectives that facilitate the understanding of other cultures at a particular time, and whose goal is that of fostering attitudes of tolerance and acceptance, and ultimately, peace. In the FL teaching context, the actors (teachers and students), and the tools (texts) contribute to achieving intercultural communication.
The ideological nature of textbooks.

How important are textbooks in a classroom setting? Teachers might rely on textbooks entirely or use them as one source of information among others; however, following a survey (Mikk, 2000), teachers relied on textbooks when structuring about 90% of the lesson. Students, as the recipients of information, are working with the textbooks about 60% of the time, and use the knowledge acquired to form a value system that they are going to use all their lives. Nevertheless, many authors in the field agree that students respond differently to textbook content (Apple, 1991; Mikk, 2000; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Sleeter and Grant (1991) argue that, “Many students may internalize what they are taught through textbooks, although others may marginalize it with their own thinking or reject it outright” (p. 97). One example is foreign languages textbooks, as students might resist the textbook content and learning of a foreign language because it might be perceived, as seen above, as the language of the enemy (Pavlenko, 2003).

Many authors acknowledged the ideological and subjective content of the curriculum and textbooks (Apple, 1991; Benesh, 1986; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Textbooks are a direct reflection of the curriculum, which, in Apple’s (1996) terms, is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone’s selection, and some group’s vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the historical, cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize people (p. 22).

Some of the authors considered for this study situate the textbooks in a social, political and historical context by describing the political transformations and the policies of the governments in power; thus, emphasizing the fact that the curricula and the textbooks are the products and representations of the ideology of the dominant group. For example, in China (Yongbing, 2005), the
students are taught to read and write while at the same time they learn that patriotism, Chinese culture, and the like, are to be valued and strived for above anything else. During the crisis faced by Taiwan between a Chinese and Taiwanese identity, the official language in schools was Mandarin, students were punished if they spoke Taiwanese dialects, and textbooks reinforced the Chinese cultural identity (Ya-Chen, 2007). Similarly, the post-communist progressive structural development in Hungary does not ensure a pervasive treatment of multicultural aspects in the curriculum (Weninger & Williams, 2005).

The findings of textbook analysis usually lead to the conclusion that the content is a direct reflection of these ideologies and one of the textbooks’ covert but significant roles is to shape learners’ identities in conformity with the states’ political and economical agendas.

Moreover, the ideological nature of education and textbooks is also discussed in the foreign-language learning field. Benesh (1993) asserted that ideology is unavoidable, whether teachers and students are aware of it or not, and neutrality is “just a myth” (p. 706). She explained some of the external influences on ESL teachers’ choices for textbooks and content, such as the immigration law, the status of ESL in a particular school, and attitudes towards language learners. Examples of bias in second language textbooks may be the selection of some topics, and the omission of others, the representation of gender, class, and race, in text and images. Therefore, the EFL textbooks’ values, norms and beliefs must be scrutinized and analyzed by teachers and students.
Models of Analysis

Content Analysis of Textbooks

Deciding what framework of analysis would be appropriate for this study, my initial intention was, first, to look for texts that suggested general approaches to content analyses, and second, to build a corpus of at least 10 case studies that used these approaches in ESL/EFL textbooks, and derive a general framework of textbook analysis specific to the field of foreign language learning. However, the process of finding the resources proved far more difficult than expected: first, even though not a new area of research, textbook content analysis is still an under-researched field and lacks a clearly established methodology; second, I was only able to find two analyses of ESL textbooks, and only one available through the University of Toronto libraries. As a consequence, I selected nine studies of textbook content analysis related to other subjects in the curriculum: social studies, language, history, reading, and science.

Nicholls (2002), writing on theoretical frameworks of analysis as well, announced the same lack of clearly defined guidelines or methodology in textbooks analysis. Therefore, he based his study on few texts: Pingel (1999), Mikk (2000), Weinbrenner (1992). I considered the same resources in the present study. I have reviewed other studies that set out to look into frameworks of textbook analysis, only to find general commentaries on possible textbook bias, but no specific guidelines for analysis.

First, I will discuss the generic methods, and due to the aforementioned reduced amount of studies in the field of textbook analysis, I will rely on the most comprehensive one, Pingell (1999), and present the other ones in relation to it. Second, I will examine 10 studies that analyzed textbooks and focus on the theoretical frameworks and specific instruments of analysis. Last, my findings will
show that the field of textbook analysis is an under-developed and neglected area of research. I will draw attention to the fact that most researchers ignore already existing instruments of analysis, namely instruments proposed in discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. Incorporating concepts from these areas of study would help the field of textbook content analysis develop reliable frameworks of interpretation.

**Evaluation vs. analysis.**

Some authors of generic methods in textbook analysis tend to begin their studies by defining the distinction between evaluation and analysis of textbooks. Some differentiate between evaluation and analysis (Nicholls, 2002; Pingel, 1999) on the basis of judgment on the part of evaluation; others (Mikk, 2000) include analysis as part of the evaluation process and describe analysis as a precise instrument of evaluation based on quantitative approaches. In this study, I will use the term analysis as a form of organized, methodological evaluation of textbooks, whether qualitative or quantitative.

**Didactic vs. content analysis.**

Another distinction important for the purposes of this study is that between didactic and content analysis. Under the broader scope of textbook revision, the two approaches to textbook analysis differ in the declared purpose of revision. Didactic analysis aims to facilitate language acquisition, and offer the learners textbooks that aid their learning to speak another language, which is the reason second language textbooks are published. Content analysis has as its main scope intercultural communication, and with this scope in mind, the more specific one of interrupting stereotypes towards other cultures or minorities; in other words, as much as possible closing the gap between us and others (Pingel, 1999).
Table 1 shows how the same text or illustration might be analyzed from these two different perspectives. Didactic analysis, for example, that of simplified vs. authentic texts uses a specific set of parameters to measure how efficient the texts are: coreferentiality, causal cohesion, lexical coreference, polysemy and hyponymy, density of logical operators using instruments/methods such as Co-Metrix for a quantitative approach. Coreferentiality, for example, shows forms of lexical coreference between sentences: noun overlap, argument overlap, and stem overlap; polysemy is the number of meanings a word has; and density refers to how often parts of speech appear in a text (Crossley, MacCarthy, Louwerse & McNamara, 2007).

Content analysis lacks such a clearly defined set of parameters and it remains an open field as its direction is not purely linguistic, but draws on many other areas of research; it is a more dynamic and multi-lens approach (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000). In examining gender bias, for example, authors draw upon linguistics, literature on feminist issues, and critical discourse analysis. Unlike didactic analysis that isolates texts from other texts and contexts, content analysis approaches a text from its sociopolitical setting.

**Table 1**

*Variables in Didactic vs. Content Analysis*

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<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Parameters</th>
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<td>Didactic Analysis</td>
<td>Simplified vs. Authentic</td>
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<td>Modal Verbs</td>
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**Generic Methods**

Even though efforts to analyze textbooks content started in the early 1920s, the literature available on textbook content analysis is limited and very general in terms of methodology. The League of Nations (today known as the United Nations (UN)) pursued projects aiming at ridding textbooks of bias after World War I as they believed the war had been the consequence of poor intercultural communication. One of the solutions to overcome this issue was the revision of content and knowledge that was transmitted in schools. Consequently, after World War II the ideological power of textbooks was recognized and the first educational objective was the *de-nazification* of German textbooks, which meant the replacement of one ideology, nazist, with another one, democracy, in the terms of the Allies (Clammer, 1986). Since then, the field of textbook content analysis has continued to develop; however, clear frameworks of interpretation and methodology are still unexplored. The main contributions in the field of textbook analysis methodology belong to UNESCO in cooperation with George Eckert Institute (Pingel, 1999), and authors such as Jaan Mikk (2000), and Peter Weinbrenner (1992).

Pingel (1999) offered a complete model of textbook analysis, paying attention to foreign language textbooks in the last section of his study. He developed a list of criteria for analysis composed of five main categories (textbook sector components, formal criteria, types of texts/mode of presentation, analysis of content, and perspective of presentation), and a series of sub-categories for each main one. He emphasized that the list offered only a general direction to analysis, given the specific purpose of each study. In contrast, Mikk (2000) did not offer such a definite list of criteria, and the specific analytical instruments are mixed with guidelines for the structure of the project.

Even though Pingel argues that quantitative and qualitative analyses are complementary, he described and used example of more qualitative methods than quantitative. The quantitative method
suggested is frequency and spatial analysis; in other words, how many times particular words appear in texts, and how much space is allocated to a particular theme or category. Nonetheless, he expressed caution in regards to quantitative methods as they only tell “us a great deal about where the emphasis lies, about selection criteria, but nothing about values and interpretation” (Pingel, 1999, p. 45).

Pingel’s list of qualitative methods, even though not comprehensive, does outline a number of frequently used approaches such as hermeneutic analysis, contingency analysis (qualitative and quantitative methods to describe texts and images), cross-cultural analysis (bilateral or multilateral study), linguistic investigation (i.e., list the adjectives), linguistic analysis (i.e. the use of passive voice), discourse analysis, and categories of analysis.

Jaan Mikk (2000) described content analysis in terms of explicit and implicit assessments, where the analysis of adjectives is an explicit approach, but there are no examples or explanations of implicit approaches. He lists denotative and connotative meanings of nouns, together with the use of computers to count words, and comparison of different textbooks. However, the comparison of different textbooks is not an instrument of analysis, it is only a different approach recognized in the literature as longitudinal analysis (as opposed to latitudinal).

Recognizing that, “Speech acts are embedded in a social and cultural context” (p. 46), Pingel also referred to the analysis of foreign language textbooks. However, what he called *Particular Criteria for Analysis of Foreign Language Textbooks Concerning the Image of Foreign Countries/Cultures* was a short list of modes of presentation and perspectives of presentation. He paid particular attention to texts for reading, stating that they often tend to be biased, and transmit a
one-sided message. Pingel’s guide to textbook analysis, while useful in offering some directions to researchers, does not offer examples, or detailed analytical procedures.

Case Studies

Description of case studies.

To gather the relevant case studies I set the following criteria of selection: textbook analyses that investigated content from a sociological perspective; in other words, studies that answered the overarching question ‘Which values or beliefs are transmitted?’ In Appendix A, I listed the variables that had been analyzed in each study; generally, the authors investigated representations of race, sex, social class, ethnic minorities, lesbian gay bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues, and ideology in history language/reading, social studies, science, and ESL textbooks.

The ten case studies I selected surveyed textbooks in China, Taiwan, the United States, Grenada, India, United Kingdom, Serbia, and Hungary. The journals I found most useful for locating studies were: TESOL Quarterly; Pedagogy, Culture and Society; and The Modern Language Journal.

Pingell (1999) described two approaches to starting an analysis: either by setting a number of categories that will be followed throughout the textbooks, or by reading the textbook first and at the same time deriving a list of categories that seem most prominent or salient. In selecting my criteria for the analysis of the studies, I used both approaches. First, drawing upon the generic methods described above, and second, after reading the case studies I considered important to observe the development of the following sections: historical background, curriculum, validity and reliability, theoretical framework and analytical procedures, findings, and list of references. Furthermore, I
questioned the analytical procedures as part of either an unsuccessful or successful theoretical framework.

**Findings.**

*Historical Background.* As content is the product of social context and the country’s official bearer of knowledge, a historical, political, and social perspective is necessary for a clear understanding of the representations of the values, norms or beliefs analyzed in the study. Eighty percent of the studies devoted at least two pages to describing the historical and sociocultural context of the textbook. Interestingly, the analyses of books in the United Stated did not include a historical context; from a critical discourse analysis point of view, this omission was probably based on the assumption that the U.S. context was common-knowledge, and the audience was well acquainted with English, and therefore with the U.S. curriculum and trends in education.

*Curriculum.* The curriculum is the necessary link between textbooks and sociocultural context; however, sometimes the curriculum guidelines in terms of cultural content were more optimistic than the actual representation of that content in the textbooks. Seventy percent of the authors discussed the curriculum before referring to the textbooks.

*Theoretical Framework and Analytical Procedures.* Only four authors referred to an already existing theoretical framework of analysis, among which, one mentioned it within a sentence without further description, and one simply declared ‘textbook analysis’ as their approach. Six were guided by their own questions without further reference to any framework of analysis. Weninger and Williams (2005) based their analysis on the ‘contingency analysis’ theoretical framework proposed by Holsti in 1969, but no description of the instruments was offered. Ya-Chen (2007) claimed that his framework is that of Sleeter and Grant (1991), but Sleeter and Grant’s framework relied on a
“textbook analysis instrument based on other instruments that have been developed and used elsewhere” (1991, p. 82).

**Quantitative Methods.** The projects combined the use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques. With reference to quantitative analysis, seven studies carried out frequency analyses. However, two researchers considered that the relevance of quantitative methods is limited in content analysis because the importance of frequency is less important that the actual message/meaning that is being transmitted (Porreca, 1984; Maslak, 2008). Maslak (2008) considered that “it [content analysis] is limited by its focus on the quantitative nature of its examination” (p. 90), and Porreca (1984), in her study about sexism in ESL textbooks, states that, “Simple ratios reveal only quantities and cannot reveal the way in which males and females are presented” (p. 713).

**Qualitative methods.** The presence or omission of particular social representations, themes or categories, and linguistic analysis were the most popular qualitative analytical procedures. The themes were organized according to genre, same topic, or same meaning. For example, Yongbing (2008) considered three dominant discourses: patriotism, cultural values and beliefs, and pro-science and technology; Yachen (2007) examined Taiwan’s historical development, national identity and nationalism, and ethnic and gender studies.

