Why TESOL Textbooks Are Still the Way They Are: A Study of Textbook Production in Global and Local Contexts

by
Abdullah Yıldız
Department of English Language and Linguistics

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Abstract

Material research in the area of TESOL has been ongoing and can be grouped into three main categories of content, consumption, and production (Harwood, 2010). While textbook content has been the most studied area, the need for more research on textbook production and consumption has been underlined (Forman, 2014; Harwood, 2010). The present study duly aims to uncover the accounts of TESOL textbook writers from two different contexts: global and local. Through interviews with textbook writers and editors working in the global market (n=9) and a country in the Middle Eastern market (n=8), and analysis of writing guidelines provided by publishing bodies as well as textbook content written by participants, this study attempts to map the current state of textbook production industry and what has changed in textbook production in the last two to three decades, how textbooks are produced in different contexts, and why textbook content is the way it is with a particular focus on culture. Results revealed that global textbook publishing industry has become a much more competitive market where decisions are made mostly with financial concerns in mind rather than producing better and more effective materials. Findings also indicate that, due to several constraints such as time and publisher demands, although localization is suggested as the solution for producing culturally-appropriate textbooks, not all sensitivities can be addressed, even in a local context. Additionally, textbook writers' experience indicates that the commercially-driven approach to publishing has exacerbated the constraints resulting in decreased amount of trialling of draft materials, decreased payments to authors and editors, much more formulated process of production and textbook content and much wider lists of taboo topics and cultural sensitivities to consider not to offend any potential users.

Keywords: textbook production, language teaching materials, TESOL materials, material production, taboo topics

Dedication

To my late grandfather, Bekir Yıldız. Peace and blessings be upon his soul.

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List of Abbreviations

AL	Applied Linguistics
CUP	Cambridge University Press
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreing Langauge
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
IATEFL	International Association of Teaching English as a Foreign Language
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
KET	Key English Test
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MA	Master of Arts
MoE	Ministry of Education
OUP	Oxford University Press
PARSNIP	Pork, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms and politics
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SCT	Socially Constructed Theory
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

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1. Introduction
1.1. Introduction

This study aims to investigate the current state of textbook production and how textbooks are produced in different contexts, namely global and local, and why textbook content is the way it is in these two settings through interviews with publishing insiders, and content analysis of textbooks and guidelines provided by publishers. The present chapter consists of four sections aiming to introduce the study, briefly map the territory and describe the structure of the thesis. Section 1.2 is an introduction to the nature of textbooks in the area of English Language Teaching (ELT) or Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) (terms which are used interchangeably hereafter). As one of the principal themes of focus of the present study, a brief history of the understanding of culture in ELT and discussions on its manifestation in language teaching materials are summarised in Section 1.3. The purpose and scope of the study and the statement of the problem are presented in Section 1.4. The chapter ends with Section 1.5 which describes the organization of the study.

1.2. The Textbook in ELT

The nature and role of textbooks (i.e., the need for textbooks and their usefulness in language teaching) in TESOL has long been a focus of discussion. The views in this debate can be categorised into two different pro- and anti-textbook camps (Bell and Gower, 2011). The pro-camp, on the one hand, argues that textbooks are materials that are produced by professionals in order to provide teachers and learners with tried and tested materials, thereby allowing them to plan and facilitate other aspects of classroom instruction and learning instead of needing to spend their time designing and preparing their own materials (Freebairn, 2000; Harmer, 2001). The anti-textbook camp, on the other hand, argues that textbooks limit the creativity of teachers and writers, serve as instruments of institutional control that are supported by commercial interests, and are implicitly prescriptive about what to teach

(Roberts, 2005; Thornbury and Meddings, 2001). Although there have been disagreements and arguments as to whether and to what extent textbooks are necessary and useful, it is a fact that they are widely used in almost all language teaching classes with or without adaptations and additions (Byram, 2002) and '83% of the classroom discourse is related to the materials' (Guerrettaz and Johnston, 2013:785). Therefore, textbooks are crucial elements of language teaching and classroom instruction and it is vital to understand how materials are produced and shaped into publications that are used in almost every classroom around the world (Harwood, 2010, 2014;Tomlinson, 2001).

In addition to the pro- and anti-textbook discussions stated above, another line of inquiry focuses on textbooks' lack of quality. Within this line of inquiry, analysis and discussion of TESOL textbooks have been ongoing with regard to their content, consumption and production (Harwood, 2014). Studies focusing on textbook content investigate what is included and excluded in textbooks in terms of topic, linguistic information, pedagogy, and culture while textbook consumption studies focus on how they are used by teachers and students. Studies on production investigate the process by which textbooks are designed, authored and published, along with the norms and values, concerns and constraints associated with the industry. The content of ELT textbooks is the most widely investigated topic among the three aspects. Textbooks have been analysed in terms of several aspects including their vocabulary (Anping, 2005), discourse features (Gilmore, 2004), approach to teaching grammar (Römer, 2004, 2006), taboo topics (Gray, 2010), and culture (Yuen, 2011). Additionally, ideology in textbooks has also long been a focus of discussion in studies such as Singapore Wala (2003), who considers the textbook to be 'a dynamic artefact that contributes to and creates meaning together with other participants in the context of language teaching" (p. 59) or Holliday (2005), who argues that language education is becoming more and more commodified and that students have become regarded as consumers as well as learners.

With regard to consumption, there have been studies that investigate the attitudes of teachers and students towards ELT textbooks, how they react to textbook content, and how they enact the curriculum (Canagarajah, 1993a; Forman, 2014). Although ELT material research is methodologically less advanced than mainstream (i.e., non-TESOL) education, particularly with regard to consumption studies (Harwood, 2016), studies in the area have focused on issues such as users' reactions to materials (e.g Canagarajah, 1993a), an experienced teacher's use of materials (Grammatosi and Harwood, 2014), seven teachers' use of an ESP coursebook at a Saudi Arabian University (Menkabu and Harwood, 2014), the use of textbooks by L2 teachers in Barcelona (Gray, 2000), in Greece (Tsobanoglou, 2008), by 30 teacher trainees in China (Yan, 2007), and by experienced and inexperienced teachers in Hong Kong (Sampson, 2009).

Lastly, the production process of textbooks has been generally mapped, with particular focus on the concerns and strategies of publishers (Amrani, 2011; Donovan, 1998; Gray, 2010; Mares, 2003; Singapore Wala, 2003; Timmis, 2014). Despite these insightful studies, mainly consisting of anecdotes and narratives by former authors and editors describing their previous experiences, there has been limited investigations into the textbook production process which focus in particular on the textbook as a cultural and commercial artefact. This is argued to be because material development and design in general is "often mistakenly seen as unworthy of serious study, being 'an essentially atheoretical activity and thus unrewarding as an area of research' " (Samuda, 2005:232).

The criticisms and analysis have been based on the widely accepted idea that the ideal situation in the production of materials is when the theory and practice of material production inform each other in order to facilitate successful language learning and address actual learner needs (Tomlinson, 2001:66). However, the research and discussions on TESOL materials and

Applied Linguistics (AL) in general tend to 'linger in journals rather than making it into classroom' (Gilmore, 2007: 112) in the form of materials. This is suggested to be because of the gap between research and TESOL material publishing, which is referred to as the 'uneasy symbiosis between the ELT publishing industry and SLA and applied linguistics research' (Mishan, 2021:12). As for the reason why the gap exists and remains, it is argued that due to several factors such as time constraints and financial concerns, published TESOL materials are of poor quality in that they do not reflect state of the art scholarship about how languages are learned and need to be taught, which would be expected to help materials fulfil their ultimate goal of meeting learner needs as successfully as possible (Bell and Gower, 2011).

As Ndura (2004) states, it is widely accepted that 'the content of instructional materials significantly affects students' attitudes and dispositions towards themselves, other people and society' (2004: 143). This entails the idea that while using a textbook, reading texts and seeing the images, students (and teachers) are exposed to someone's selection and vision of legitimate knowledge and culture. In this regard, representation of different cultures and cultural elements, and culture and ideology as manifested in textbooks have been among the most popular content studies in the last decades (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993; Mukundan, 2008; Ndura, 2004; Yuen, 2011). As discussions related to cultural ideological elements are one of the most popular lines of inquiry on language teaching materials, this study uses research focusing on culture as manifested in TESOL materials as a measure to investigate the awareness of publishing insiders of TESOL material research. To map the territory, the following section offers a brief history of the understanding of culture and cultural content analysis studies in the area of TESOL.