The authors whose work was based on a well-developed methodological framework were able to select qualitative analytical procedures that were valuable in their analytical endeavors. The best example is that of Yongbing (2007) who relied on critical discourse analysis (CDA) and his study was clearly structured around CDA concepts such as intertextuality, thematic orientations and perspectives, and linguistic analysis. Other authors chose vague terms such as: “study of words”, “people to study” analysis, and “miscellaneous” (Sleeter & Grant, 1991).
The findings discussed above show that content textbook analysis is still a field of research without clear guidelines and methodology, and no precise instruments. Most of the analyses examined in the previous section seemed rather erratic in their descriptions of theoretical frameworks and analytical procedures. Towards a clear framework of analysis, I suggest the use of CDA. CDA is an instrument of investigation overlooked by many researchers in the field of textbook content analysis, even though the two areas use the same units of analysis, and suggest similar analytical procedures. Van Dijk (1998) states that the vocabulary of CDA studies, “will feature such notions as 'power', 'dominance', 'hegemony', 'ideology', 'class', 'gender', 'race', 'discrimination', 'interests', 'reproduction', 'institutions', 'social structure' or 'social order', besides the more familiar discourse analytical notions” (p. 4). The notions mentioned by van Dijk are identical with the variables listed in the content analysis case studies (Appendix A); the difference is that, while content analysis frameworks are still not defined, CDA offers operationalized concepts and opportunities for interpretation.

Moreover, the qualitative analytical instruments used in the case studies find an elaborated correspondent in CDA. Based on Norman Fairclough’s (2003) work, text analysis can build on CDA concepts such as external relations of the texts with social events and practices or other texts, and on internal relations of texts, such as genres and discourses. One aspect emphasized by Fairclough in terms of external relations with other texts and used by Yongbing (2008) is intertextuality, which is the way the text is related to and draws upon other texts. Fairclough calls the presence or omissions of particular representations as paradigmatic (significant absences) and syntagmatic relations (relations present in the text). Fairclough’s relational approach to text analysis in terms of level of discourse, the mediating level between the text and its social context, is also useful. He also offers instruments for linguistic analysis, semantic relations, grammatical relations, vocabulary, and
phonological relations. In sum, CDA is a field that needs to be explored by content analysis researchers, as it offers a wide range of instruments and analytical practices.

There is a gap in the literature on content textbook analysis, and one way to develop a reliable framework of interpretation is the use of critical discourse analysis constructs and practices. Findings of 10 case studies analyses demonstrated that textbooks content is biased, ideological and subjective. Therefore, teachers need to promote the use of several texts rather than a single text, each with its own perspectives, insights, and particular focus (Ya-Chen, 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 1999). Content textbook analysis should help teachers and students use their textbooks in ways that reveal by deconstruction the ideology imbued in the text and images, promote socially reconstructive thinking (Ya-Chen, 2007).

**Conceptual Framework**

This study is based on one main model of text analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and draws on content analysis and literary theory. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the method that lends itself as the most appropriate for this study because of its interdisciplinary character, and ideological and political nature. Ideology is one of the core concepts of this study and CDA is partly based on Althusser’s study on ideology (Wodak, 1989). Drawing on linguistics, anthropology, (narrative) semiotics, the interdisciplinary character of the method offers a broad area of possibilities of analysis. Some of CDA’s characteristics that pertain to this study are: power in discourse and power over discourse; the way society and culture are shaped by discourse, language use may be ideological; discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context; relationship between the text and its social conditions; and ideologies and power-relations.
The preference for CDA is also supported by a survey of ten empirical studies on textbook content analysis, which are presented in more detail in Chapter Two: Literature Review. Only a few of the case studies’ authors explicitly named CDA as their main tool of analysis; however, they all followed a pattern of analysis within the grasp of CDA.

The theoretical and empirical literature reviewed on the subject of text analysis theoretical frameworks showed that they are often vague. For example, many authors mention the use of content analysis method without describing which content analysis’ concepts and tools. Therefore, the methodological segment of this thesis holds a significant role because it puts forward an explicit framework of analysis. This theoretical framework is briefly illustrated below, followed by a detailed account of each layer.

1. Intertextuality: The Context of the Texts
   a) Socio-historical background: Socialist Discourses
   b) Romanian Educational System
   c) Foreign Language Curriculum
   d) Textbook/curriculum
   e) Textbook/other subjects, texts

2. Intertextuality: The Construction of the Texts
   a) Surface: Form
      i) General description of textbook
Thematic Orientations

Form: Authorship, genre, and the reader

b) Deep: Content:

i Discourse of Superiority

ii Intercultural Discourse

Intertextuality

*Intertextuality*, a central concept in discourse analysis, is the overarching framework for this study. It is defined by Fairclough as the way a text is related to and draws upon other texts. Likewise, Lemke (1995) considers “this text in the context of and against the background of other texts and other discourses.” (p. 10). Furthermore, Lemke (1995) attributes a particular system of intertextuality to every community. In other words, every community has the power to decide which set of texts and discourses are valued and preferred.

The distinction between discourse and Discourse assists in a better understanding of intertextuality (Lemke, 1995; Gee, 1999; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 1989). The textbook’s discourses are an augmentation of the Discourses that operate at the community level. Therefore, the readings in the textbook form a network with other texts outside and within themselves. First, the socio-historical background provides the context in which the texts are viewed. This context of reading is profoundly ideological and generates the (macro)Discourses on which other local (micro)discourses build up. Second, the readings comply with the Romanian EFL Curriculum, a major text that dictates the major guidelines and ideological context that limits and even censors the selection and content of
the readings. Last, the textbook’s readings form a context and background themselves. Their order, topics, mention of other texts or authors provides a deliberate structure of discourses.

Generalizing Halliday’s three meta-functions, Lemke (1995) explains intertextuality as three kinds of meaning: presentational, orientational, and organizational meanings. The presentational aspect refers to the “description of how things are as participants, processes, relations and circumstances across meaningful stretches of text”, orientational meaning is “the construction of our orientational stance toward present and potential addressees and audiences, and toward the presentational content of our discourse, across meaningful stretches of text and from text to text”, and organizational meaning is “the construction of relations between elements of the discourse itself: structure (constituent, whole-part relation), texture (continuities and similarities, with differences within these), and informational organization and relative prominence across meaningful stretches of text” (p. 11).

This distinction between presentational, orientational and organizational meanings shapes the methodological approach of the present study. As Lemke (1995) points out, the presentational and orientational meanings often overlap and feed into each other; for example the simple description of a situation (presentational) provides insight into the attitudes, values and orientations toward the content (orientational).

The Context of the Texts

Bearing in mind this framework of intertextuality, the analysis of the EFL texts proceeds with the wider socio-historical and cultural context that is of paramount importance in understanding
the discourses that surround and intersect with the discourses in the textbook. Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. Blommaert (2005) argues that CDA is too linguistically oriented; therefore, context should be part of it as well to understand the discourses that surround and intersect with the discourses in the textbook. Besides offering a context for the discourses to be analyzed, the socio-historical background serves as object of comparison with the ‘second reality’ created in the textbook. The background is followed by a narrower context of the Romanian educational system, and the FL curriculum goals. I call these the context of the texts.

**The Construction of the Texts**

Subsequently, the in depth analysis, the construction of the texts, is structured on several layers: the surface structure is related to form, such as genre, author and reader. I also delve into describing the deep structure through linguistic analysis, including semantic, syntactic and pragmatic examination. For a better understanding of discourses in context I also approach the readings from a quantitative perspective. I organize and re-organize the texts according to genres, themes, and discourses. After looking into genre and authorship, I continue analyzing how the Discourse of Superiority and the Intercultural Discourse contribute to the representations of Romanians and non-Romanians.

In sum, based on the literature review, and CDA concepts such as intertextuality and discourse, the theoretical framework provided in this study approaches the texts from different perspectives, external and internal, and facilitates an in depth analysis of the discourses.
Chapter Three:  
Methodology

The subject of my research is the analysis of an EFL textbook’s readings used in Romanian high schools between 1983 and 1990. My decision to select the textbook for this study stems from a merge of historical, ideological and social considerations, and the fluctuating status of English as a foreign language in Romania. First, the textbook’s content was subject of study in schools both during communism, until 1989, and post-communism; thus, this is one of the textbooks that crossed ideological borders, and its content influenced the linguistic acquisition and thinking of several cohorts of students. Moreover, English itself changed its status together with the political orientations of the governments in power. During communism, English had been a rather controversial school subject in Romania due to its use as a native language in non-communist countries; however, economical considerations prevailed, and the subject made its way into the curriculum in the early 1960s. After the 1989 Revolution, Romanians sent off the communist government, and reinstated a democratic government, which reconnected with West Europe, and Romania became part of the European Union in 2007; as a consequence, in line with the European Union’s objectives for multilingual European citizens, English became an important subject in the curriculum.

Considering the above-mentioned ideological journey of the textbook, and the nature of the context, that of a foreign language, I focused the literature review around ideology and its effect on foreign language foreign language education, as well as notions of intercultural communication. The ideological character of the curricula in general, and that of the foreign language subjects in particular, together with the intrinsic intercultural character of communication in a foreign language
form the theoretical background for key concepts such as: ideology, second reality, us vs. others, culture, and intercultural communication.

I include the concepts mentioned above in a specific socio-historical and political context: Romania, communism, and dictatorship. This socio-historical context functions as a background from which social practices are enacted in discourses. Later in the study, it becomes an instrument of analysis: the communist discourse in the textbook is constantly compared with the day-to-day realities described in the socio-historical context; thus, assisting in establishing a more comprehensive understanding of the second reality.

Further, I view the textbook from an educational perspective, a perspective otherwise embedded in the previous socio-historical context. The Romanian educational system during communism, and the number of hours allocated to foreign languages in the curricula, as well the FL teaching objectives grounded the significance of the textbook in this study.

Data Source

The textbook is comprised of fourteen units and three additional parts of supplementary material. The usual layout of the fourteen units covers vocabulary, grammar, speaking, reading and writing practice. I chose to focus my analysis on the Reading sections of each unit, which include pre-reading activities, texts, and comprehension questions and exercises because whole texts offer a solid basis for analyzing the ideological content. I present a sample of what the textbook looks like and its content in the Appendices: a scanned copy of the textbook cover (see Appendix B), a sample of the illustrations (see Appendix C), one text about non-Romanians (see Appendix D & E), and one text about Romanians (see Appendix F). The focus on the readings, as opposed to grammar or vocabulary exercises, also provides for a more articulate depiction of the ideological discourses.
To illustrate my findings, I have selected several excerpts from the readings based on their relevance to the research questions, namely Romanians and non-Romanians relationships, and I explained the context when necessary.

**Research Design**

I approached the analysis of the textbook by first carrying out research from secondary sources, such as other textbook analyses, which maintained an ideological focus, and general textbook analysis methods. The theoretical and empirical literature reviewed on the subject revealed that text analysis theoretical frameworks are often vague. Many authors mention the use of content analysis method without operationalizing the concepts they make use of. Therefore, this study makes its contribution to filling two gaps in the literature: it analyzes the ideological content of an EFL textbook, and it puts forward an explicit framework of analysis.

The review of these sources led to the conclusion that Critical Discourse Analysis is the most appropriate theoretical approach as it incorporates the ideological character of the study and offers operationalized tools of analysis. Drawing on linguistics, anthropology, (narrative) semiotics, and the interdisciplinary character of the method offers a broad area of possibilities of analysis. The overarching concept that frames the analysis of this study is intertextuality. It is defined by Lemke (1995) as “this text in the context of and against the background of other texts and other discourses”. As mentioned above, the analysis of the textbook takes place in the background of political, social and educational texts and discourses.

Furthermore, intertextuality, defined in Lemke’s (1998) terms as *presentational*, *orientational* and *attitudinal* meanings guided the investigation of the textbook’s readings by first, examining readings’ content is presented (presentational), second, by exploring the ideological
orientation (orientational), and third, by identifying what attitudes are encouraged towards others (attitudinal). The presentational, orientational and attitudinal meanings form the foundation of the analysis and are reflected in the two main questions of the study. The first question, How do the EFL textbook’s readings represent the relationship between Romanian and non-Romanian people?, reflects the presentational and orientational meanings, and the second question, What are the sociopolitical implications of these representations?, tackles the attitudinal meanings, even though the three are closely related and often overlapping.

I started the analysis of the readings with the research questions in mind, looking for representations of Romanians and non-Romanians. After multiple readings of the texts, together with the CDA theoretical background, it became apparent that there were several layers that concealed the ideological representations of the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians. To organize these layers, I relied on a selective set of concepts drawn from Norman Fairclough’s (2003) work and several literary theory, and content analysis concepts. Hence, first, the analysis focuses on external relations of the texts with social events and practices or other texts, which I have called the context of the texts and second, on internal relations of texts, such as genres, and discourses, which I have called the construction of the texts.