1.3. Culture in ELT Textbooks

The present section offers a brief overview of the discussion on culture as manifested in English language teaching and materials. Culture and language are regarded to be "… not separate, but are acquired together, with each providing support for the development of the other" (Mitchell and Myles 2004: 235). The first factor to consider about the link between language and culture is that learners learn language with the purpose of communicating with people from (an)other culture(s). So, culture and language seem to be inseparable and are learned together. It is argued that it is possible and even necessary to learn a language and culture together (Zhou and Griffiths, 2011). Considering that even mainstream education materials have been evaluated in terms of the way they represent members of different cultures (e.g., Atienza and Van Dijk, 2010) and that language and culture are claimed to be strongly linked, it is understandable that culture has been a focus of discussion among ELT scholars.

The scholarly discussion relating to culture in language teaching and cultural content in language teaching textbooks is difficult to summarize and clearly map as it has 'always had a distinctive interdisciplinary character with multiple theoretical and philosophical positions' (Risager, 2011: 485). In addition to the philosophical positions and points of view, the methodology used to investigate culture and definitions of culture is quite complex and there has not been a total consistency in this regard among the studies in this field.

Cultural representation of members of a culture in ELT textbooks is argued to have the potential to develop prejudices or stereotypes. For instance, Paige et al. (2003) argue that the information in language teaching textbooks tends to be rather general. That is, the content of the textbook does not indicate the actual experience of a culture or note individual differences,

but gives some snapshots that lead to generalizations. Therefore, it is argued that this may result in assumptions such as that the behaviours or beliefs attributed to those represented in the textbook applies to all the members of their culture. To overcome this and to help learners in developing appreciation of a wider range of foreign cultures, it is necessary to increase the amount of material on foreign cultures (other than the culture of English-speaking countries) in textbooks. This is desirable as it helps develop students' appreciation of a much wider range of foreign cultures, especially when English is taught as an international language rather than merely to communicate with people from English-speaking societies' (Yuen, 2011:464). Therefore, as far as the English language is concerned, the connection between language and culture is less than straightforward (Zhou and Griffiths, 2011) as English is the global lingua franca and is affected by more than a single source of culture. Compared to a language that is not as dominant as English, such as Turkish, which is my mother tongue, it is much more likely that English will be used as a means of communication between people from two different linguistic backgrounds. An individual who learns Turkish is much more likely to imagine her/himself communicating with a Turkish person, while learners of English are well aware that they might communicate with a person from any country in the world. This global dominance of the English language requires TESOL materials to be much more sensitive about the way they represent other cultures and the need to be much more inclusive.

The discussion around the understanding of culture in the field of TESOL has been ongoing for more than sixty years. Weninger and Kiss (2013) offer a detailed overview of the evolution of the understanding of culture and the way it has been conceptualized from the 1950s to the present. They summarize the history of culture in three periods. In the first period, from the 1950s to the 1990s, culture was treated as an object, a set of facts about the target culture that learners needed to know. During this time, culture was treated as an object,

a set of facts to be learned about the culture of the speakers of a target language, which in most cases entailed national culture. The studies on culture in this period aimed to immerse learners into the target language society and culture, and in this way to maximize the chances of the learners becoming a member of the target language community and help them acquire the language with greater success.

In the second period, which covers only a decade, the 1990s, major changes were seen in the conceptualization of culture: "The previous emphasis on cultural artefact was replaced by culture with a small c […] and it was argued that language and culture are complementary for successful language acquisition" (Weninger and Kiss 2013:697). The authors also note that it was the time when scholars started to discuss whether it is possible to talk about a target-language culture for the English language. This discussion arose as English started to become a global lingua franca. Questioning the nature of the culture of the English language was significant as it led to a new line of inquiry focusing on the culture in English language teaching materials, and most studies of this type found that the culture of the source culture was dominant in TESOL textbooks (Murayama, 2000; Shin et al., 2011) which shows that although the English language was being widely used as a lingua franca, and L2 speakers of English outnumbered native speakers, the dominance of native speakers' cultural norms was still seen in TESOL textbooks.

After 2000, which is the third and current period, with the strong influence of globalization, terms such as "global citizenship", "global culture", "transnational or global/local approach", "world citizen", and "intercultural citizenship" started to be used and discussed (Guilherme, 2002: 50–51; Risager, 2007: 222; 2011: 485; Byram, 2011:11-12). The discussion in the contemporary era has centred on the need for learners to be conscious, critical citizens who

can judge between real and unreal ideas and ideologies (users' ability to judge if the ideas, cultures and ideologies are reflected appropriately and faithfully in textbooks) as the world is becoming a place where boundaries are getting more and more difficult to define. In order to foster this, new strategies and approaches in teacher training and materials writing are required (Byram, 2011).

Byram's (2009) Model of Intercultural (communicative) Competence is associated with this current era. Byram's model proposes that critical awareness of language and culture are not isolated, and that language has an intercultural dimension. So, instead of only teaching the system of a language, cultural and communicative dimensions are also necessary. Byram proposed a model that consists of five dimensions of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. These consist of; attitudes of curiosity and inquisitiveness; knowledge of different aspects of life (e.g., education, work); the skill of interpreting and relating the knowledge and skills; skills of discovery and interaction; and critical cultural awareness. In this list, Byram underlined the importance of critical cultural awareness, which he argues makes language teaching educational beyond the instrumental perspective (Byram, 2012). In short, he argues that the English language is by no means isolated from cultural, political and ideological relations and therefore learners need to have a critical awareness of culture to judge whether the content of a textbook is stereotypical, or the content is appropriate for their use. In this way, individuals need to be able to compare their own culture with other cultures, and have a good understanding of similarities and differences.

According to Weninger and Kiss (2013), the studies in the third era on culture in language teaching textbooks have two shortcomings. Firstly, especially in quantitative studies (e.g. Pashmforoosh and Babaii, 2015; Yuen, 2011), culture is "thought of in terms of mutually

exclusive binaries such as Asian–Western, foreign–nonforeign", which omits "hybrid, subcultural, or global cultural representations" (p.700). In these studies, the analyses are based on categorizing images and text according to which culture they refer to. Secondly, although this is a criticism of all interpretive studies (including critical/discourse analysis), these studies are based on the assumption that the interpretation of the analyst will match and reflect that of the students and teachers, or the intention of the textbook author. This reflects one of the most important shortcomings of TESOL textbook studies lacking data from publishers and consumers. Based merely on the content itself, what is meant by the creators of the materials and what actually takes place in the teaching context is left unexamined.

Discussions on appropriacy of content extends to the generally accepted topics that are avoided in textbook writing, often abbreviated as PARSNIP (pork, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms and politics). Although these PARSNIP topics are regarded as taboo topics that textbooks need to avoid in order not to offend anyone and impact negatively their motivation for learning the target language, there are also discussions on the usefulness of taboo topics in stimulating interest, debate, and interaction (Tomlinson, 2012; Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017). This approach to culture, which argues that cultural engagement needs to be used more freely and frequently, is also suggested by Benjamin (2015). Benjamin contended that although the phrase 'culturally appropriate' generally means that materials targeted at the Middle East try not to offend Islamic beliefs, Islam is not the only shared value among the learners from this region and of course this claim could be disputed as there are learners of other religions in the region too. Just like any other group of learners, they are proud of their heritage and national values, and have other shared interests and activities. In this regard, publishers need to 'realise and embrace' the fact that Middle Eastern learners have a rich and diverse culture in addition to Islam in order to successfully deliver culturally appropriate materials.

In summary, textbooks have been analysed and criticised with regard to several aspects, and the studies in TESOL that focus on cultural elements in language teaching textbooks have been criticised in terms of their methods, such as that the evaluation of cultural content in ELT is based on quantification and categorisation. Although it is argued that language teaching materials need to be based on SLA and relevant applied linguistics research, the effect of the research findings seems to have been negligible on the practices in textbook writing. Even though we do not know to what extent research findings are known and considered by publishing insiders due to the lack of communication and gaps between the textbook publishing industry and academic researchers concerning beliefs about appropriate materials and appropriate production practices, these types of studies shape the main lines of inquiry in TESOL material research on culture. The conclusions of these studies focused on cultural content are that the coverage of culture in TESOL materials is unsatisfactory and proper coverage is needed in order to reflect the world and the nature and current position of the English language as a lingua franca accurately, better serve learner needs and facilitate Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) (Mishan, 2021; Tomlinson, 2001), however, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the reasons (See Section 2.2.3 for a detailed review). These reasons are reflected as context-specific constraints for local textbooks and the global textbook, and they to be investigated.

However, due to the shortcomings summarised above, the opinions and intentions of publishing insiders that are not apparent to the analyst need to be investigated by involving them in research into materials. In doing so, the unaddressed questions regarding *why* textbooks are culturally the way they are can be answered. The following section summarises

how the present thesis aimed to address the need for investigation on the topics described so far.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

Materials production research, described by Harwood (2014:2) as investigation of "the processes by which textbooks are shaped, authored, and distributed, looking at textbook writers' design processes, the affordances and constraints placed upon them by publishers, and the norms and values of the textbook industry as a whole," remains the most neglected area within TESOL material research. Our lack of knowledge about how textbooks are shaped into publication extends to various aspects such as recruitment criteria for textbook authors, to what extent authors receive training and guidance on material writing, what factors are at play in decision making about the content, structure and design of textbooks and the extent to which authors are involved in these and other decisions, etc. Without an in-depth understanding of these, it can be stated that we seem far from fully understanding the dynamics of material production and therefore finding solutions to discussions in the literature regarding the quality and role of materials in the language learning classroom. Additionally, although the stages of production are summarized by accounts of former or current publishing insiders, their accounts generally include very little detail about whether and to what extent the writers take account of TESOL material research that include discussions on the level of language, pedagogy, culture, etc. in their materials.

Harwood (2010:18) suggests that in order to be able to build a valid theory of textbooks, we need to extend our knowledge about textbooks both in terms of use and production. The need for investigation on this topic is also emphasized by Tomlinson and Masuhara, who note that 'it is vital for everyone who is involved in learning and teaching to understand how these important materials are shaped into publication' (2017: 145). Regardless of the pro- and anti-

textbook discussions, the reality is that '83% of the classroom discourse is related to the materials' (Guerrettaz and Johnston, 2013:785); therefore, it is necessary to understand how materials are produced (Harwood, 2010, 2014; Tomlinson, 2001). After a decade of underlining the need for production research in order to contribute to a theory of textbooks, Harwood (2021:182) reminds us of the neglected area of textbook production and calls for research focusing on and examining production norms of the publishing industry, and the industry practices authors are obliged to work with. Harwood also emphasizes the need for 'production studies of locally produced materials' (2021:182) to complement the research on commercially produced materials. The present study duly aims to offer two snapshots on how textbooks are produced from two different contexts, namely local and global. In so doing, the present research aims to address and contribute to partly fill the gap in the literature regarding how the global textbook and local textbooks are shaped into publication, what conditions and constraints publishing insiders are operating under and if and in what ways the textbook publishing industry has changed over the last decades by attempting to understand various aspects associated with the industry. For instance, what publishers' priorities are, the current state of the industry, the processes of production, to what extent authors decide what is included in the textbook, to what extent decisions in textbook production are based on relevant research findings, and therefore simply why ELT materials are the way they are. With this in mind, the following research questions guided the framework of this inquiry:

(i)   Why are TESOL materials culturally the way they are?

   a. *To what extent is the content determined by authors?*

   b. *What are reasons for compromise in textbook production in local vs. global settings?*

(ii)   How aware is the TESOL publishing industry of scholarly research on textbooks?

a. *To what extent is this research taken into account when producing textbooks?*
Why?

To answer these questions, I interviewed eight authors working for a local Ministry of Education (MoE) and nine authors working for different global publishers, analysed guidelines provided by publishers or the MoE, and also the content of textbooks written by the participants where relevant. In so doing, I attempted to at least partly reveal the dynamics of the publishing industry, priorities, concerns and constraints in different settings, and pressures editors and materials writers operate under. As it is one of the most popular lines of inquiry relating to language teaching materials, the present research adopted research focusing on culture as manifested in TESOL materials as a measure with the aim of investigating authors' awareness on discussions within TESOL material research and to understand how research-informed or based materials are. Therefore, the literature and discussions in the present thesis are mapped mainly in relation to the research on cultural content. With similar research, we can hopefully understand, question and evaluate the standard practices, assumptions, constraints and circumstances of the industry, and perhaps suggest where SLA and Applied Linguistics research can inform or facilitate material production and propose alternatives where possible (Harwood, 2010:18). The following section summarises the structure of the present study.

1.5. Organisation of the Present Study

This study contains seven chapters. The present chapter offered an overview of the inquiry by introducing the main concepts, research rationale and focus, field, questions, and structure. Chapter two provides a review of previous literature on the nature of textbooks in English language teaching classrooms, and TESOL textbook research with regard to content,

consumption and production of textbooks. In this chapter, I summarise the methods and findings of the most relevant studies as well as accounts provided by current and former publishing insiders on issues in material production. The third chapter discusses the design and procedures selected for this study: participant selection, positionality of the researcher, data collection methods, and justifies the use of interviews and adopting a chiefly qualitative techniques as my main research tools. The findings of the present study are reported in two separate chapters based on context: local and global. The fourth chapter provides the findings for the local context, while the fifth chapter focuses on results for the global context based on the same aspects. Chapter six summarises and compares the main findings for the two contexts, and assesses the meaning of the findings by evaluating and interpreting them in relation to the existing literature. Chapter seven summarises the study, provides implications for TESOL teacher education and development, publishers, authors and teachers, as well as a number of recommendations for future research, and several concluding remarks.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This review of the relevant literature starts with a summary of the nature and role of the textbooks in TESOL. This is followed by some examples from TESOL textbook research that inspired the structure and aim of the present research. An overview of textbook research in TESOL is presented, which indicates the gaps and weaknesses of work in this field. Lastly, the accounts of material producers, a brief history of the discussion regarding the understanding of culture with regard to its manifestation in textbooks, taboo topics in textbooks, and related issues discussed in TESOL material research are mapped, as the proposed research mainly focuses on these topics.

2.2. The Nature and Role of the Textbook in ELT

2.2.1. What are Materials?

Richards (2014:20) provides a list of common kinds of materials for English language teaching:

- coursebooks for international markets;

- materials for specific age groups—children, teenagers, adults;

- materials for specific skills—reading, writing, listening, speaking;

- materials for specific purposes—academic study, travel, business, law, engineering;

- materials for exam preparation—TOEFL, TOIEC, IELTS, KET;

- reference materials—dictionaries and grammars;

- self-study materials;

- readers.

Among those different kinds of materials as listed by Richards, the most widely used around the world seems to be the coursebook (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017), which is also the type of material this thesis focuses on. Tomlinson (2015: 172–173) categorizes the types of coursebooks into three. These are:

(i) global coursebooks that are produced by commercial publishers, often for targeted regional markets initially but then sold on the international market;

(ii) adapted coursebooks that are local versions of global coursebooks either adapted by the original international publisher to suit a particular market or adapted by local experts for a ministry, institution, or publisher with the permission of the international publisher;

(iii) local coursebooks that are produced for a specific national, regional, or institutional location by a ministry of education, regional education bureau, institution or publisher.

Local materials are further divided into different types in accordance with who produces them such as materials initiated by a Ministry of Education (MoE) and written by authors working for the ministry; produced by local publishers in accordance with guidelines published by a MoE; and materials produced by institutions for use within their education programmes (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017:146). All the types of materials mentioned above are produced with different methods and purposes, which shape the production processes, structure and content. For example, while materials that are produced by international publishers may tend to be 'market driven' (Gray, 2010) and therefore financial constraints may loom large, materials that are written by author teams led by ministries of education may tend to prioritize educational goals and financial constraints may be less prominent (Mukundan, 2008).

2.2.2. The Nature of Materials

In a language learning environment, which is generally a classroom, as Tomlinson (2012:143) notes, materials have five main functions. These are "to provide information about the target language" (informative); "guide students in practising the target language" (instructional); "give learners the chance to gain experience in the language in use" (experiential); "encourage learners to use the language" (eliciting); and "assist students while they make discoveries about the target language" (exploratory). He continues by stating that surprisingly little attention is paid to textbook research considering the importance of language-learning materials.

Gray (2013:3) further discusses Tomlinson's (2012:143) statement about what the functions of textbooks are and notes that materials are much more than these. That is, the functions and roles of textbooks are not limited to these five categories. He underlines the cultural aspect of textbooks and claims that textbooks are "cultural artefacts from which meanings emerge about the language being taught, associating it with particular ways of being, particular varieties of language and ways of using language, and particular sets of values." Gray (2013:3) claims that textbook content "endorses and reproduces" existing power relations regarding social class, race, gender and sexual orientation. Quoting Auerbach and Burgess (1985: 476), he states that the ideological content in language teaching materials 'generates social meanings, restraints, and cultural values which shape students' roles outside the classroom, or at least has the potential to do so'. This argument concludes that what students may learn from the textbook is not limited to the subject being taught.