I examine the surface level of the texts, and I start with a quantitative approach by counting the number of pages allocated to different language skills. I consider the implications of genre, author, and expected reader. Authorship and genre emerged as essential units of analysis of the way the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians is represented due to the easily observable dichotomist selection of readings. Genre and authors shape the structure of the texts, thus influencing the readers’ interpretations.
Next, I continue the analysis of the texts at a deep level, and I focus on two discourses: the Discourse of Superiority and the Intercultural Discourse. I approach the two discourses from two perspectives: the Discourse of Superiority is a result of a close reading of the texts and exercises surrounding them, and the Intercultural discourse is the result of hypothesizing that it should be present in any foreign language textbook. I point out the Discourse of Superiority by selecting excerpts from readings that show the over-representation of Romanians and under-representation of non-Romanians, the implicit and explicit preference for Romanians. I engage in analyzing the Intercultural Discourse by investigating the intercultural skills, facts and perspectives that are presented in the textbook.

I sum up the findings of the analysis to answer the two research questions. The findings include the second reality created through communist ideology, the unequal relations between Romanians and non-Romanians, and the attitudes of resistance that the ideological texts might have created. I link the findings with a few relevant articles from well-known journals. I end this study by outlining further areas of study.

Based on a CDA theoretical background, which combines the social analysis with semiotic/linguistic analysis (Taylor, 2004), both the sociohistorical context, and the linguistic features of the texts are considered for analysis in this thesis.
Chapter Four:  
Background:  
The Day-to-Day Realities

Reality is shaped through the meanings, values and experiences that people in a particular situation and context attribute to the phenomena they meet. The epistemological starting-point is subjectivist. The researcher’s quest for the ‘‘truth’’ involves trying to identify and reconstruct the meaning that the respondents attribute to their experiences and their reality (531).

The social and historical background is of paramount importance in critical textual analysis to understand specific circumstances. Rindler-Schjerve (1989) describes texts as direct “expressions of social and ideological realities” (p. 58), given that the reality is a subjective one, as Larzen-Ostermark (2008) comments in the quote that opens this chapter. Furthermore, Sauer (1989) points out that a first time reader of a text may not fully understand all the hidden meanings due to unfamiliarity with the context, or particular ideology. Therefore, pursuing an analysis of an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbook published and used in Romanian schools in 1988 requires a brief consideration of the social realities faced by the population under the communist regime. Besides offering an overview of the social realities, the introduction of the present study serves later on as a comparison with the second/imagined reality imposed by the communist regime through ideology and propaganda in textbooks, and represents the first step in understanding how the relationship between Romanian and non-Romanian people, using the dichotomy us vs. others, was constructed in foreign language curriculum and for what purpose.

**Political, Social, and Economic Background**

How did Romania fall under the communist rule, and what were the consequences of its political affiliation economically, socially, and educationally? Following the 1945 Yalta Conference,
Europe was divided into East and West by an imaginary boundary known as the Iron Curtain. Initially classified according to their geographical position, Eastern and Western Europe were also divided by different political affiliations that, consequently, shaped their social, and economical development. While Western European countries continued on the path of democracy and capitalist development, and maintained strong relations with the United States of America, Eastern European countries adopted communist forms of government and supported the Soviet Union policies. The Soviet Union expanded its territory over some of the neighbouring countries, such as Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, and Moldova; others, for example, Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were officially independent (Pop, 2006).

Communism manifested itself in various forms in different countries, even though many common ideological traits can be identified in most of them, such as the absolute control of the Communist Party over almost every aspect of public life: political, economical and educational. In 1947, after a coup d’État against King Mihai, forced dissolution of the opposition, and rigged elections, Romania fell under the rule of only one party: by the 1980s, almost all citizens over the age of 18 were active members of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). It is not surprising that refusal to become a member was very often followed by persecutions and imprisonment; as Lemke (1995) points out, “ideology alone could not sustain inequitable social relations for even one generation in the face of inevitable conflicts of interest in countless daily encounters, without the widespread application of force” (p. 14).

The policy imposed by the RCP in Romania has been described as Stalinist, even after Stalin’s death and despite the reforms started by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union during the 1980s. Power was centralized, the Romanian state owned all the land, factories and companies, and the economy relied on agriculture and export of goods. Nicolae Ceausescu’s rise to power in the
1970s as the Secretary General of the RCP and President of the country was one of the most
criticized events in the modern history of Romanian people. His ambition to pay Romania’s debts to
the Western world by the year 1990 by exporting almost all the goods that had been produced in
Romania and by rationing almost everything seemed to drain the country and the people of food, and
energy. These rationings and extreme measures affected the educational sector as well. Daily cuts of
power for several hours in the evening left the classrooms freezing cold in the winter, and the
students doing their homework by candlelight.

The lack of food in the stores made food rationing even harsher. Those who have lived in
former communist countries remember queuing up for hours together with all available family
members along the stores’ walls to buy some food. Pop (2006) recalls the black humor of those
times when people would pass by a queue and ask the others “What are you queuing for?” The
answer was a confused “I don’t know, for whatever arrives”. Furthermore, the lack of basic goods
led to people’s use of subversive methods for survival through theft and bribery, and the ‘black
market’ became a flourishing business.

Adding to the hardships of life under the communist regime, an unprecedented suppression
of freedom of speech took place not only in the public sphere, but in private homes as well.
Censorship on media and literature allowed only for the reading and viewing of content that
criticized and dismissed capitalism or, even better, that reinforced and praised the communist
ideology. Private lives were affected by the fear that one of the colleagues, friends around might
report the conversations or remarks on political issues to the terrifying Securitate (Security). There
were looming stories of small listening devices and microphones hidden under ashtrays, on trains, or
in the walls to catch unsuspecting victims. A third party monitored the telephone conversations, and
the use of foreign languages was suspicious.
Not surprisingly, many dreamed of a better life in places they had heard of in the United States, Canada, or Western Europe, but leaving Romania in pursuit of a decent life somewhere else was a challenging task to accomplish because passports and visas for travel were not issued to Romanian citizens unless there was a strong reason typically related to work. In these times when even Romanian, the native language, was minutely censored and traveling abroad was almost forbidden, conversations in foreign languages and the use of English for communication seemed useless (Pop, 2006).

The effects of the low standards of living and working conditions, and the severe censorship on the population were completely ignored by the government and glazed over by numerous daily speeches of the president about the party’s one and only concern and objective: a happy nation. Therefore, there was a constant and conspicuous discrepancy between the day-to-day reality and the ‘second reality’ in the discourse of the propaganda. The difference between the standards of living in the East and West was widening, and while the Communist Party presented us (Romania) as the most desirable way of life over others (the West and the United States), the Romanian people looked up to the West and continued to hold in high regards any products that managed to make their way from the West to Romania (food, clothes, magazines and the like).

Considering these socio-historical conditions, one would assume that the students were fairly unmotivated to learn a foreign language, as it did not seem of any further use: they could neither travel and make friends in foreign countries, nor have access to contemporary literature produced in the West. Moreover, the content of foreign language textbooks was neither aesthetically pleasing nor interesting. Their investment in the language was not sustained from an instrumental or integrative point of view.
**Educational System**

**General Organization**

In an informative study on the Romanian system of education, Braham, who had based his research on official information and documents provided by the Ministry of Education, revealed an exhaustive picture of the Romanian educational system in 1978 (Braham, 1978). The same system of education with a few changes (see Appendix G) had continued until 1989: education in kindergarten, ten years of compulsory education (primary, gymnasium, and high-school or vocational education), two years of post-secondary specialized education (which later became compulsory as well), and various forms of higher education (4-year universities, 2-year institutes, and graduate education). Romanian was the official language of instruction, even though teaching in the language of the minorities was allowed but not encouraged (i.e. Hungarian and German). Tuition was free at all levels, and scholarships were awarded to the students with the best scholarly achievement regardless of the parents’/family’s financial situation. Textbooks were also free, and were passed on from year to year, as the content had not changed significantly.

After undergoing an educational reform in 1948, the Romanian system of education provided for: “a) nationalization of all educational institutions, b) adoption of Marxist Leninist principles of education, and c) adjustment of educational policies to changing requirement of the planned economy” (Braham, 1978, p. 2). Later reforms (in 1955 and 1968) established a unified system of primary and secondary schools, and extended compulsory education to 10 years; however, the same principles emphasized in 1948 continued until 1989. The main goals of education listed by Braham (1978) are determined ideologically as the objectives of students to function economically by acquiring a “useful job” in the new economy are intermingled with the appropriation of “dialectical-
materialistic concepts of society and nature”, and “love for the Romanian people and state” (p. 4). To be noted that a thorough appreciation of *us* and *our* culture is highlighted at the most general level of education, by omission, ignoring and disregarding *others*.

As the focus of this study is the analysis of a 10th grade EFL textbook, I will describe in more detail the secondary level of education. Two levels of secondary education were offered lasting between 4 to 5 years (in specialized ones). The first level lasting 2 years was mandatory for all students graduating 8th grade in a school of general education. The entrance into the second level was allowed after examinations of the students in subjects such as mathematics, Romanian language and literature, depending on the profile/specialization of the particular high-school. There were 8 types of high-schools (listed below), each “designed to offer a general academic education, to instill a spirit of socialist patriotism, and to prepare students for higher education or useful employment” (Braham, 1978, p. 9).

1. Academic (or humanistic) lyceums (*licee umanistice*)

2. Science lyceums (*licee reale*)

3. Art lyceums (*licee de arta*)

4. Industrial lyceums (*licee industriale*)

5. Agro-industrial and forestry lyceums (*licee agroindustriale si silvice*)

6. Economic lyceums (*licee economice*)

7. Health oriented lyceums (*licee sanitare*)

8. Teacher-training lyceums (*licee pedagogice*)
According to the specialization of the high school, after graduation, each student was already trained in a certain trade or field, and could immediately find work in a state-owned factory or company. Education became more and more driven by the new economy and the need for more workers in the production line. Statistics show that in 1975, 55.5% of the secondary level students were enrolled in industrial high schools (with specializations in construction, electrotechnics, food industries, industrial chemistry, information and communication, mechanics, metallurgy, navigation, printing, textiles, ready-to-wear clothing, and wood processing), 10.4% in agro-industrial and forestry high schools, 0.6% in art high schools, 1.4% in teacher-training high schools, and 0.6% in health oriented high schools (Braham, 1978).

During the first two grades (9th and 10th), the students were taught a standardized curriculum, and the same textbooks were used regardless of the specialization. According to the number of hours for each subject, there was a slight preference for sciences (i.e. 12 to 11 hours per week in Grade 9, 13 to 11 hours per week in Grade 10). Appendix H offers an overview of a curriculum in a science high school in 1978. However, for the study of two modern languages a number of 5 hours were allocated every week, more than the number of hours for Romanian language and literature, and equal with the number of hours for Mathematics.

Modern Languages

The study of foreign languages in Romania before 1989 was essential because it provided access to specialized literature, introduced students to the culture of other peoples, facilitated communication to satisfy export requirements, and responded to the constant increase in tourism, as many people traveled from abroad to Romania (Mihai, 2005). Reading was considered the most important skill as it helped Romanians familiarize with the technological advances quickly. There was no emphasis on oral communication.
Throughout the pre-communist era, the main objectives of the FL curricula had been speaking a foreign language and reading the literature. However, in tune with the planned rapid rise in economy and development in technology, there was a shift in objectives during communism and English became the main means to access technical information, such as magazines and professional journals. Therefore, it is not surprising that reading skills were regarded as central (Mihai, 2005).

When the students started learning foreign languages in schools varied slightly from decade to decade. Table 2 shows that in the 1980s, the study of two foreign languages (called modern languages in the curriculum) was mandatory, the first one introduced in 5th grade and the second one in 6th grade:

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Modern language 1</th>
<th>Modern language 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-1948</td>
<td>5th to 12th grade</td>
<td>8th to 12th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-1956</td>
<td>4th to 11th grade</td>
<td>8th to 11th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1969</td>
<td>5th to 12th grade</td>
<td>6th to 12th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>2nd to 12th grade</td>
<td>4th to 12th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>5th to 12th grade</td>
<td>6th to 12th grade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of foreign language lessons varied from 2 to 3 per week. As a foreign language, Russian was compulsory only until 1955 and rarely taught in schools later on: already by 1969, Grant (1969) noticed that English, French and German were the preferred foreign languages. In the particular case of English, the curriculum recommended the study of British English.
There was only one textbook per academic year for each foreign language. The textbooks were approved by the Ministry of Education and Research, and the teachers were the ones who contributed to the content: “The textbooks were compiled after the holding of a competitive examination among the most deserving of the teachers and were approved by the Ministry's educational and teaching publications' office” (Modern Languages at General Schools, as cited in Mihai, 2005).

**The EFL Curriculum**

In this section, I base my investigation on secondary sources, as I could not find a published or accessible EFL curriculum from Romania in 1988 or around that time. Following the comparison of the textbook’s content with the curriculum objectives, some textbook findings contradict the Romanian foreign language curriculum objectives found in the literature, and some confirm them.

Malita (1969) points out the shift in the foreign languages curriculum from the elegant translations of literature preferred before 1945, to the more practical and social purposes after 1945 (during communism): professional development, and access to specialized literature that would contribute to the economic growth envisioned by the communist leaders. Reading skills, therefore, were considered essential (Mihai, 2005). Nevertheless, while the content of the readings in the textbooks confirm Malita’s objectives, the length and the number of the readings in the textbook indicate that this aspect of language learning was not considered instrumental.

The second purpose of learning foreign languages was “to familiarize [students] with the cultural values of the peoples whose language they studied” (Mihai, 2005). However, a brief evaluation of the readings’ titles leads to a different understanding: 65% of the readings describe the Romanian landscape and people, and only 35% illustrate others’ cultural values. One explanation for
the consistent emphasis on Romania and Romanians throughout the book is the coordination of humanistic subjects’ curricula: geography, history, foreign language and mother tongue, so that the content would merge into a more comprehensive understanding of the world (Mihai 2004).