How does a student learn other things from a textbook, in addition to the explicit topics, skills, and language structures? To answer this question, one needs first to accept that, as Gray

(2013:5) also discusses, the representations in a textbook construct the world of the target language for the student when the 'language and images are used to portray this world'. Commercially produced materials have a powerful influence over what takes place in many classrooms around the world (Gray, 2013:11). Thus, materials are seen as 'mediating tools of subject knowledge and as instruments for the ideological reproduction and legitimation of interested knowledge' (Gray 2013:13). While using a textbook, reading texts and seeing the images, students (and teachers) are exposed to someone's selection and vision of legitimate knowledge and culture. Although there has been an improvement and change in this regard in textbooks published since the 1970s in issues such as sexism and gender, the debate on the appropriacy of the content of ELT textbooks is still ongoing (Gray 2013:7). Textbooks include representations of groups or individuals and the different identities that can be related to them. According to Gray (2010:722-23), the images and characters in textbooks are presented for student approval in a variety of ways. For instance, "characters, their jobs or their lifestyles may be positively evaluated by the authorial voice of the text; they may be positively evaluated by others mentioned in the text; they may positively evaluate their own jobs and the rewards they bring; and/or the accompanying artwork may be designed so as to elicit a positive emotional response in the viewer" (p.722-23). The design of accompanying artwork or visual image is referred to as 'sensory orientation' in multimodal terms proposed by Kress and van Leewuen (2006). In this orientation, image is manipulated and its impact or attractiveness to the viewer is enhanced by techniques such as setting brightness, softening, increasing or lowering saturation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:165).

In addition to the discussion regarding the content, the production process of textbooks is also considered significant in why materials are the way they are (Littlejohn, 1992). Materials are produced for use in a classroom context, but the conditions of textbook production are always

in play, especially when materials are produced with commercial concerns, which require maximisation of sales, satisfying stakeholders, and corporate goals to be met. These conditions directly influence the design of materials, "quite distinct from their pedagogic intent" (Littlejohn, 2012:284).

There have been strong criticisms of the production and management processes of international publishers. For example, Bell and Gower (2011), who are publishing insiders themselves, argue that because of misguided management, 'marketing teams and distributors…want to make sure their products get into as many schools as possible, no matter how suitable they are for the context' (p. 135). Global textbooks, which are described as 'the all-singing, all-dancing, glitzy multimedia package with a dedicated website of extras, usually produced in a native-speaker situation but destined for the world with all language in the book (including rubrics) in the target language' (Bell and Gower, 2011: 137) are accused of being imperialist or colonialist (e.g Gray, 2010).

Another line of discussion focuses on the 'washback effect' of materials, which can be described as the idea that teachers and curriculum developers tend to assume that the approaches of best-selling materials must be what learners and teachers want (Bailey and Masuhara, 2013). That is, publishers' tendency to imitate what is successful on the market leads to a vicious circle of misinformation and unsuccessful language learning. One of the results of this is, as suggested by Bell and Gower (2011:137), that 'publishers now regard the global coursebook as an international 'brand', and produce endless 'new editions', which makes it harder than ever to get anything different published.' However, we do not know how generalisable this is and to what extent decision making in material production is based on market demands or these sorts of concerns and factors as similar accounts typically lack

information about this (e.g., Amrani, 2011; Prowse, 2011). This is not surprising as publishers would be unlikely to admit to this as it casts the industry in a poor light.

Although anti-textbook views criticise textbooks in several ways, some of the discussions focus on how materials should be produced rather than asserting that materials should not exist at all (Bell and Gower, 2011). It is also acknowledged that textbooks 'are far easier to criticize than they are to write' (Mares, 2003:136). Excluding the scenarios where materials are produced by non-profit organisations, ministries and institutions, it would not be realistic to expect a publishing house, which is a business enterprise with financial goals, to make a substantial investment unless there is a prospect of substantial sales. With this in mind, the discussion is around the lack of quality which can potentially result from prioritizing financial concerns at the expense of pedagogical concerns.

Harwood (2010) cites accounts that report that money is the 'bottom line' in materials production as they are commercial artefacts and publishers are more concerned with what their rivals publish rather than the content of their own textbooks (e.g., Young, 1990). As Harwood notes (2010:18), it is suggested that in order to be able to have a commonly accepted theory of textbooks, we need to extend our knowledge about textbooks both in terms of use and production through ethnographic studies focusing on these. Both Harwood (2010, 2014) and Tomlinson and Masuhara (2017) call for further research by TESOL researchers focusing on the conditions in which materials and textbooks are produced. That is, there is a need for further studies that aim to understand what publishers' priorities are, and simply why ELT materials are the way they are. In doing so, TESOL researchers and practitioners will better understand the pressures editors and materials writers operate under, as well as having the chance to 'interrogate and critique the standard practices and assumptions of the industry', and perhaps to suggest alternatives where possible (Harwood, 2010:18).

Resonating with Gilmore's (2007) conclusion that there needs to be better communication between theorists and practitioners, Harwood (2010) notes the quality of the dialogue between materials writers, researchers, and publishers must be improved. In his comprehensive review of authenticity in ELT materials, Gilmore (2007:112) quotes Bouton (1996), who states that "[p]oor communication between researchers and teachers means that potentially useful findings from research often 'linger in journals' instead of making it into the classroom". Although Bouton made this observation as long ago as the 1990s, such issues in ELT material content and production do not seem to have been satisfactorily addressed yet. In order to do so, the first step would be to identify the situation and concerns on the side of the publishers, which would hopefully then be considered by researchers and practitioners, who would only then be able to understand and communicate their own concerns and all parties could inform each other. These are the cornerstones on the way to a theory of successful material production, which will satisfy the needs of as many stakeholders as possible to the largest extent the circumstances allow.

In the production and use of a textbook, in addition to teachers, the list of potential stakeholders is as follows:

- desk editor

- designer (often freelance)

- recording studio producer

- actors

- artists and photographers

- picture researchers

- copyright clearer

- proof-readers

- the internal leader of the writing team

- the end-user teachers

- the local education authority

- the ministry of education

- project evaluators

- parents (Prowse, 2011; Timmis, 2014)

Published materials are typically produced with a 'mediated' process where publishers and ministries of education, or any potential stakeholders might influence the content of materials in accordance with their financial or ideological concerns. The weight of established practice in TESOL material production ensures 'a steady stream of new materials' (Mishan and Timmis: 2015:1) a wide range of materials is available for teachers and learners. However, particularly for the textbooks produced by international publishers who are 'very very market driven' (Gray, 2010), it can also lead to 'a situation where existing materials are the only reference point for the development of new materials' (Mishan and Timmis: 2015:1). That is, as described by Mishan and Timmis, (2015:1) 'materials can be cloned from previous examples of practice and be geared to the perceived demands of the market', as the market research of publishers usually relies on what is successful in the market and what their competitors have published (Tomlinson, 2003).

The production and distribution of materials is a multifaceted process which is influenced by multiple internal and external stakeholders, who have different and sometimes conflicting interests and contexts. However, it is clear from the discussions in the literature that instead of the key stakeholders (users) whose concerns need to be prioritized, materials production is based on other factors and players such as personal intuitions, and marketing teams whose influence 'over almost every aspect of materials production is now paramount' (Prowse, 2011:161). It says much about the gap between scholarly discussion (which reflects the learner needs) and textbook publishers' focus that the situation appears to be worsening as back in 1990s materials production relied much more on user feedback and trialling (Donovan, 1998). Considering that even in the most recent studies, the core criticism remains that international materials lack cultural appropriateness and/or relevance for many target markets (see Harwood, 2014 and Risager, 2018 for a synthesis of research on culture in ELT textbooks), it seems plausible to say that materials have not been designed/produced with the

appropriate concerns in mind. Without even highlighting our lack of knowledge about what publishers require to hire textbook authors, to what extent authors receive training and guidance on material writing, what factors are at play in decision making about the content, structure and design of textbooks and how important authors' opinions are in influencing these design decisions, we seem far from fully understanding the dynamics of material production and therefore finding solutions to discussions in the literature regarding the quality and role of materials in the language learning classroom.

In short, textbooks can be considered as educational tools, cultural objects and also commercial commodities. Numerous studies investigate the content of materials with different approaches and frameworks. However, it is yet to be understood to what extent the results and implications of these studies are considered by publishing insiders, who are at the nexus of where theories and discussions turn into practice. To understand this, we first need to map what is discussed within the TESOL material research, which is briefly summarised in the following section. The concerns of publishers and what they experience during the process of textbook production are discussed in Section 2.3.3.

2.3. TESOL Textbook Research

There has been a misconception about the field of materials development as a whole, as materials development and design is generally considered to be an unworthy, atheoretical and therefore unrewarding area of research (Samuda, 2005:232). However, as Tomlinson (2001: 6) notes, the field of materials development is 'both a field of study and a practical undertaking. As a field it studies the principles and procedures of the design, implementation and evaluation of language teaching materials.' As noted by McGrath (2002: 217), 'materials represent the first stage in which principles are turned into practice'. This was later underlined by Mishan and Timmis (2015) who state that materials development needs to take

into account current practice, and to go beyond it to consult first principles drawn from second language acquisition (SLA) and language teaching theory. Due to its nature as described by McGrath, materials also need to be the first stage where discussions about culture and ideology are turned into practice.

TESOL materials have been analysed and evaluated using different approaches and examining different aspects, well documented by TESOL scholars such as Tomlinson (2003, 2011, 2012), Gray (2010, 2013), Harwood (2010, 2014), McGrath (2013), Garton and Graves, (2014), Mishan and Timmis (2015), Tomlinson and Masuhara (2017), and Risager (2018)[1]. In general, TESOL materials are analysed in terms of content, consumption and production (Harwood, 2014). Of these three approaches in TESOL textbook research, however, the most commonly studied topic is the content of textbooks. The following sections offer an overview of the research so far in the field of TESOL relating to the three branches of textbook research with a particular focus on culture and some main discussions in the area to map the territory and state the problem that the present thesis aims to address.

2.3.1. Content

Textbooks have been analysed in terms of ideological content, cultural bias and domination of Western culture (Canagarajah 1993a,b; Gray, 2010), gender (e.g. Forman, 2014), pedagogical features such as vocabulary (Anping, 2005), discourse features (e.g. Gilmore, 2004), authenticity (e.g. Gilmore, 2007), moral values (e.g. Feng, 2017), and grammar (e.g. Römer, 2004, 2006) (see Meunier and Gouverneur, 2009 for a detailed survey). Studies

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[1] For a detailed and very useful survey of the literature on issues and discussions about all areas of TESOL material research, see Harwood (2010, 2014). For a detailed literature on critical perspectives to language teaching materials, see Gray (2013). For a review on cultural issues in English Language Learning, see Mishan and Timmis (2015). For critical reviews of textbooks used in different areas of the world that includes reports from several parts of the world, see Tomlinson (2008). For a very useful review on materials production, evaluation, use and issues connected with material production, see Tomlinson and Masuhara (2017). Finally, for an extensive review of analyses and discussions around the concept of culture in language learning (not only in connection with English but also several other languages), see Risager (2018).

aiming to explore the representation of cultures in ELT textbooks continue to appear as well as analysis of ideology in textbooks (Holliday, 2005; Mukundan, 2008).

There have been a number of studies that address questions such as the representation of target versus L1 source cultures in language teaching textbooks adopting both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In a typical study from the last decade, Shin, Eslami and Chen (2011) looked at how local and international cultures were treated in seven series of internationally distributed textbooks. They categorised the content in terms of aspects of culture and level of cultural representation (adapted from Murayama, 2000), and found out that the cultural content of the textbooks they analysed was dominated by content related to the inner circle compared to content representing outer/expanding circles (Kachru, 1985). Ndura (2004) qualitatively analysed six ESL textbooks used in the USA in terms of cultural representations and concluded that the content was biased, featuring stereotyping, invisibility, and unreality. Ndura states that 'the content of instructional materials significantly affects students' attitudes and dispositions towards themselves, other people and society' (2004: 143). Therefore, the argument is that 'textbooks should incorporate learners' diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and empower them to identify different voices and perspectives' (Shin, Eslami and Chen, 2011: 253). However, the 'invisibility' bias in Ndura's study is described as omission of references to religion, which is one of the taboo topics (Gray, 2010) that is generally avoided by textbook writers so as not to offend learners (and/or teachers and/or textbook adoption bodies). Even this particular example reflects very clearly that there is a huge gap between textbook research, the realities of textbook production, and how closer communication and dialogue between researchers and producers of textbooks would be desirable.

Taki (2008) critically analysed and compared four international textbooks and four local textbooks used in Iranian high schools from a social equality perspective. He found out that the international textbooks conveyed a Western-dominated economic discourse based on social equality, while he criticised Iranian local textbooks for including decontextualized conversations and consumer-oriented issues, lacked cross-cultural awareness and focused on other people's experiences and situations rather than on people in the learners' own culture'. Risager (2018) further divides analyses of culture in TESOL materials into three categories with regard to their methods and approaches: thematic analysis, intercultural analysis and power and empowerment analysis. Studies that implement the method of thematic analysis are based on either content analysis of materials and quantify linguistic or cultural elements, or make more qualitative interpretations. Intercultural analysis refers to those studies with implications for intercultural communication and understanding, empathy and collaboration by using methods and approaches derived from Byram's intercultural framework of intercultural competence (Byram, 1989). Lastly, power and empowerment studies include critical discourse analysis of textbook content and discussions on how ideological mechanisms in textbooks legitimise existing power relations. As the present study aimed to reveal the accounts of publishing insiders, particularly with regard to discussions around culture within TESOL textbook research, studies mainly concerned with culture are discussed in more detail to better map the territory in the following sections.

Yamada (2010) conducted a content analysis on six different textbooks produced in Japan in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s using the model of inner circle (the UK, the US, Australia, etc.), outer circle (India, Singapore, etc.) and expanding circle (all other countries) (Kachru and Nelson, 1996) as a tool to analyse which countries and continents are represented. Results showed that the coverage of Japan accounts for more than a quarter of all representations in

the textbooks while the number of items representing the United States exceeds that of Japan in the textbooks from the 1980s. After the 1990s, however, Japan appears more frequently in the books. With regard to outer circle countries (Africa, Latin America, India, etc), it is noted that they are seriously underrepresented, which it is argued reflects unequal power relations in the global economy. The coverage of East-Asian and Southeast-Asian countries, which are in the expanding circle, increases in the 2000s, while Russia and the rest of the Europe make almost no appearances. Yamada argues that teaching about diversity, ethnicity and race in a global context needs to be a part of English language teaching and that more coverage of various English users from different contexts would greatly enhance the content of English language textbooks. Such a multicultural education, Yamada notes, can contribute to development of positive attitudes about multicultural realities as well as reduction of prejudice and discrimination against people from diverse backgrounds.

Gray and Block (2014) analyse best-selling EFL textbooks produced in Britain from the 1970s to the 2000s for the global market looking at the representation of the working class in the materials. The analysis reveals that the textbooks treated class largely superficially in general. While over 40% of pages included mentions of working-class characters in the 70s, the authors report a progressive decline in the textbooks published in the following decades in the representation of working class characters, mentions of working class employment, and themes relating to working class experience. Suggesting that capitalism created a class society, and the supposed demise of the working class is a myth created by neoliberal ideology, the authors propose a model for textbook analysis with nine dimensions of class: property (material possessions), wealth, occupation, place of residence, education, social networking, consumption patterns, symbolic behaviour (clothes, use of language, etc.) and spatial relations (physical mobility, size of dwelling, etc.). Gray and Block conclude by

arguing that this writing out of the working class from language learning materials provides students with a very skewed view of the world. The textbooks therefore fail to educate learners properly and simultaneously betray working class language learners, who are denied recognition in the materials (2014: 45).

In a similar vein but this time in a local context, Mahboob (2015) analyses materials produced locally for Pakistani government (middle-class) schools. The author distinguishes between private schools where globally produced materials are used, where learners have access to a globalised view of using language for knowledge production, and government schools, where locally produced materials, which she found to be dominated by Islamic and military values, are used. Seeing that the class difference causes such a huge difference in the type of material and ideologies that students are exposed to, although production of local materials is proposed as the solution for quality issues, particularly regarding cultural content and taboo topics (Tomlinson, 2011), this research indicates that insisting upon local materials may have unintended consequences.

Hill (2003, 2013) offers an interesting account consisting of two studies that point to the gap between the discussions in TESOL material research and the realities of textbook production. Firstly, Hill (2003) analysed four global textbooks focusing on visuals and their roles and found that more than half of visuals were purely decorative and did not serve any language learning or educational functions. Ten years later, Hill (2013) updated his analysis by adding three more current global coursebooks to his data set and found that nothing had changed about the functions of visuals: over half (53.4%) were still used purely for decoration and did not aim at facilitating English language learning in any way. Based on his findings, Hill (2013) argues that although learners may tend to prefer colourful visuals, it is a great waste of

effort and space—particularly when space is reported as one of the most prominent constraints in textbook production in accounts by material publishing insiders (e.g., Bell and Gower, 2011). Although much earlier studies report materials that make better use of visuals by, for example, making use of famous paintings and unusual photographs to stimulate and facilitate language use (such as Naustdal Fenner & Nordal-Pedersen, 1999 as described in Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017:38), this approach has not been widely accepted in TESOL material production for reasons that have not yet been revealed in the literature.

Mukundan (2008) has drawn attention to the way TESOL coursebooks in Malaysia are designed to promote specific state agendas, particularly the Five National Principles (Belief in God, loyalty to the king and country, supremacy of constitution, rule of law, courtesy and morality). For example, in one of the units, a 13-year-old boy is taken to the National Science museum for his birthday. This content was put in the textbook because the state policy in textbook production was to promote science and technology. In another example, the state agenda on inter-racial harmony is reflected in materials in a unit where members of different ethnic groups gather, aiming to resolve a problem. In a similar vein, Timmis (2014) reports his experience where he was part of a project in a south-east Asian country and was obliged to include reference to the country's national mission statement in every unit of the materials he wrote. The examples given above regarding state agendas being reflected in materials may sound laudable; however, they show that government-led projects may potentially result in very stilted materials when the agenda is too overt, and that if potentially objectionable national values are to be promoted, the result may be materials featuring questionable moral or cultural messages.