Another goal of foreign language learning was the focus on communication to satisfy export requirements and participation at conferences, and respond to the constant increase in tourism. The content of the readings about Romanians could make one believe that a travel guide had been suddenly changed into a textbook. Indeed there are exercises focusing on speaking skills both in the Vocabulary and Reading, Writing, and Speaking sections.

Considering the number of pages allocated to different skills, there is an evident emphasis on accuracy. There are 72 pages dedicated exclusively to grammar (as compared to 50 pages for vocabulary, and 58 for reading, writing and speaking), and an average of 3 grammar concepts for each lesson.

Overall, the reviewed literature and the textbook show that the EFL curriculum matched the economical and political development of the country. It mainly emphasized a world viewed through the communist ideology lens. However, there is a discrepancy between the literature review and textbook: the intercultural dimension, which seemed of importance in the literature, is sparse in the textbook.
Chapter Five:
Data Analysis:
Form and Content

Textbook Description

Just like all other textbooks, this EFL textbook was standard nationwide. The book is not appealing in terms of colour or illustrations: the cover is orange, the writing is black against a yellow tone paper, and most of the few illustrations are drawings in red colour (for samples, see Appendices B, C, D, E, and F). The only black and white photographs of real places are showing Romanian landmarks in unit IX, What Shall We Visit First?.

The textbook has 207 pages, and is comprised of 14 units, numbered I to IX, and three additional parts at the end: Supplementary Material, Grammar in a Nutshell, and English-Romanian Vocabulary. The usual layout of the fourteen units covers: i) Vocabulary Practice, ii) Grammar Practice, and iii) Speaking, Reading and Writing Practice. Following a simple page count, Vocabulary accounts for 28% of the textbook’s content, Grammar Practice for 40%, and Reading, Speaking and Writing for 32%. Appendix I presents an overview of the textbook’s content with reference to the number of pages.

The first part, Vocabulary, usually consists of a list of about fifteen new words or phrases followed by exercises. Each word is defined both in Romanian and English with the phonetic transcription underneath, and a sentence in which the new word has been used (see Example 1).

Example 1: [as presented in textbook]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hospitable</th>
<th>= liking to give</th>
<th>I always like to visit them; they are very hospitable people.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ˈhɔspɪtəbl]</td>
<td>hospitality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ospitalier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Unit II: The Romanians, p. 26)
The words and phrases are used in various exercises within the Vocabulary part of the lesson (multiple choice, CLOZE), and later on in the reading at the end of the unit. The last two exercises in the first part, called *Let’s Talk!*, teach the students language skills, such as *Asking for Help* (Unit I, p. 7), *Making an Inquiry* (Unit II, p. 28), *Table Conversation* (Unit III, p. 43), and the like.

The second part, Grammar Practice, which accounts for almost half of the textbook (40%) comprises explanations of English tenses, followed by exercises. There are at least three grammatical concepts in every unit. The grammatical items are explained in Romanian, arranged in tables, and linked to similar grammatical concepts in Romanian.

**Example 2** [as presented in the textbook]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM:</th>
<th>IT IS USED TO EXPRESS</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative: S + shall/will + BE + V-ing</td>
<td>acţiune în desfăşurare într-un moment viitor.</td>
<td>Indicativ viitor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Unit II: The Romanians, p. 32)

The third part entitled Reading, Speaking and Writing, which is the focus of this study, starts with a set of “pre-questions” (textbook) that direct students’ attention towards the topic of the reading that follows. The readings are usually one page in length, and no longer than two pages. By doing the exercises subsequent to the reading, the students practice some of the vocabulary words and phrases previously acquired in the first part of the unit, and answer comprehension questions. The comprehension questions are followed by translation exercises, either from Romanian into English or vice versa, language skills practice (i.e. *The Language of Arguing and Debate*), and a topic for writing.

The focal points of the present study are the readings at the end of each unit, and the assignments related to the readings that aim to improve or guide in a certain direction the students’
understanding of the texts. The exercises may be in the form of comprehension questions, warm up questions on a particular topic, or writing topics.

These tasks provide valuable insight into the intended meaning of the text, which might otherwise be lost or only guessed especially in metaphorical texts. For example, Unit I commences with a dialogue between colours that might be interpreted in different ways; however, the comprehension questions reveal the exact meaning of the text: a child growing up and enjoying the advantages of a communist country. The intended meaning of the readings is a starting point for the critical analysis of discourses.

**Form: Genre, Authorship and Readers**

I listed the readings I explore in this study in Appendix J, together with information regarding authorship and genre. Authorship and genre emerged as essential units of analysis of the way the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians is represented due to the easily observable dichotomist selection of readings: All the readings about Romanians are descriptive texts and the authors are anonymous, while the readings portraying non-Romanians are literature excerpts belonging to famous writers from the English-speaking world. There are multiple implications resulting from this separation both in terms of authorship and genre. The striking difference between the two modes of presentation is illustrated in the following two examples.

**Example 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanians</th>
<th>Non-Romanians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“One of the delights of travelling in Romania is to see at a turn of a path an unexpected village, peacefully hidden behind old oaks and birches and poplars. Most Romanian villages are very old but they have changed and developed in the...”</td>
<td>“We looked down at the water and shivered. The idea had been to get up early in the morning, spring into the river with a happy shout and have a long, nice swim. But now the water looked wet and chilly; the wind felt cold. George and Harris retired into the boat. I did not like to give in and I...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
coarse of centuries, slowly adopting the new things of civilization [electric light, T.V., radio, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.] means of transport, modern tools and machines, (tractors, combines, etc.)”.

The first example belongs to *The Romanian Village*, a reading that describes the idyllic Romanian villages’ beauty and modernization. The author of this piece is not mentioned. The second example is an excerpt from *Three Men in a Boat*, a book written by Jerome K. Jerome in 1889. Each of the examples represents a different genre, era, culture, ideology, lexical density, and grammatical intricacy.

**Genre**

Besides being the “conventional form that a text takes” (Graddol, 1994, p. 40), genre also functions as “horizon of expectation” dictating how the reader perceives the text even before reading it (Todorov, 2000). Therefore, the descriptive texts about Romanians have the power of presenting facts, while the literature excerpts about non-Romanians are representations of fiction. This separation is further exacerbated by the FL context itself that implies a certain distance in space and time, and by the communist regime that forbids traveling abroad. Hence, English remains an abstract language of countries and people in the realms of fiction.

Regarding written genres, power is often exercised by being able to use the right discourse form (Kress, 1982; Martin, 1989). The conventions of the descriptive text used in the texts about Romanians discourage the readers from inventing, creating or constructing a different perspective.
As a consequence, the discourse about Romanians comes across as more salient and grounded than the discourse about others, which remains in the realm of fiction and literature.

**Authorship**

In literary theory, the relation between text, its author and the readers is a controversial one. The Medieval concept of author is found in the word *auctor* (Latin and Greek), which denotes “someone who is at once a writer and an authority” (Minnis, 1994, p. 162). In his famous *The Death of the Author*, Roland Barthes (1994) denies the authority of the writer over the text, claiming that, “to give a text an author is to impose a limit on that text, to finish it with a final signified, to close the writing” (p. 168). However, in this study, the intention is not that of relating the author to the meaning of the text, but that of understanding the relevance of the absence or presence of authors’ names in the textbook from an ideological perspective. In this sense, Graddol (1994) refers to texts as encoding “particular social relations between reader and writer and between third parties” (p. 42). The third party in this case is the communist ideology that limits and shapes and constraints the reader - writer relationship.

Further in the analysis, I separate texts by and about Romanians and texts by and about non-Romanians as this is the general thematic organization of the texts with very little overlapping: Unit VII compares Romanian and non-Romanian writers, the results of which are presented shortly, and Unit II, Part B contains a quote from a *Guide to Romanian* written by a non-Romanian author.

The presentational and orientational meaning of authorship, foreign as well as local, is disclosed in Unit VII entitled *Culture Across Countries*. As the title suggests, the text is about culture, the Romanian culture. Even though this is an English course where students should learn about the culture of other countries, only Romanian writers are mentioned and praised in the text.
The students are not learning anything new: they had been studying these writers for some time during the Romanian language and literature lessons; they had even been tested on their knowledge about these writers for the entrance to high-school examinations. This time the students are urged to translate the works of these writers so that their value is recognized all over the world.

Compared with the overwhelming presence of Romanian writers’ names, the absence of non-Romanian names in the reading is peculiar. On the one hand there are the Romanians, Eminescu, Creangă, Blaga, Coșbuc, Caragiale, Goga and Bacovia, followed by the translation of a paragraph from Creangă into English; and on the other hand, there is the general category of “foreign writers”.

One role of this reading seems to be that of counterbalancing the fact that the actual authors of readings in the textbook belong to non-Romanians such as Mark Twain, Stephen Leacock, Jerome K. Jerome, and A. J. Cronin, while anonymous authors are assigned for the other texts. Another objective of the reading is that of emphasizing the importance of Romanian writers not only nationally, but also internationally. However, as previously mentioned, due to a ban on travel visas, the students had no way of knowing whether the world had heard of or read any of the Romanian writers.

Overall, the exercises preceding and following the reading, as well as the reading itself promote a relation of equality between national and foreign writers under the assumption that a good short story or novel “speaks an international language” (p. 107). To illustrate, an exercise towards the end of the unit encourages a comparison between Creangă (Romanian) and Mark Twain (non-Romanian). The similarities are suggested in terms of subject, heroes (age, love of adventure), funny incidents, humorous style; the suggested differences are “different realities, different conceptions of the people” (p. 109).
Despite the explicit message of equality, a simple analysis of the adjectives associated with Romanians on one hand and non-Romanian writers on the other hand, results in a different discourse:

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives Used to Describe Romanian and Non-Romanian Writers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appreciated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enthusiastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(better) known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beloved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in Table 3 show that Romanian writers are favored, over the non-Romanian writers (Mark Twain) are evaluated with a single adjective as *famous*, thus contradicting the message of equality mentioned earlier. Another striking difference between texts is that readings about non-Romanians do not belong to any particular writer.

*Non-literary texts: By and about Romanians.*

As mentioned earlier in the Literature Review Chapter, EFL teachers themselves wrote these texts; however their names are not mentioned (Mihai, 2005). The result is that the anonymous author of the texts about Romania creates the impression of infallibility; it is the voice of common sense and authority. Nobody needs to be cited for that particular piece of information because it is common knowledge.
Literary texts: By and about non-Romanians.

To be noted that none of the authors were contemporary and their writings used in the textbook date from the end of the 19th century beginning of 20th century. The textbook readings are therefore distant in time as well as in space. Even though British English was the standard language, the authors were from various English-speaking countries: Canada, Scotland, the United States, and England. The authors of these texts are Stephen Leacock (1869 -1944), A. J. Cronin (1896 - 1961), Mark Twain (1835 - 1910), and Jerome K. Jerome (1859 - 1927).

Surprisingly enough, not all the authors selected for the textbook had a socialist or communist background, as one would assume. For example, a Canadian writer and economist, Stephen Leacock, who was known as one of the best humorists in the English-speaking world, is also known for his best-selling book, *Elements of Political Science* published in 1906; in this book, his political views are described as “opposed to *laissez-faire* and socialist alternatives in place of capitalist ones” (National Library of Canada).

Mark Twain, the *nom de plume* of Samuel Clemens, is yet another famous humorist. He was well known to the Romanian public through two of his most famous books *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and its sequel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. His literary works expose the “increasing class divisions, poverty and illiteracy” in the United States in the 1880s, a stance favored by the Romanian communist government (Elliot, 1999, p. iii).

Mark Twain is the favorite non-Romanian author in the EFL textbook. He is the author of Unit VIII’s reading *Taming a Guide*, the hero of a one paragraph anecdote and the sole representative of foreign literature in Unit VII. Interestingly, neither Tom Sawyer nor Huckleberry Finn were chosen for the reading in Unit VIII. Instead, *Taming a Guide* was selected from another
book, *The Innocents Abroad*, in which Twain acts as “the self-effacing ordinary American who epitomizes American pragmatism and directness and refuses to be awed by the glories of the European past and the pomp and circumstance of royalty” (Elliot, 1999, p. iv) As a consequence, Western Europe and the US, representatives of the capitalist world, are ridiculed.

The importance of the author and his/her contribution to the meaning of the text is acknowledged by some and rejected by others. Kramsch (1993) chooses to acknowledge both the readers’ and the authors’ contributions to the interpretation of a text:

[W]riters shape the medium, structure their experience by means of grammar and vocabulary, negotiate the interpersonal relationship they wish to have with their reader, draw on background knowledge and refer to prior texts, and decide what to leave unsaid.[...] The readers are of course free to read the text as they wish, but the text structure has been chosen by the writer so as to elicit either a more efferent or a more aesthetic kind of reading. (129)

Kramsch refers to the freedom of the reader within a space already limited by the author’s choice of structure, vocabulary, and background.

**Readers**

As mentioned before, the readers of these texts are 9th or 10th grade high school students. They are the audience, the decoders of texts, and the negotiators of meanings. The postulated “inscribed” readers (Meinhof, 1994), the imagined audience, are described in Unit XI, *What Shall We Visit First?* The text unfolds around the students in 9th B, “the nicest pupils of all 9th forms” (p. 157), who are debating where they should go on their next field trip. After different suggestions are turned down, it seems that a visit to the Enterprise for Airplanes is welcomed by everybody in class: “’Hurray!,’ the class shouted with one voice” (p. 157). The students’ debate is interrupted by the sudden appearance of the “9th B form master”. The students in the reading, therefore the readers as well, are expected not to question authority. Their creativity, wishes and ideas are quickly stifled by
the authoritarian presence of the instructor who announces that the place to be visited is the Technical Museum. The text ends abruptly with the instructor’s announcement: “Our first visit will be to the Technical Museum. That’s for a start. I’m sure everybody may find something of interest in his or her own field there” (p. 158).

Ultimately, this study addresses exactly the readers of these texts by identifying what they actually learned, what representations of Romanians and non-Romanians were chosen for the texts, and what some sociopolitical implications are. It was in the readers’ power to resist ideology as well.

*Content: Discourses*

Each word chosen by the author is selected at the expense of others that were not chosen. Understanding a text’s silences is the most difficult task of the foreign language reader, for the decision of the author to leave things unsaid is based on his or her confidence that the readers will be able to read between the lines. (Kramsch, 1993, p. 128)

Some of the discourses that I discuss further in this chapter have been identified as Discourses of the socialist systems in general. Kornai’s (1998) *The Socialist System* puts forward a number of concepts, or as the author calls them, “ingredients” of the socialist system, that are easily identifiable in the EFL textbook as well; for example, Discipline, Willing Sacrifice, Vigilance, and Sense of Superiority. For this study I select only the ones that showcase the representations of Romanians and non-Romanians, and the relationship between them: the discourse of Superiority and the Intercultural Discourse.

First, the discourse of Superiority has surfaced in the literature on socialist systems and Discourses, and at the same time as a result of a close reading of the texts and exercises surrounding them. Second, I approached the Intercultural Discourse differently, in the sense that based on the
literature review (see Chapter Two), I hypothesized that this discourse should be present in any foreign language textbook.

**Discourse 1: Sense of Superiority**

One of the most important ingredients in the socialist ideology is the belief that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist one, and that “socialism is destined to save mankind” (Kornai, 1998, p. 50). In the EFL textbook, the Superiority discourse emerges explicitly and implicitly in the:

1. Over-representation of Romanians
2. Under-representation of non-Romanians
3. Explicit preference for Romanians over others
4. Depiction of characters
5. Metaphors and symbolic language

**Over-representation of Romanians.**

First, a sense of superiority materializes simply by counting the number of texts directly glorifying Romania. Out of a total of twelve readings, seven praise Romanian history, geography, literature/authors, people, and landmarks, and two texts briefly appreciate some of the same matters in other countries. To begin with, the examples below are excerpts from the texts directly describing Romanian culture: history, people, countryside, literature, and science.

**Excerpt 1: Romanian history**

And as I grew up and started reading History textbooks I took the brush and dipped it into the national heroes’ blood and put red on the flag of our country’s victories.[...]

(Unit I, *The Colours of Our Country*, p. 15)
In Excerpt 1, the history of Romanian people is presented as a succession of victories accomplished by national heroes. The metaphor of a brush dipped in blood painting the flag emphasizes the spirit of sacrifice that is forever remembered in the red of the Romanian flag. The Romanian flag’s colors (blue, yellow and red) are important symbols of the socialist ideology and are very often referred to. Red represents history and the national heroes’ blood as in the example above, yellow is the symbol of wealth in the crops and fields, and blue represents the clear sky and the Black Sea. Besides heroes, wealth and peace, the textbook praises the Romanian people’s qualities.

**Excerpt 2: Romanian people**

First the country... then there are the Romanians themselves, a very hospitable people pleased you came to see them and anxious to show friendliness.

(Unit II, *The Romanians*, p.36)

Praising the Romanians, Excerpt 2 displays an example of the punctuation the authors of the textbook make use of often: the ellipsis ‘...’. Within the text, the literary meaning of the ellipsis may be interpreted as if the audience/reader were given some time to dream, to imagine... The text itself seems to be the main character of the story (as there is no author to begin with) and it is weaving a paradisiacal image. While the country’s description is meaningfully replaced by the ellipsis, the description of the Romanians is made very explicit by the use of the adjectives: “hospitable”, “pleased”, and the collocation “anxious to show friendliness”.

**Excerpt 3: Romanian countryside**

One of the delights of travelling in Romania is to see at a turn of a path an unexpected village, peacefully hidden behind old oaks and birches and poplars. [...] Getting into a village along a narrow lane which leaves the main road behind, you can see beautiful gardens with lots of flowers in front of brightly coloured new houses and picturesque old thatched cottages. An old man sitting in the sun greets you friendly, eager to talk and find out why you are there. [...].

(Unit VI, *A Romanian Village*, p. 93)
Excerpt 3 displays an overwhelming number of adjectives that creates a very specific image of what a Romanian village looks like. This idyllic village seems to be the blueprint of all Romanian villages.

**Excerpt 4: Romanian literature and people**

Such outstanding representatives of Romanian literature as Eminescu, Creangă, Blaga, Coșbuc, Caragiale, Goga, Bacovia, etc. are nowadays read and appreciated all over the world thanks to the hard work of enthusiastic people who were not discouraged by the difficulties of translating and interpreting poems, novels, plays and short stories. [...].

(Unit VII, *Culture Across Countries*, p. 107)

The writers enumerated in Excerpt 4 are well known Romanian national writers, mainly appreciated rather in a local context. As mentioned before, those whose writings are indeed internationally known are not mentioned due to their controversial political views. Ideology makes its way into the content of the text through absence of, and silence over what is important.

**Excerpt 5: Romanian science**

Romania has made a great contribution to the progress of science in all fields. Ingenuity is a well-known characteristic of Romanians, proved both in popular and modern science. [...] We cannot speak of aeronautics without mentioning Traian Vuia, Aurel Vlaicu, H. Coandă. [...].

(Unit X, *Masters of Romanian Ingenuity*, p. 142)

Besides the communists’ concern for science, Excerpt 5 is another illustration of the overstatement of Romanian contributions to the development of science “in all fields”. The statement, “ingenuity is a well-known characteristic of Romanians” implies that non-Romanians are aware of this quality as well. The Romanian inventors names mentioned towards the end of the excerpt are not consistent: the first name of the third person is not mentioned (H. Coandă) because it does not sound Romanian: Henri; the initial “H” leaves it open for interpretation.
In the context of a communist country or a socialist system, the excerpts above unveil the Patriotic/ Nationalist discourse, as identified by Yongbing (2002) in his analysis of Chinese language textbooks. Yongbing distinguished a number of perspectives that constitute the Patriotic/Nationalist discourse: the desired love for the country, the great culture and people, the natural beauties of the country, the happy life of the country, and work or sacrifice for the country, which are easily identifiable in the excerpts above as well.

Nevertheless, in the context of a foreign language textbook, together with the overall under-representation of non-Romanians, the examples contribute further on to the formation of another discourse, that of Superiority. In addition, linguistic means, such as, metaphors and symbolic language (Excerpt 1), the use of value judgments instead of facts (Excerpts 2, 4, and 5) and description (Excerpt 3) are also used to emphasize the qualities the Romanians possess, as opposed to the silence on the part of non-Romanians, allowing for no alternative readings.

The over-representation of Romanians is also confirmed by conducting two simple counts: one of the number of representatives mentioned within the texts, and the other, a count of the adjectives used to describe both sides as shown in Table 4.
Table 4

**Romanian and Non-Romanian Representatives Within the Readings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ted Appleton</td>
<td>author of a guide book to Romania</td>
<td>non-Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>George Coșbuc</td>
<td>poet</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Eminescu, Creangă, Blaga, Coșbuc, Caragiale, Goga, Bacovia, Corneliu M. Popescu</td>
<td>writers</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that four non-Romanian names were mentioned within the texts, out of which three are fictional characters and one is an obscure guide book author. In contrast, 19 Romanian names were mentioned, all of them well known to the Romanian students and people in general. They are famous national writers, or nationally and internationally known scientists. Once again, Romanians are represented by the best, while others are barely represented.

Considering that hardly any information about the Western countries was allowed into Romania, one might be led into thinking that, for example, the writers enumerated in Table 4 are indeed well known figures internationally, and upon meeting foreigners, Romanians might even look
down on those who are not aware of their mere existence. Creangă, for example, is indeed a writer whose readings have been enjoyed by generations of students in Romanian, but the value of his writings resides in the creative use of Romanian language, as well the realities of Romanian countryside known to those who have lived there. The writers mentioned in the text are appreciated rather in a local context, while those Romanian writers whose writings are indeed internationally known (i.e. Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Eugen Ionesco) are not mentioned due to their controversial political views and/or countries of residence other than Romania. In this way, not only the presence of specific writers, but the absence of some

**Under-representation of non-Romanians.**

The direct description of non-Romanian people, history or accomplishments is not as dense as that of Romanians shown above: only at the end of Unit VIII, the world’s culture is summed up in one passage entitled “The British Museum”. To be noted that this short paragraph, written down below in its entirety, is not a mandatory reading, but only a “passage for dictation”.

**Excerpt 6**

One of the most celebrated monuments of London is the British Museum. There is no other museum in the world which contains such a harvest of culture and opportunities for the study of literature, art, history, and archaeology. The Library’s total is more than 7 million books. In the Manuscripts Department you may see the first folio of Shakespeare’s plays, an early 15th century Canterbury Tales by Chaucer, etc. You may also visit rich and rare collections of sculptures, paintings, drawings, maps, medals, antiquities, etc. The British Museum, like the Victoria and Albert Museum, like the Louvre, the Metropolitan or the Vatican Museum is a storehouse of the cultural genius of the world in various forms.

(Unit VIII, *The British Museum*, p. 126)

This is how the “cultural genius” of the world is squeezed into a paragraph that takes up only a third of the page, while the story of Romanian genius and ingenuity unfolds across seven texts accompanied by a variety of exercises. Readings are usually accompanied by pre and post-reading
exercises that test vocabulary and the general comprehension of the texts, or emphasize certain aspects and meanings considered important. However, the purposes of a passage for dictation are accurate listening and correct spelling and no other comments are required.

Explicit preference for Romanians.

There are assignments that directly encourage a comparison between Romanians and other peoples and the readers/students’ answers are visibly guided toward giving preferentiality to Romanians. A pre-reading exercise in Unit II, *The Romanians*, starts with the following questions:

**Excerpt 7**

Why are you proud when you say: “I am Romanian”?

The question in Excerpt 7 does not leave students the freedom of finding an answer on their own, of understanding their patriotism or genuine appreciation of the Romanian culture and the country. The answer is based on the previous readings in the textbook which are metaphorical eulogies of Romanian history and scenery.

**Excerpt 8**

Do you think that the Romanians have special qualities that make them different from other peoples?

Excerpt 8 is the most direct reference to how Romanians should perceive themselves. Even though, in the form of a question, there is only one correct answer: which is found in the text. It is an enumeration of positive adjectives, emphasized by the last sentence: “Our people will always be young, determined, honest, friendly, hospitable and hard-working” (p. 36). The wording of the question suggests a ‘difference’ between Romanians and “other people” founded on “special qualities” possessed by the former. In other words, qualities such as determination, honesty, friendliness, and hospitality are specifically Romanian.
Excerpt 9
How could you characterize the Romanians? (The Romanians, pp. 35-37)

Excerpt 9 belongs to an exercise that follows the reading and reinforces the same answers that emphasize the Romanian “special qualities”. That others view us in the same way is also very explicit: in the same text, The Romanians, the readers are assured that, “This is how the others see us, this is what a visitor to our country will surely notice” (p.36). There is no doubt in the mind of the reader (‘will surely notice’) that others see us as a wonderful, hospitable and friendly people living in a fairytale country.

Depiction of characters.

Honesty and friendliness are two qualities that emerge in yet another text, Saying Good Bye by Stephen Leacock. In this literary excerpt, the main character, Melpomenus Jones, is described as honest and polite; however, these qualities are ironically conferred upon Melpomenus and clearly undermined by an exercise following the reading. The main character Melpomenus Jones is too polite and too nice to be able to say good-bye to his hosts for the evening and spends his whole vacation between tea, family photo albums and feeble attempts to say good bye.

Excerpt 10

He [Jones] was too honest to tell a lie and too polite to wish to appear rude.

Now it happened that he went to pay a visit to the Whites on the very afternoon of his summer vacation.[…] He chatted a while about weather, the latest news, drank two cups of tea and then prepared himself for the effort and said:

“Well, I think I’ll…”[…]

He stayed, He drank some more tea.[…]

After dinner mama decided to draw him out and showed him photographs. She showed him all the family museum[…]
Jones passed his time in drinking tea and looking at the photographs. His health was visibly failing. At length the crash came. They carried him upstairs with fever. […]

**Excerpt 11**

a) Reread paragraph II: Are the adjectives honest and polite used to express qualities?  
(Unit III, *Saying Good Bye*, p. 55)

While the story is humorous, it presents a weak character, embodying the stereotyped English politeness to the extreme. His manners are not like the robust Romanian ones that the readers have learned in previous lessons, but rather silly and obsequious. Therefore, honesty and friendliness remain, indeed, special qualities of Romanians.

In a similar way, Americans are portrayed mocking culture and cultural symbols while traveling in *Taming a Guide* by Mark Twain, another humorous excerpt from literature. Both Italy and the US represent capitalism and the values associated with it. In Excerpt 12, the Italian guide and the culture he represents, as well as the American culture are ridiculed.