Pashmforoosh and Babai (2015) examined the content of two global Business English textbook series (*Market Leader* and *Business Result*) from the perspectives of "aspects of

culture" and "levels of presentation" of cultural elements. The "aspect" analysis aimed to investigate which countries were represented in the textbooks, while the "level" analysis examined the depth of the cultural representations. For the "aspect" analysis, the occurrences of content relating to culture were categorized into Kachru's (1985) inner, outer and expanding circles. The cultural content of English-speaking countries was regarded as "inner circle." The content that reflected the culture of non-native English speakers was classified under the categories of "outer" or "expanding" circles. An additional "general" category covered content which was connected with a general global issue, which included representation of a global phenomenon or idea that belongs to no specific culture. As for "level" of analysis, Pashmforoosh and Babai categorized the cultural content into categories of "knowledge-oriented" and "communication-oriented" content inspired by Schein's (1988) framework of organizational culture. Knowledge oriented content refers to components representing visible aspects of culture such as "behaviour patterns and outward manifestations of culture such as dress code", while communication-oriented content denotes "invisible aspects of culture which are often described as espoused beliefs and unique ways of thinking" (Pashmforoosh and Babai, 2015: 222).

Pashmforoosh and Babai found out that the textbooks represented the cultures from inner, outer, and expanding circles. However, the inner-circle culture was found to be the dominant culture represented compared to the others. In addition, it was seen that manifestations of knowledge-oriented content outnumbered those of communication-oriented content. Their findings were in line with the findings of previous research (e.g., Murayama, 2000; Shin, Eslami and Chen, 2011) which concluded that native speakers' culture was dominant in English language textbooks despite the spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF).

In addition to quantification of occurrences of cultural representations, Pashmforoosh and Babai also analysed the "level" of culture. This matters because a culture can be referred to in a superficial way such as referring to British culture with a double-decker bus or the houses of parliament, to French culture with an image of the Palace of Versailles, or to Turkish culture by saying "Tarkan" (a world-famous singer). This would be, for instance, counted as an occurrence of Turkish culture, while a dialogue or passage that mentions a Turkish tradition that provides insights into Turks' understanding of the world or way of life would potentially be more communicatively oriented and a deeper level of cultural representation in a textbook. Pashmforoosh and Babai found that especially in textbooks aimed at lower proficiency levels, culture was rendered as information and the level of cultural representations tended to be knowledge-oriented although the textbooks included some activities conveying communicative-oriented cultural content. It is therefore argued that knowledge-oriented representation of culture, which seems to be potentially highly stereotypical, needs to be replaced with a more critical and communicative approach through higher order components of intercultural communication such as reflection and analysis.

Yuen (2011) analysed two ELT textbooks used in Hong Kong secondary schools to explore whether the representation of cultures in the textbooks reflected the current status of English as an international language. To this end, every reference to any culture was identified and categorized according to products, practices, persons and perspectives. This framework was adapted from the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (1996) and Moran (2001), who added "persons" as a category. In this categorisation, products refer to places and objects such as currency, food, movies, etc. while practices include customs, national holidays and celebrations, behaviours that are claimed to be common. Persons refer to historical characters and celebrities commonly known in a culture. Lastly, perspectives

was the category for "inspirations, myths, and world views" (p. 459). Yuen found that products was the category that was most frequently mentioned, and among these, the most popular topics were entertainment, travel, and food. The other three aspects of culture, especially perspectives, were presented less frequently. It was argued that a "tourist perspective" was taken in the textbooks, which might stem from the idea that this kind of content is thought to be more engaging and appealing to young learners. Yuen's research was based on frequencies of cultural representations and it was explicitly stated that "how the material is used and perceived by teachers and students" (p. 460) was not a research question, which indicates that it was underlined as a gap that requires investigation. However, the fact that the cultural representations were categorised into four different aspects instead of only "knowledge-oriented" and "communication-oriented" categorization as in that of Pashmforoosh and Babai (2015) points to a better direction for analysis of coursebook content with a focus on cultural elements.

Based on the discussion so far on analysis of cultural content by quantifying and categorising cultural representations, which has methodological shortcomings such as quantifying representations of cultural elements according to a pre-defined framework and lacks evidence from the producers of the materials, Weninger and Kiss (2013) suggest an approach which looks deeper into cultural representations, and also partly takes into account the classroom environment. Weninger and Kiss analysed two Hungarian EFL textbooks and found that the text and images usually have an indexical relationship. They exemplify this with an image and text that refer to each other: the image of a vending machine and the words 'vending machine' in the pedagogical task. In this case, both the image and the text can guide the student to the same meaning. Therefore, reinforcement of the lexical meaning through an image is claimed to be prevalent and problematic; the authors argue that images should be

used to explore cultural connotations instead of denoting lexical meanings in vocabulary and grammar that are already given. They call for a critical awareness of culture by textbook consumers and argue that images and tasks need to be used for triggering discussions on culture and stereotypes, which are complemented by the surrounding pedagogical tasks. However, we do not know to what extent this type of call is known about by publishing insiders and what their opinions are as to its feasibility or desirability.

Although Weninger and Kiss consider that the pedagogical tasks guide the semiosis and therefore the interpretation of cultural content, they only rely on their own experience and intuition when considering what would take place inside the classroom regarding cultural content. That is, they reproduce some sections from textbooks and point to any potential misinterpretations of the content merely based on their own perspectives. Thus, the analysis and discussion lacks evidence from the producers of materials, which is the only way the question of 'why' can be answered. What is noteworthy here is that although critiques of ELT textbooks with regard to cultural content date back to the 80s (Cunningsworth, 1985), the expectations of users and researchers do not seem to have been met yet (Taki, 2008). Even studies in the last decade, for example Messekher (2014), found that the culture of Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985) countries may still dominate the content even in locally produced coursebooks, and representations of local culture may be in a diluted form. Although this appears to be the case, Garton and Graves (2014) suggest that 'localizing content enables learners to talk and write about their own experiences, concerns and culture through English' (p. 6) and producing local textbooks that reflect local contexts still is the most frequently suggested solution to this issue.

2.3.2.   Consumption

As stated earlier, there is quite limited research aiming to explore the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of the users of TESOL materials, namely teachers and students, about cultural/ideological content. The present section summarizes the findings of studies conducted so far relating to the consumers' perspectives. Although it is quite limited, some studies shed light on what teachers and learners think and how they react to the cultural content of TESOL textbooks. In this section, I provide some typical examples of consumption studies from the last few decades, which also map the development of the relevant discussion regarding users' perceptions on textbook content.

2.3.2.1.   Recent Studies

Adaskou et al. (1990) investigate the perceptions of teachers (using group discussions, questionnaires and structured interviews) about a large textbook project in Morocco on whether textbooks should represent Anglo-American cultures or the cultures associated with the students' own country. They found out that teachers thought that the students would be most motivated to learn English when the target language was presented in contexts that related its use realistically to their own lives and cultures. Presenting the English language as the means of communication among people who have much more material and economic opportunities and freedom of behaviour would, according to the teachers, make Moroccan young learners feel alienated from their own culture. Adaskou et al. categorise the cultural elements in secondary English textbooks aimed at the local market and conclude that most cultural content relates to Morocco and characters in the books are mostly Moroccan. They note that these characters communicate in English with residents in the country who are native or non-native speakers of English, but not necessarily about what they see and have in their lives in Morocco. Instead of the realities of the context and the lives of students, the

characters, for example, were all English-speaking town-dwellers who are students or young professionals portrayed as adopters of an Anglo-American lifestyle. It was argued that teachers and students would be more comfortable talking about cultural elements that were familiar to them in contrast to trying to talk about a culture which is unknown to them.

Canagarajah (1993a,b) aimed to explore the actual use of textbooks in ESL classrooms in Sri Lanka. The study was mainly based on qualitative methodology and analysis of students' drawings on and defacements of textbooks. The study provided graphic evidence of student resistance to both the US-produced textbook and the teacher's 'imported' communicative methodology, which can be regarded as consumer resistance to inappropriacy in textbook content. However, it should also be noted that the evidence cited in the study is tenuous; as Canagarajah made inferences based on the learners' drawings in the textbooks, there was a need for further interrogation of findings by other forms of inquiry and datasets such as repeated classroom observations and interviews with writers and consumers of the textbooks in question. There are a couple of studies (Peacock, 1997, 1998) that focus on the perceptions of users. However, these studies are quantitative, and focus primarily on issues such as usefulness of different activity types, grammar exercises, etc., and therefore offer little or no depth on users' perspective on cultural content.

As described by Harwood (2014:12), Hutchinson (1996) observed and interviewed two English for Academic Purposes (EAP) teachers on their use of materials over a semester and analysed the materials they used. While one of the teachers was relatively more experienced, the other had no experience at the level taught. Based on her findings, Hutchinson (1996) claimed that textbook use tends to differ depending on (i) the textbook itself, (ii) the teacher (e.g., beliefs, training, pedagogical and content knowledge, experience, preferred teaching style, perception and evaluation of the textbook), (iii) attitude towards top-down mandates (e.g., school/state syllabus, directives from school principal); (iv) the learners (e.g., level,

aptitude, previous learning experiences, preferred learning styles); (v) the classroom (e.g., physical layout); and (vi) the school (e.g., timetable constraints, principal's attitudes towards textbook use and to EFL as a subject) (p. 12).

Zacharias (2005) surveyed 100 EFL teachers in Indonesia, most of whom were L2 speakers of English, on their views of global and locally produced textbooks. Zacharias found contradictory opinions but most of the participants favoured global textbooks rather than local equivalents, particularly with regard to teaching grammar and the four skills. The teachers reported that global textbooks were perceived to be better sources of 'authentic' language, accurate cultural and linguistic information. In addition, according to teachers, the quality of global textbooks was higher in terms of design and content while local textbooks were not regarded as trustworthy in the way they teach grammar as they are not written by native speakers. Although the vast majority of teachers favoured the global textbook in terms of reliability and production, teachers also reported for both themselves and their learners that the level of proficiency textbooks required was sometimes too advanced and the cultural content which featured in the textbooks tended not to appeal to learners. In contrast, local materials were thought to be more likely to include content that was relevant to learners' lives.

In two other noteworthy studies, Gray (2000, 2010) focuses on teachers' perceptions of textbook cultural content. Firstly, Gray (2000) surveyed 12 native speaker teachers with different levels of experience in order to understand what teachers think about the cultural content in ELT coursebooks. Gray notes that all teachers reported that they had sometimes felt uncomfortable with the reading exercises due to outdated, sexist, stereotypical or irrelevant content, most of which was about Britain. Half of the 12 teachers also stated that they 'dropped the material' (p. 277) if they felt uncomfortable about the content, while it was

also noted that the ability and flexibility of working independently of the textbook is achieved by experience. Another point to note here is that some teachers suggested that although they dislike such content, stereotypical and inappropriate content can be useful in provoking discussions and allowing students to put forward their own perspectives.

In a subsequent study, Gray (2010) interviewed teachers in Barcelona. The participants, who were experienced EFL teachers, reported that they censored content that included stereo-typical representations. While one of the teachers criticised an activity in which women were represented as bad drivers as she thought the students could think this opinion was approved by the textbook and herself, Gray also reports interesting findings about how the perceptions of users on the same cultural content may vary depending on context. One of the teachers explained that a listening that was about female car mechanics made for a very successful lesson in Cairo while it failed in Barcelona because of the novelty value of the concept of female mechanics in Egypt as opposed to in Spain. Other observations by teachers included that the subject matter in the textbooks was overtly British and was implicitly based on the assumption that learners would visit the UK, which made it irrelevant for students learning English as a lingua franca. Lastly, while the teachers generally criticised contemporary materials for perceived consumerist and aspirational content, it was also noted that some teachers thought this type of content can be useful and successful in the classroom as it generated discussion. The idea that topics that would normally be considered inappropriate inside the classroom or taboo in textbooks could be used sensitively, as doing so encourages interaction and discussion, seems to be a general idea among textbook authors, but this approach is not reflected in materials yet although the number of materials that include taboo topics such as LGBT characters is increasing (Bolitho, 2019; Gray, 2000; Maas, 2019).

Forman (2014) investigated how a global English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbook was viewed and treated by teachers and students at a Thai university through classroom observations, critical discourse analysis of textbook content and interviews with teachers. Forman found out that teachers hesitated to intervene to make adaptations to the content due to reasons such as 'the prestige of foreign publications' (Forman, 2014:85). That is, although the textbook promoted individualistic, aspirational, and Western discourses including travelling, consuming, and complaining, which are argued by Forman to be less relevant to certain sections of Thai society and counter to cultural expectations, teachers hesitated to adapt the materials in accordance with their own understanding as the textbooks were prepared by native speakers of English. The teachers, Forman notes, may have felt that they did not have the 'legitimacy to question' these materials (Forman, 2014:85). The second factor contributing to this lack of intervention or subversion was the limited time that teachers had to get through the material in the classroom. Faced with a packed curriculum, teachers apparently gave less of a priority to discussing cultural/ideological content in the classroom. The limitation of Forman's study is that there is no evidence from the textbook producers or the students (although the latter are observed in the classroom), the biggest stakeholders in the creation and consumption of textbooks.

The research to date still lacks adequate evidence from the producers and consumers of textbooks. Although content analysis of textbooks is becoming more and more popular, it does not customarily provide data from the two main stakeholders of textbooks: (1) textbook creators (writers and publishers) and (2) users (teachers and learners) (Harwood, 2014:10). Data collected from the production of textbooks, which is the very first point where theory turns into practice and the life of any material begins, would certainly be promising for TESOL material research. Content analytic studies remind us of the potential of textbooks in

manipulating ideas and cultures, and that affective filters and learner motivation are of significance in language learning (Ellis, 2008; Krashen, 2009). These studies also remind us that biased content in language learning materials—particularly on sensitive topics—are more than capable of affecting learner motivation (Mishan and Timmis, 2015; Tomlinson, 2010). However, studies of the content of TESOL textbooks do not demonstrate much of an improvement and progress as the findings of studies focusing on culture and ideology remain more or less the same except for a few topics such as gender and race; the presentation of grammar and use of technology seems to have changed only slowly to some extent (Meunier and Gouverneur, 2009). Therefore, the process of material production needs to be investigated to understand how materials are produced and why textbooks are culturally the way they are as 'it is vital for everyone who is involved in learning and teaching to understand how these important materials are shaped into publication' (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017: 145). The questions raised in most of the studies so far can only be answered by including textbook authors and publishing insiders in the discussion.

2.3.2.2.   Adaptation

Another important line of discussion regarding TESOL materials is on adaptation. Spontaneous adaptation of materials has long been an integral part of the success of any class no matter how much planning takes place in advance (Islam and Mares, 2003). It is widely accepted in the relevant literature that 'the needs of a specific class of learners can never be perfectly met by a single coursebook' (McGrath, 2002: 80).

As also suggested by some of the studies mentioned above, which focus on teacher and learner behaviours in response to different types of content, users are aware that McGrath's conclusion about textbooks may be accurate (e.g., Forman, 2014; Menkabu and Harwood, 2014). However, this does not stem only from the materials which are necessarily constrained

by the syllabus, unit template and other space concerns (Islam and Mares, 2003). Enactment of materials is also affected by factors such as '(i) factors related to learners (e.g., language proficiency and motivation), (ii) physical environment (e.g., class size and facilities), (iii) teachers (e.g., knowledge of content and subject matter, and teaching preferences) and (iv) institutional constraints' such as the assessment system and duration of instruction, resources, attitudes of the school management, etc. (Harwood, 2014:12). For reasons including these, there has been general agreement that, as clearly stated by Islam and Mares (2003:86), 'even when the classroom teacher selects the book, knows every student in the class well and is using materials designed specifically for the context they are in, she will still have to adapt the materials either consciously or subconsciously.'

Where textbooks are concerned, McDonough and Shaw (1993) provide a list of reasons for adaptation. According to McDonough and Shaw, materials are adapted for the following reasons:

- Not enough grammar coverage in general or practice of grammar points of particular difficulty

- Grammar is presented unsystematically

- Reading passages contain too much unknown vocabulary

- Comprehension questions are too easy

- Listening passages are inauthentic

- Lack of guidance on pronunciation

- Inappropriate subjects for learners' age and intellectual level

- Culturally acceptable visuals

- Too great/too little content to cover in the time allocated to lessons

- No guidance for teachers on enactment with a large class

- Inauthentic dialogues

- Problems to do with room size and technical equipment

- Too much or too little variety in the activities

- Need for accompanying tests

Islam and Mares (2003) categorise levels of content that may require adaptation under five categories: subject matter, balance of skills, progression and grading, cultural content, and image. For these reasons and on these levels, depending on factors such as suggested by Menkabu and Harwood as mentioned above and Cunningsworth (1985), teachers adopt textbooks in accordance with the dynamics of the classroom, personalities involved, constraints imposed by syllabuses, availability of resources, expectations and motivation of the learners. As far as these factors allow, teachers adapt classroom materials in order to attain greater appropriacy from them by personalising, individualising, localising, and modernising materials (McDonough and Shaw, 1993).