**Excerpt 12**

“The guides in Italy are delighted to secure an American party because Americans so much wonder before any relic of Columbus.”  
(Unit VIII, *Taming a Guide*, p. 111)

**Metaphors and symbolic language.**

Trying to match ideology with reality, totalitarian systems often seem to make use of the Nation Building Metaphor (Fairclough, 2000; Yongbing, 2005). Fairclough’s (2000) study on New Labour language regards metaphor as one among a number of linguistic strategies used to conceal power relations. Charteris-Black (2004) as cited in Lu & Ahrens (2008, p. 21) suggested that BUILDING metaphors are rather prevalent and that they carry a positive connotation of “progress
toward long-term social goals” (p. 71). BUILDING metaphors can be grounded in the past or in the future. Glorifying parts of the past and encouraging people to continue the work of their predecessors ground the communist BUILDING metaphor.

**Excerpt 13**

“The Romanians have their roots deep in the earth”

The comparison between Romanians and fir trees is prevalent in the Romanian literature and history, and it indicates the permanence of this people, its long history and will to stay on this soil despite wars and enemies. It is at the same time a reference to the glorious past, as well as a strong statement about the present and the future. Such metaphors give the idea of solidity about Romanians.

**Discourse 2: Intercultural Discourse**

One of the educational objectives of the EFL curriculum in Romania in the 1980s was to facilitate intercultural communication. How is intercultural communication imparted through the lens of communist ideology? As referred to in the Literature Review, Intercultural Discourse is defined by Koole and ten Thije (2001) as “a common ground of meanings and practices” that are shared, or exchanged between cultures. Drawing on the findings of their study, I will identify the occurrence of representations of intercultural communication and relations in the presentation of facts, skills and perspectives in the textbook. In other words, what facts need to be remembered, what skills are to be practiced, or from what perspective are the students encouraged to view the world and themselves.

**Facts.**

So far in the analysis, the findings indicate a pronounced preference for representations of Romanian culture. The numerous texts about Romanians make their own contribution in the context
of Intercultural discourse. They represent ‘ready-made’ texts to use in conversations with others when asked about one’s country. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) noticed these texts as well and refer to them as “standard stories”:

Such strategies of self-representation are matched in everyday life by the standard stories told about one’s own country when abroad. Such stories are almost ritual, with a stable form and content. They do not normally relate day-to-day experiences and concerns (p. 17).

In this sense, these texts function only on one side of the intercultural communication. They are facts about the Romanians history, culture, and literature (see Excerpts 1 to 13) that are shared with others, but there is no mutual exchange. That these texts were meant to be used to introduce Romania to others is not only a guess. One exercise following the reading in Unit II, *The Colours of Our Country*, presents the students the following situation:

**Excerpt 14**

Exercise: A group of foreign pupils are taking part in an international competition held in our country. You want to show them the beauties of our country.

A. *Start by telling them a few general things about our country* [...]  

B. *Plan a sightseeing tour through the country. Travel by train.* [...]  

C. *Tell the foreign visitors about:*  

   1. Education in our country [...]  
   2. Jobs and daily activities [...]  
   3. Possibilities of entertainment [...]  

D. *Talk about:* “Red, Yellow and Blue” are famous in the world.  

   - international meetings  
     mutual collaboration with 140 states;  
     country is a member of different international organizations  
     our fight for peace in the world, etc.
- exhibitions
- competitions

(UNIT I, The Colours of Our Country, p. 16)

Excerpt 14 is a condensed version of the exercise, which takes two and a half pages in the textbooks because the students are expected to give detailed answers. Overall, the text shows a rather unilateral representation of culture. While the “foreign students” receive a full report about the Romanian mountains, culture, and educational system, there are no references to what the foreign students could teach or share with the Romanian students as well. The only instance when a vague idea of collaboration occurs is in part D where Romania’s “mutual collaboration with 140 states”, and the membership in different international organizations are mentioned. Of an even more vague nature is “our fight for peace in the world, etc.”, where big words, such as “fight”, “peace” and “world” are eventually trivialized by the use of “etc.”. However, this vague collaboration happens at an abstract level: the foreign student is not asked to collaborate, communicate, but he/she is only told that collaboration takes place. Furthermore, part D of the exercise related to the collaboration, and fight for peace is entitled ‘Red, Yellow and Blue’ are famous around the world, where the aforementioned red, yellow and blue are the colors of the Romanian flag, and symbols of Romanian heroism, bountiful crops, and happiness.

**Skills.**

A number of specific language skills are taught throughout the units, such as how to greet others, or make polite requests. Some of the excerpts from the literature are good occasions to practice these skills. For example, *Saying Good Bye* by Stephen Leacock in which the character, Melpomenus Jones, proves his extreme honesty and friendliness, is an opportunity to teach table manners.
Unit II illustrates the language of arguing and debate, such as, how to chair a meeting.

Chairing a meeting does not seem a skill very likely to be taught in an EFL textbook. However, participating at international conferences had been one of the EFL curriculum goals. In addition, members of the Communist Party in every organization and institution used to hold meeting very often. The students learn expression, such as, “Hold on! Let’s not talk about ... yet” or “Just a minute. “We’ll come back to ...later” (p. 57). An activity that requires attention is another simulation exercise during which the students can practice the language of arguing and debate, and chair a meeting. The participants in the meeting and their roles are written below in Excerpt 15. The organization of the information is a replica of the one in the textbook:

**Excerpt 15 [as presented in the textbook]**

The CHAIRMAN

You ask people to express their point of view; make a list with the people who want to talk; interrupt the speakers when they are not serious enough; draw the speakers attention when to speak about songs, dances and about food.

The SCOTSMAN

You think that Scottish dances and songs will be the best thing to do. They are simple and merry and besides the boys’ costumes can be easily made from girls’ skirts.

The AMERICAN

You interrupt and contradict the Scotsman. The language is a dialect of English, and though the dance is just like marching to music, there is nobody in the camp who can play that music. You suggest a cowboy song.

The ITALIAN

You think that the artistic programme will be fine but what interests you is the food. The Chairman calls you to order.

The ROMANIAN
You suggest that the Artistic Programme should start with a Romanian song - as you are the host country - and end with “Perinița”.1

(Unit III, Saying Good Bye, pp. 57 - 58)

First, this simulation sounds like one of the many jokes people used to tell, usually involving an American, a Russian and a Romanian who would be faced with a challenge. The American and the Russian would fail miserably, and the Romanian would succeed due to his excellent survival abilities or amazing intelligence. The simulation in Excerpt 15 not only sounds like this kind of joke, but it ends like one as well. After the American’s, Scotsman’s and Italian’s rather ridiculous commentaries and interruptions, the Romanian arbitrates with the sensible solution of introducing a Romanian song and dance. The Romanian succeeds in bringing peace to the table, and the Chairman does not need to interrupt him/her.

The verbs “interrupt” and “contradict” are used by the non-Romanians while trying to persuade others that their suggestions are the best. Nobody interrupts the Romanian, and he/she has the last word. Even though the students are urged to give these participants names, the initial designations The American, The Italian, The Romanian, and The Scotsman renders the discourse a sense of homogeny in regards to each culture.

*Perspectives.*

Excerpt 15 tackles the third Intercultural discourse orientation, the perspectives. The participants in the meeting have a condescending attitude towards each other, in addition to the same condescending attitude of the activity itself. The conversation revolves around stereotypes and rather offending remarks: the Scottish costumes for boys are made of girls skirts, and the language is only a dialect; the varied American culture is represented by the cowboy song; and the Italian gourmand’s

---

1 *Perinița* is a Romanian folk song and dance.
off the topic obsession with food. The Chairman does not have a specific national identity, but his authoritative voice, serious, grounded, and no-nonsense attitude implies he is a member of the Communist Party. The verbs used to describe the Chairman’s role are more action-oriented than his colleagues, he “asks”, “makes”, “interrupts”, draws attention”, and tells people when to speak.

The perspective non-Romanians have about Romanians is clearly and directly expressed in Excerpt 16:

**Excerpt 16**

I: “Why choose to holiday in Romania would be a fair enough question to ask.

First the country...then there are the Romanians themselves, a very hospitable people pleased you came to see them and anxious to show friendliness... [...]

The Romanian people are certainly one of the greatest pleasures of a Romanian holiday. [...]

“Welcome to Romania” a holiday country of hot sunshine, clear blue skies, a hospitable people living among gorgeous scenery. Let it be their standing invitation to you to visit their country - a land which you feel proud to discover”. (Ted Appleton - Your Guide to Romania)

II: This is how others see us, this is what a foreign visitor to our country will surely notice.

(Unit II, The Romanians, p. 15)

I have briefly looked at Part II of this excerpt (following the textbook model) in previous chapters. In this section of the analysis, it represents the perspective students learn non-Romanians have about them. And how could non-Romanians have a different opinion about Romanians, when throughout the whole book, the authors of the readings and exercises have strived to prove that it is so.
The perspective Romanians are encouraged to have about others is a condescending one as previously seen in the discourse of Superiority as well. The intercultural communication is one-sided, and non-Romanians are never invited to share any of their cultural background. Furthermore, instead of a genuine curiosity about others, stereotypes are promoted.
Chapter Six:
Discussion and Implications:
The Second Reality

In this study, I analyzed an EFL textbook to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the EFL textbook’s readings represent the relationship between Romanians and non-Romanians? and,

2. What are the sociopolitical implications of these representations?

To answer the first question, I approached the analysis through CDA, and selected intertextuality as the overarching concept. Intertextuality, defined in Lemke’s (1998) terms as presentational, orientational and attitudinal meanings guided the investigation of the textbooks’ readings by first, examining what the readings’ content is (presentational), second, by exploring the ideological orientation (orientational), and third, by identifying what attitudes are encouraged towards others (attitudinal). The answer to the second question of the study, regarding the implications of the above mentioned representations, draws on theories that maintain that ideologies, even when long gone, leave behind traces in people’s values, beliefs, and attitudes. I analyzed and illustrated two of the discourses that helped answer the research question: the Discourse of Superiority and the Intercultural Discourse.

The Discourse of Superiority surfaced through the textbook’s over-representation of Romanians and under-representation of non-Romanians; through explicit preference for Romanians over others, depiction of characters, metaphors and symbolic language. For the second discourse, of Intercultural communication, I examined how cultural knowledge was represented in facts, skills and perspectives about others.
Overall, the analysis showed that the dominant ideology of the government and its elites was legitimated and transmitted through language textbooks. Along with the media and other texts, language textbooks constructed the official cultural knowledge and attempted to shape the identities of the students. I have also shown that there was a contradiction between the official discourse and the day-to-day reality.

Figure 2: The effects of context and construction of texts on representations of Romanians and non-Romanians.

In Figure 2, I show how the intersection between the day-to-day realities and the ideological discourse results in a second reality within which the textbook’s texts are constructed and affect the way Romanians and non-Romanians are represented.

The closed discourse of the textbook presents the readers specific ways to view Romanians (us) and non-Romanians (others), and how others view us in an explicit and implicit way through careful selection and manipulation of the readings, literary form and authors. The two discourses, the discourse of Superiority and the Intercultural discourse led to the conclusions that the relationship
between Romanians and non-Romanians was unequally represented, and that it was portrayed under the auspices of a second reality.

**The Second Reality About Us**

A key element of the discourses in this study is the second reality that is created to disguise both the reality of life in Romania and non-Romanians somewhere else. Chapter Four sheds light on the reality of how Romanians lived where I described the daily hardships of Romanians under the communist rule: the lack of basic goods, rationing, the censorship on the media and the literature, and the ban on travel visas. However, according to the textbook and implicitly the communist ideology, the world is a *heaven* for those born and raised under the communist regime.

Hodge and Kress (1993), remark on the “inverted form” of the world through an ideological lens, and introduce the idea that ideology presents the world, as it ought to be according to the dominant group:

Ideology viewed as false consciousness represents the world ‘upside down’ and in inverted form. But it also displays an image of the world as it ought to be, as seen from the vantage point of the dominant group, or as it is, from the vantage point of the dominated group.

The knowledge about the world “as it ought to be” is constructed through a *closed discourse* (Yongbing, 2007) that does not allow for further interpretations. By manipulating the texts’ form and content, the textbook seems to present an objective view of the world. Narrators establish a shared universe of discourse with their readers through spatial and temporal frames of reference, text time vs. story time, characterization, point of view, and speech representation. Regarding Romanians, the texts render the readings’ spatial and temporal frames of reference a here-and-now character. The Romanians are directly characterized as honest and friendly, the country bountiful and beautiful, with a rich history and famous scientists and writers whose contributions are recognized worldwide.
The anonymous author of the texts about Romania is the infallible voice of authority itself. As a consequence, the discourse about Romania comes across as more salient and grounded than that about non-Romanians, which remains in the realms of fiction and literature. This separation is further exacerbated by the EFL context itself, as English implies a distance in space and time, and it makes the content even more abstract.

Regarding the implications of literary form, I have listed the readings I explored in this study in Appendix J, and pointed out that they belong to different literary genres: the readings about us are descriptive texts and the authors are anonymous, and the readings portraying others are excerpts from literature. The descriptive texts about Romania form a chain of texts around the same discourse supporting nationalist feelings, while the texts about others form another chain supporting a more abstract type of discourse, a lighter, humorous and condescending one.

*The Second Reality about Others*

Along the spatial and temporal frames of reference discussed above, the non-Romanians are presented in a selectively and historically remote space and time. In Orientalism, Said (1978) comments on the importance of knowing “what is out there”: “Yet often the sense in which someone feels himself to be not-foreign is based on a very unrigorous idea of what is out there, beyond one’s territory. All kinds of suppositions, associations, and fictions appear to crowd the unfamiliar space outside one’s own” (Said, 1978, p. 54). The textbook attempted to fill out the space for what was “out there”, and impose a certain perspective.

While the qualities of Romanians are laid out overtly and explicitly, the others, are presented differently: through literature and fiction. The values have to be guessed by the reader and the conclusion is not all flattering. One of the implications of this separation is that the descriptive texts
have the *power* of presenting facts, while the literature excerpts are representations of fiction. In addition, the conventions of the descriptive text discourage the readers from inventing, creating or constructing a different perspective, leading to texts that impose a certain kind of knowledge upon the reader.

Non-Romanians, even though recognized as neighbors and trading partners, have no qualities to be praised, or too many contributions to be mentioned. Unequal representations of Romanians and non-Romanians become apparent, where Romanians are on the better side of the balance.

**Resistance**

The communist discourse, as seen in the EFL textbook, created an attitude of distrust, and resistance against the discourse itself. As the day-to-day realities were quite different from the ones described in the texts, the readers met the discourse with resistance. The discourse is trying to mediate between inexistent social practices and social agents, thus becoming ridiculous and susceptible. Society and culture are shaped by discourse, and in turn, they form the discourse; this view of society, culture and discourse as a recursive cycle does not always have the trajectory envisioned by the dominant group. Theories of resistance to ideology prove that people recognize the discrepancies between ideology and reality and break free from the cycle. Following this line of thought, the discourses identified in the textbook were met with resistance, first emotionally and later on, in 1989, physically.

If we create discourses and discourses create us (Foucault, 1972), what does a fake discourse create? How did the students and Romanians in general make sense of these worlds, the real one and the discursive one? Kelemen and Bunzel (2008) explained how in communist regimes, “people adjusted their behaviour in line with proclaimed corporate/social norms and values while
simultaneously emotionally distancing themselves from the same normative demands” (p. 5). In a similar study on language textbooks in China, Yongbing (2007) emphasized the “ideological shock” the students must experience when faced with this double reality:

Facing a different reality in their families and social interactions, and reading alternative portrayals of the capitalist social order through popular cultural artefacts, media and the internet, child readers of the textbooks would be greatly disoriented and bewildered by the contradictions. The disorientation and bewilderment would in turn result in resentment against the closed discourse or passive acceptance of the closed discourses. In either case, child readers would be disempowered in the reading and learning process. (p. 259)

In the textbook, discourses about non-Romanians are difficult to resist because they are not explicit, and the learners have to cope with a different genre; it is literature, fiction, and imagination. Ultimately, the discourse becomes entangled between the literary discourses and the unknown reality. The discourse about non-Romanians, and the reality it creates, is difficult to resist; first of all there is no object of comparison: the students could not travel and see other countries or interact with other cultures, therefore what is in the textbook may have been considered true.

In sum, the government used English as another channel to transmit the dominant communist ideology. The authoritarian voice of the textbook dictates the readers how to view non-Romanians, supports nationalism, and widens the cultural gap between Romanians and non-Romanians.

**Implications for the Foreign Language Curricula**

Yongbing (2007) suggested that the cultural knowledge in the textbooks should be constructed as open rather than closed discourses. The type of analysis carried out in the present study and by authors like Yongbing suggests a revision of the foreign language curricula. First, to empower students, they should have the opportunity of being exposed to different texts representing various ideologies so that they can think and make sense of the world themselves. Second, the
textbooks’ content should be as much as possible a reflection of the events that are taking place in the world, and the assignments should encourage reflection, appreciation and/or criticism rather than imposing a particular view or ideology. Lastly, foreign languages are the main tools for intercultural or cross-cultural communication; therefore, the texts should promote ways to ease recognition of multiculturalism and mutual understanding.

If textbooks honor cultural diversity and practices then they will facilitate multicultural awareness and understanding; however, while that’s a possibility to some extent, it’s not enough. The reader needs to remain vigilant because all texts are culturally coded and saturated with ideologies. They are not immune to power. As mentioned in Chapter Two, in the literature review, examples of bias in second language textbooks may be the selection of some topics, and the omission of others, the representation of gender, class, and race, in text and images. Therefore, the EFL textbooks’ values, norms and beliefs must be scrutinized and analyzed by teachers and students (Benesh, 1993).

The analysis in this study could inform the teaching of reading or use of these texts in EFL. Teachers could emulate the critical analytical practices in this study with their students by discussing the readings not only for their literary or linguistic value, but also by engaging the students in discussing the subject of the reading in a historical and political way, and by questioning why that particular reading had been chosen for them to read. The assignments that follow the readings should guide the students onto a critical path of discovering the context of the texts.

To raise awareness that texts are biased and should be understood only within a particular context, schools should keep textbooks that had been used by various cohorts along the years, and should encourage the teachers to show them to the students. Even though an overlooked issue, older
textbooks may represent a valuable teaching tool that anchors the present texts historically and ideologically.

Sociopolitical Implications of the Representations of Romanians and Non-Romanians

In the beginning of the study I mentioned the cultural gap between Eastern Europe and Western Europe due to different ideologies, and I explored possible reasons behind the gap in an EFL Textbook published in Romania 1988. Stepping out of the communist era, the textbook showed that Romanians had learned that they were at least equal with, if not superior to other peoples: friendlier, smarter, more hardworking and hospitable, living in a country abounding in resources. However, as I have shown in Chapter Four: Background: The Day-to-Day Realities, the lack of basic goods and food had sometimes led the population to unconventional strategies of acquiring the everyday life essentials through bribery, theft, and a flourishing of black market business.

This situation has therefore added a new set of characteristics to the description of Romanians, this time one not all that flattering. After decades of striving to obtain the necessary items for a decent life, while learning in schools and the media that everything was as good as it could get, the Romanians have developed an attitude of distrust towards authority, the government and the official discourse. And, even though at a different level, the discrepancy between discourse and reality continues.

The communist discourse praised the government’s efforts of turning Romania into the richest, happiest nation against the background of many unfulfilled basic needs. Nowadays, the
discourse of democracy and capitalism promotes yet another positive discourse of what life should be, while the gap between poor and rich has widened, unemployment reared its head up, and for many, the difference between prices and the actual small wages has become impossible to bridge. The society continues on the same struggle and opportunistic behaviour for making a decent living.

It is difficult to say how the sudden change from communism to capitalism, from one ideological discourse to another, has affected the Romanians. As I have shown in this study, during communism Romanians learned to view themselves in an affirmative way, and they learned that others viewed them in the same affirmative way, only to suddenly face a different reality after 1989, and find that the world had an unforgiving perspective of the issues and challenges Romania was facing.

After 1989, Romanians were faced with the reality of poorly managed orphanages and AIDS; outbursts of violence erupted with ethnic minorities such as Roma and Hungarians. In need for financial aid to re-construct their country on the premises of democracy, Romania stopped advertising bountiful crops, smart and happy people, and instead showed its worst problems. The Romanians’ identity as a people was torn between two discourses: what they had been taught about their identity during communist years, and what they seemed to be in the aftermath of the revolution. The discourse following 1989 changed to embracing a new way of life that capitalist countries had been experiencing for decades. However, the Romanians view of the world had already been distorted during almost five decades under the communist rule. The EFL textbook’s analysis shows that Romanians had been taught a rather ethnocentric view of the world. Even though most texts and assignments focus on Romania and Romanians, the readings failed to acknowledge, for example, the multiethnic population living in Romania, or any of the social inequities the society was facing.
I will review some of the most prominent news broadcasting agencies and magazines from a few English-speaking countries to illustrate the shocking difference between how Romanians had been presented in the textbook and how the world seems to see them nowadays. For articles about Romania, I have carried out a search of the official websites of the New York Times, an American newspaper, the BBC, a British news-broadcasting agency, and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada’s national public radio and television broadcaster. The articles revolve around topics such as sports, film industry, migration workers, challenging issues such as the situation of orphanages and stray dogs, travel blogs and culture.

Representations of Romanians in an admirable light come from articles focused on sports and the film industry. Romania seems to continue a long tradition of excellent gymnasts and talented soccer players, and lately numerous Romanian films have been awarded prestigious prizes. However, Romanians seem to be confronted with the less known side of the communist legacy, and the integration into the European Union has opened Pandora’s box.

The integration of Romania into the European Union allowed skilled workers and professionals to migrate and work throughout Europe. This migration soon became a burden both for Romania and other countries. According to Bilefski (2009), in Romania, children left behind by parents who work abroad suffer the strains of migration. In the meantime, according to other articles, Migration of Eastern Europeans to Britain Soars beyond Estimates (Cowell, 2006), and as a consequence Britain [to] Restrict Workers from Bulgaria and Romania (Lyall, 2006). Following a gruesome killing of an Italian woman by a Romanian of Roma descent, the Romanian premier tries to patch up the image of his country explaining that it had been only an isolated incident and most Romanians are compliant hardworking people (Fisher & Povoledo, 2007). In Romania Shrugs Off Remainder of Its Past, Kilmemann (2009) reports that Romanians “hardly blinked” when some
works of art were returned to Nicolae Ceauşescu’s surviving son, arguing that Romanians live in a “cash-versus-culture” climate. With most barely scraping by, Romanians admire private enterprise more than they value some vague notion of shared artistic heritage”.

A comparison between how the EFL textbook presented Romanians (“This is how others see us”) and how others see them nowadays would show significant differences. Furthermore, other articles show that cultural and moral structures seem to have collapsed, as the Romanian society transitions into a capitalist framework where capital and profit are of utmost importance.

**Conclusion**

Botelho (2004) states “As a society, we are always concerned with moving away and moving up” (p. 211). I suggest that to move away or up, we should know *what* we are moving away from. This analysis puts forward one way of knowing, through inquiry into former-used texts, such as the ones used in textbooks. In this study, the critical analysis of the EFL textbook’s readings uncovered ideologically biased knowledge embedded in the discourses. The ideological layers of the texts manipulated the way the students viewed *others*, and implied the superiority of *us* (Romanians) over *others* (non-Romanians).

Romania has moved away from the communist ideology, and the foreign language curriculum was revised. It is a venue for future research to examine the new texts for ideological content, or even for the students themselves. I suggested that teaching practices include inquiries into the past by allowing the students to engage in the critical examination of former-used textbooks.
Ideologies are ways to view the world, and individuals should be able to recognize different perspectives and question knowledge. In this line of thought, the cultural gap that exists between Western and Eastern Europe could be viewed as yet another discourse that dictates how people should perceive each other, and establishes unequal relations between *us* and *others* who have to catch up with *us*. 
References


# Appendix A

## Textbook Analysis: Case Studies

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Author</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Framework</th>
<th>Analytical Procedures</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yongbing</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Language Textbooks: 12 volumes - 308 texts</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>cultural knowledge, ideology</td>
<td>- critical curriculum theory</td>
<td>- discourses (p.3) intertextual analysis - perspectives - forms of realization - frequency analysis</td>
<td>- textbooks serve the purpose of social control, not the interest of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ya-Chen</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2 sets of Social Studies Textbooks: 1. 1978-1995 2. 1989-1995</td>
<td>element school</td>
<td>national identity: ideological representations of history of cultural and ethnic groups, gender</td>
<td>- textbook analysis (model: Sleeter &amp; Grant 1991)</td>
<td>Comparison - story line analysis - language analysis - frequency analysis</td>
<td>- textbooks reinforce the dominant national Chinese cultural identity without considering the specific perspectives and voices of different gender, cultural and ethnic groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sleeter &amp; Grant</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>47 textbooks: social studies, language, science, mathemati cs</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>Inequalities in representations of race, sex, disability, social class</td>
<td>- “textbook analysis instrument based on other instruments that have been developed and used elsewhere” (p. 82)</td>
<td>- picture analysis - anthology analysis - “people to study” analysis - language analysis - story-line analysis - miscellaneous</td>
<td>- whites dominate textbooks - males predominate in most textbooks - social class is not treated much - disability is ignored</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Frantzen</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>10 Spanish as a Foreign Language textbooks</td>
<td>college</td>
<td>cultural content in grammar exercises</td>
<td>- three grammar topics: contextualized or uncontextualized - frequency</td>
<td>- integration of cultural content with form-based practice provide natural opportunities to practice language</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Weninger &amp; Williams</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>reading textbooks</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>Cultural representations of minorities in images and stories (focus on Roma)</td>
<td>“contingency analysis” (Holsti, 1969)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Minorities receive almost no attention within Hungarian school textbooks, or they are defined in stereotypical ways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Data Source</td>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porreca 1984</td>
<td>US 1984</td>
<td>ESL textbooks</td>
<td>Sexism in ESL Textbooks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>omission or frequency in text and illustrations, firstness, occupational visibility, nouns, masculine generic constructions, and adjs.</td>
<td>&quot;sexism continues to flourish in ESL materials&quot; (p. 718)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macgillivray &amp; Jennings 2008</td>
<td>8 textbooks</td>
<td>foundations for education (pre-service teachers)</td>
<td>Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) content: - discrimination and harassment - LGBT identities and experiences - LGBT families - LGBT history - resources for support - legal issues - personal beliefs -conceptual terms and frameworks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>descriptive thematic categories</td>
<td>LGBT topics were included in all the texts - there was great disparity in the range of topics and depth of coverage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janmaat 2007</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>10 History textbooks</td>
<td>- representations of ethnic ‘others’: Russian minority in Ukraine - differences between generations of books</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>old books: condemnation of the foreign ruler (Russia and the Soviet Union) - new generation: more balanced accounts of inter-ethnic relations</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maslak 2008</td>
<td>Tibetan students in India</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>- ethnicity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>words based on the ethnicity literature (kinship, language, etc.) - frequency of words</td>
<td>textbooks reflect the ideals of the Indian educational system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirkovich, Skola, Crawford 2002</td>
<td>History: 2 textbooks for each country</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>- whose voices, whose knowledge, which groups receive attention - images support what points of view - what are the didactical</td>
<td>critical analysis - content - photographs - didactic approaches discourse analysis</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>descriptions of characters, social groups and events - adjectives and verbs juxtaposed - homogeneity vs. variety</td>
<td>significant similarities between history textbooks in UK and Montenegro - Serbian: strong patriotic echoes - suggests: cognitive,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
opportunities of the texts (Foucault) in the presentation of themes and events - emotive, urgent, showy language - socialization patterns affective, social competencies
Appendix B

Textbook Cover
Appendix C

Textbook Illustration

5. Nosey is in a hurry. 6. Imagine the dialogue between Nosey and the two peasants.
7. The women in the village found out the secret. What is it? Imagine their dialogue. Encourage them to speak!

8. All the villagers are digging. Andy is not. Why?
9. Was it an April Fools' Day?

(pictures adapted from — L.G. Alexander — “April Fools' Day”)

4. TEST

MODAL VERBS

A. In each of the following sentences only one of the modals in brackets can be used. Which one?

1. The exercise is easy. I (can, may, must) do it.
2. It is dark outside. It (may, must, should) be late.
Appendix D
Textbook Reading: Saying Good Bye (Non-Romanians)

1. The 9th form pupils are just finishing their sixth experiment in the chemistry laboratory. It is 10.00 a.m. and they started work at 8.00 a.m. (make experiments)
2. The pupils reached the mountain top an hour ago. They are leaving now with 20 new photographs. (take photographs)
3. Nick began to read this novel four hours ago. He is reading page 200 now. (read)
4. Mother went into the kitchen to bake cakes at 7. It is 10 now. Three very nice looking cakes are on the kitchen table. (bake)
5. Dan joined the school basketball team two years ago. He is playing his 84th match now. (play)
6. Mother switched on the washing machine half an hour ago. There are now fifteen clean shirts in the basket. (wash)

III. READING, SPEAKING AND WRITING PRACTICE

A. Prequestions:
1. Do you like to pay visits?
2. Whom do you often pay visits to?
3. Have you ever paid visits to people you were not very familiar with?
4. Did you enjoy your visit? What did you do there, what did you talk about?
5. What do you understand by “Be polite!”?

B. Reading:

SAYING GOOD-BYE

I. Some people — not you or I because we are so self-possessed — but some people find great difficulty in saying good-bye when making a call or spending the evening somewhere. As the moment draws near, when the visitor feels that he is to go away, he stands up and says: “Well, I think I...” Then the people say: “Oh, must you go now? Surely it’s still early” and a pitiful struggle follows.

II. I think the saddest case of this kind that I ever knew was that of my friend Melponenus Jones — such a dear young man of twenty-three. He simply couldn’t get away from people. He was too honest to tell a lie and too polite to wish to appear rude.

III. Now it happened that he went to pay a visit to the Whites on the very first afternoon of his summer vacation. The next six weeks were entirely his own — absolutely nothing to do.

He chatted a while about weather, the latest news, drank two cups of tea and then prepared himself for the effort and said:
Appendix E

Textbook Reading: Saying Good Bye (Non-Romanians) – continued

IV. "Well, I think I'll ..."
   But the lady of the house said:
   "Oh, no! Mr Jones, can't you really stay a little longer?"
   "Yes", he said, "of course I ... er ... can stay."
   "Then please don't go".
   He stayed. He drank some more tea. Night was falling. He stood up
   again:
   "Well, now", he said shyly, "I think I really..."
   "You must go?" said the lady politely. "I thought perhaps you could
   have stayed for dinner..."
   "Oh, well, so I could, you know...", Jones said, "if..."
   "Then please stay. I'm sure my husband will be delighted."
   "All right", he said feebly, and he sank back into his chair, just full
   of tea and miserable.

V. After dinner mamma decided to draw him out and showed him photo-
   graphs. She showed him all the family museum — photos of papa, of papa’s
   uncle and his wife, and mamma’s brother and his little boy and my grand-
   mother’s dog...
   "How nice, how interesting," he said and then "I must say good-night
   now," he pleaded.
   "Say good-night!" they said, "why, it’s only half-past eight! Have you
   anything to do?"
   "Nothing", he admitted.
   And papa said with irony that Jones had better stay with us all his
   vacation.
   Jones mistook his meaning and thanked him with tears in his eyes, and
   papa put Jones to bed in the spare room and cursed him heartily.

VI. Jones passed his time in drinking tea and looking at the photographs.
   His health was visibly failing. At length the crash came. They carried him
   upstairs with fever. At times he would say:
   "Another cup of tea and more, more photographs."
   "Don’t worry, dear," said Mrs Whites. "You’ll recover and tomorrow we’ll
   celebrate Jane’s birthday."
   "Did you say Jane’s birthday? Hurray! My vacation is over! Tomorrow
   first thing I’ll have to be in my office. So GOOD-BYE!"

   (Stephen Leacock — adapted)

C. Exercises

1. Read the text again and express in one or two words:
   a) Having (showing) the possession of good manners and consideration
      for other people.
   b) Calm, cool, confident.
   c) A statement one knows to be untrue.
Appendix F

Textbook Readings: The Colours of Our Country (Romanians)

1. UNIT ONE (REVISION)

THE COLOURS OF OUR COUNTRY

PART A

I. Last night it seemed to me that I was in a strange world without bright colours — black trees against a cloudy sky, black shadows against white walls ... and I got afraid and started to cry for help. And ... just as in a story, coloured pencils marching one by one came to me saying “Hello, how are you?”.

II. And I shook hands with Yellow first and painted the shining sun in the sky, the rich fields of wheat and the fair hair of my sister.

III. “May I introduce myself?”, said Green, “I’m the colour of life” and we went together and made the green grass and the leaves dance in all their beauty in the warm wind.

IV. Then I took Blue and suddenly the sky and the sea came to life and the eyes of my friends opened and saw the beauty of the world.

V. “Hm, hm, ... actually I think we’ve already met, haven’t we?” said the fat Brown. “The whole earth with houses and food is mine and I can make lots of interesting things. How about planting together ‘the seeds of knowledge now?’ ” And happily we went to school and painted the desks and the pencilboxes.

VI. Then the big Red flew into my open hand and I planted red tulips in our garden, put pioneer scarves round the necks of my schoolmates and happy smiles on the faces of all the children in the world.

VII. And only now, White and Black became beautiful colours, perfectly matching the coloured universe of our happiness. And only then did I wake up, and everything was as beautiful as it will always be.

1. READING, SPEAKING AND WRITING PRACTICE

1. Answer these questions:
   1. Why did the boy get afraid?
   2. Who came marching?
   3. What did he paint in yellow?
   4. What did Green say? What did they paint together?
   5. What did his friends see when they opened their eyes?
   6. What did Brown show him?
   7. What did the boy paint in Red?
   8. Why was everything beautiful when he woke up?
Appendix G
The Educational System of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Braham (1978)
Appendix H

Number of Hours per Week, per Subject in Science Lyceums 1976-1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Level Grades</th>
<th>Second Level Grades</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Free elective activity</td>
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Source: Adapted from Ministry of Education Information, Bucharest, 1976 (Braham, 1978)

\(^2\) In lyceums (high-schools) for national minorities, study of the mother language and literature is substituted.
## Appendix I

### Textbook Overview / Description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Vocabulary Practice</th>
<th>Grammar Practice</th>
<th>Speaking, Reading and Writing Practice</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Skills: Introducing people</td>
<td>Tenses of the Indicative Mood, Active Voice. Test</td>
<td>Reading: The Colours of Our Country A</td>
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<td>Greeting People</td>
<td>Review: Present Simple</td>
<td>Exercises: colours</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Offering help</td>
<td>Tag Questions</td>
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<td>Asking for help</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Exercises: Multiple Choice, CLOZE exercises</td>
<td>grammar point 1 (in Romanian): Future Tense Simple.</td>
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<td>grammar point 2: Future Tense Continuous.</td>
<td>B. Reading: The Romanians</td>
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<td>grammar point 3: Be + to (to express future)</td>
<td>C. Exercises: vocabulary (idioms, antonyms, correct the sentences, questions)</td>
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<td>Grammar point 4: Means of Expressing Future (table)</td>
<td>Topic: Describing People (exercises: CLOZE, translation Romanian - English)</td>
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<td>includes Future Tense Simple and Cont., Present Simple and Continuous, be going to, be + to.</td>
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<td>The Language of Arguing and Debate I (Situation: How to chair a meeting)</td>
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<td>grammar point 1 (in Romanian): Present Perfect Tense Simple.</td>
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<td>Already/Yet, Ever, never, Often, For, Since, Today/This week/Month/Year</td>
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<td>Speaking activities: Table conversation</td>
<td>grammar point 2: Present Perfect Tense Continuous.</td>
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<td>Speaking, Reading and Writing Practice</td>
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| IV   | Words and definitions | Grammar point 1 (in Romanian): Past Tense Simple. Exercises:  
Grammar point 2: USED TO.  
Grammar point 3: Past Tense Continuous.  
Past Tense Simple and Continuous  
Revision:  
Grammar point 4: Past Perfect tense Simple  
Grammar point 5: Past Perfect Continuous | A. Pre-questions  
B. Reading: Alison (A. J. Cronin)  
C. Exercises: vocabulary (idioms, antonyms, correct the sentences, questions)  
The Language of Arguing and Debate III (Situation: How to chair a meeting) |
| V    | Revision I  
A trip you have organized  
Make up a story: follow the illustrations, use the vocab from previous units. | Tenses of the Indicative Mood: Active Voice  
Exercises: Present Simple and Continuous, Past Simple and Continuous, Past Tense and Present Perfect, Past Perfect and Past Simple | Song: I’d Like to Teach the World to Sing  
I Know Something Good About You |
| VI   | Words and definitions  
Exercises: Multiple Choice, CLOZE exercises  
Speaking activities: Asking the Way | Modal Verbs: CAN, MUST, MAY, SHOULD  
Grammar point 1: CAN = to be able to. Exercises.  
Grammar point 2: MAY = to be allowed to (to express future). Exercises  
Grammar point 3: MAY = possibility (to express future). Exercises  
Grammar point 4: CAN/HAVE TO. Exercises.  
Grammar point 5: MUST = probability. Exercises | A. Pre-questions  
B. Reading: The Romanian Village  
C. Exercises.  
Situation: Role play (improving a village)  
Writing topics:  
The Old Village Becomes a Young Town  
 Beauties of Your Region |
| VII  | Words and definitions  
Exercises  
Speaking activities: Encouraging | Modal Verbs: CAN, MUST, MAY, SHOULD | A. Pre-questions  
B. Reading: Culture Across Countries  
C. Exercises.  
Comparison: Ion Creangă & Mark Twain |
<table>
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<th>Speaking, Reading and Writing Practice</th>
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<td>Grammar point 2: SHOULD = necessity, advice. Situation - reading. Exercises</td>
<td>Writing topics: The Happiest Day of my Life My Favourite Book A Nice Week-End</td>
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<td>4 pp.</td>
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<td>Revision II</td>
<td>Test: Modal Verbs</td>
<td>Song: Home on the Range Be the Best of Whatever You Are</td>
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<td>Words and definitions</td>
<td>Grammar point 1 (in Romanian): The Article. Exercises.</td>
<td>A. Pre-questions B. Reading: Masters of Romanian Ingenuity C. Exercises Writing topics: Children Worthy of Their Fathers Role play: public discussion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4 pp.</td>
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| XII  | Words and definitions | Grammar point 1 (in Romanian): Conditional Sentence Type II. Exercises. | A. Pre-questions  
|      | Exercises: Multiple Choice, CLOZE exercises | Grammar point 2: Conditional Sentence Type III. Exercises. | B. Reading: Three Men in a Boat  
|      | Speaking activities: The Weather | | C. Exercises  
|      | 4 pp. | | Writing topics:  
|      | | | Camping is the ideal way of spending a holiday  
|      | | | The most important of all human qualities is a sense of humour  
|      | | | 5 pp.  
| XIII | Revision III | |  
| XIV  | Final Revision | |  
|      | 50 pages | 72 pages | 58 pages  
|      | 28% | 40% | 32%  

### Appendix J

**Textbook Readings**

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<th>Unit</th>
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<th>Topics</th>
<th>Genre</th>
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<td>The Colours of our Country (Part A &amp; Part B)</td>
<td>the importance of the Romanian flag</td>
<td>descriptive text</td>
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<td>The Romanians</td>
<td>Romanian People perceived by others</td>
<td>descriptive text</td>
<td>others about us</td>
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<td>Saying Good-Bye</td>
<td>Manners</td>
<td>literature excerpt</td>
<td>others</td>
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<td>Alison</td>
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<td>Travelling</td>
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