Other studies have expanded on McDonough and Shaw's list to include more details on pedagogical purposes of adaptation and to better facilitate learning inside the classroom such as maximising the appropriacy of materials to stimulate motivation, making materials more suitable for particular purposes and improving the effectiveness of learning (McGrath, 2002), 'adding real choice, catering for all sensory learner styles, providing for more learner autonomy, encouraging higher-level cognitive skills, making the language input more accessible and engaging learners' (Islam and Mares, 2003: 89).

As noted by McGrath (2002), methods of adaptation have been described under different names and categories (Ellis, 1968:47; Tomlinson, 1998b: xi, as cited in McGrath, 2002: 64). The most widely accepted and used categorisations of adaptation based on McDonough and Shaw (1993) and Cunningsworth (1985) are:

- Adding: extending (quantitatively), expanding (qualitatively)
- Deleting: subtracting and abridging

- Simplifying

- Reordering

- Replacing material

As material adaptation is regarded as an integral part of language teaching, a number of studies (e.g. Forman, 2014; Menkabu and Harwood, 2014) have focused on how materials are adapted by using definitions and inventories of methods that are provided in the literature such as that of McDonough and Shaw as conceptual frameworks (2003). Materials are adopted with different purposes at different levels and via different methods, and teachers' flexibility and creativity regarding adaptation is documented in these studies. Behaviours of users with regard to adaptation have been discussed since the 1970s (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017:12). However, similar to studies that focus on content in TESOL materials, studies of this type also naturally lack the account of publishing insiders. That is, publishing insiders' perspectives on what the industry can and cannot do to enhance adaptation and add flexibility to the use of materials is not documented although implications for material writers and publishers as well as teaching practitioners are drawn from these studies.

2.3.3. Production

In addition to being an important practice within TESOL as described above, since the mid-1990s, materials development/production seems to have gained in popularity as a field of academic study. The area as a whole investigates the principles and procedures of the design, writing, implementation, and evaluation of materials (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017). There have been books and chapters so far about topics such as materials design and development (Harwood, 2010, 2014; Jolly and Bolitho, 2011; McGrath, 2002), materials evaluation and adaptation (Islam and Mares, 2003; Littlejohn, 2011; McDonough, Shaw and Masuhara, 2013; McGrath, 2002; Nation and Macalister, 2010), the process of materials writing (Bell

and Gower, 2011; Mares, 2003; Timmis, 2014) and types of materials (Tomlinson, 2008), how to design materials (Tomlinson, 2001, 2003), frameworks for writing principled language teaching materials (Jolly and Bolitho, 2011; Timmis, 2011; Tomlinson, 2003), etc. It is widely accepted that the ideal situation in the production of materials is when the theory and practice of material production inform each other in order to facilitate successful language learning and address actual learner needs (Tomlinson, 2001:66). However, the literature indicates a number of gaps concerning research on the life of a textbook from planning to enactment inside the classroom. As investigation of all aspects of material production and regulation are beyond the scope of this thesis, but this section reviews the literature regarding the accounts of publishers of TESOL textbooks and other textbook publishing insiders, given its relevance to the thesis.

2.3.3.1.   Publishers' Perspectives

Due to limitations such as secrecy and privacy of data which is of high priority for publishers, perspectives of publishing insiders on issues in TESOL materials have been mapped by very few studies and accounts of current or former authors and editors. These accounts are generally quite limited in terms of content and discussion as they do not provide details regarding the actual practice of textbook production and are mostly written from a publisher perspective which understandably gives a point of view that sympathises with publishers rather than teachers and learners. The following sections include accounts by publishing insiders and studies that map the recent discussions on how materials are produced, what issues have been confronted in the production of textbooks and the potential solutions.

2.3.3.1.1.   Publishing Insiders' Accounts

Mares, 2003

Mares (2003) shares his experience of understanding how textbook publishing works and describes his initial approach to writing with these words: 'when I first began to write commercial materials, I was subconsciously writing for clones of myself' (p. 131). Mares admits that his first writing attempts were naïve and impractical, aimed at producing textbooks 'free of graded grammatical syllabuses' and indeed 'free of virtually any conventional constraints with respect to unit length or template' (p.136). Although he started writing for teachers, whom he subconsciously presumed were the same as or very similar to himself in terms of their capabilities, approach and practices of teaching, he eventually noticed that 'the art of compromise is a vital one to learn for any writer' as the materials were written for a market that needed to be satisfied (pp.136–137). Mares therefore started to write materials that would supposedly meet the expectations of the target audience. Mares notes that textbooks 'are far easier to criticize than to write' (p.136) and closes by suggesting authors should remember they are writing for a market. Therefore, in order to be able to produce quality materials, publishers 'need to know the market, which means getting as much information as you can about that market' (2003: 139) as the primary aim is to provide the users with materials that will address their needs, which can only be known with research and experience of the target audience. However, unfortunately, research aiming to understand the needs and practices of users are usually not published as this research is carried out privately by publishers, and the available accounts are very limited in terms of the methods and sources utilized such as who their informants are, where and when the data is gathered, and to what extent these findings are prioritised in the practice of textbook production.

Singapore Wala (2003)

Singapore Wala (2003) was part of a textbook development team aiming to produce textbooks for Singapore and narrates her experience in the project. As of 2000, the Singaporean Ministry of Education decided that they would no longer produce textbooks, and publishers were free to issue their own materials. However, the syllabuses would still be drawn up by the Ministry, and through an official authorization process, they were to make sure textbooks adequately covered these. To this end, the Ministry decided to review each textbook and released the list of those they approved. The government did not require any sort of trialling; the approval of Ministry authorities sufficed. Singapore Wala analyses the coursebooks developed for Singapore under these circumstances, which required materials to be produced in accordance with the expectations of the Ministry within only six months. Singapore Wala concludes that "a coursebook is not just a collection of linguistic items, but also a reflection of a particular world-view based on the selection of resources" (p. 69). The final product is shaped by the compromises caused by several constraints and the coursebook is, Singapore Wala notes, 'the way it is because of what it has to do' (2003: 60). Other accounts (e.g., Lee and Park, 2008) also report similar experiences where ministries fail to provide publishers with adequate time for trialling in textbook production accounts in other contexts.

Bell and Gower, 2011

Compromises are not only associated with scenarios where materials are produced under the control of ministries of education. Any mediated materials, where one or more stakeholders with different interests is involved in the production and content of the material (Timmis, 2014), are associated with compromise and writing for global publishing houses is one of the most typical examples of this type of compromised production. For example, Bell and Gower

(2011) describe the compromises global textbook writers make. Resonating with Mares, who notes that she initially wrote for 'clones of herself' and had to change her approach, Bell and Gower state that rather than designing materials that they themselves would be comfortable using, writers 'need to cater for a wide range of students, teachers and classroom contexts with which they have no personal acquaintance' (p.135). They need to anticipate what materials will be successful in different scenarios and learning environments across cultures, classes of various sizes, instructed by teachers with various or contrasting pedagogies.

Bell and Gower briefly summarise the levels of compromise in textbook production. According to them, compromise takes place on the levels of (i) overall structure, (ii) methodology, (iii) text, (iv) content, and (v) piloting. For example, lack of space was one of the biggest reasons for compromise at the level of overall structure of their book, as it required a lot of activities to be cut. On the level of methodology, they note that they had to change their actual approach to grammar as they had difficulty in finding useful texts. Their accounts of decision making around textbook content and piloting, which are the most relevant topics for the purposes of the present thesis, are quite valuable for understanding how production works. They state that at some point they realised they could not please everyone. They compromised and excluded texts they would normally be comfortable using with their own students. Although they initially thought they would resist publisher demands and include references to topics that are considered taboo, they needed to change their approach and were expected to do so. They chose texts and made decisions in accordance with the sensitivities at that time, such as political correctness on gender roles. They admit that the decision making was not driven by the correct mechanism and was led by publisher demands.

With regard to piloting, Bell and Gower note that although they created a pilot edition, most of the material in the pilot edition was not used in the final version. Similar to Amrani's (2011) account of piloting, they reported that teacher feedback and the outcomes of piloting was not 'as helpful as we had hoped' and was 'often contradictory' (p.149). Crucially, very limited piloting was done for the final version because of constraints such as publishers' budgets and production schedule. Therefore, the writers had to rely on their 'own experience and the experience of advisors' (p.149) instead of findings from user feedback and valuable insights acquired through trialling of the materials.

Amrani, 2011

As a former editorial manager and series editor of TESOL who worked for a major publisher, Amrani (2011) reflects on the practices for evaluating materials and what influences the design of materials for most ELT publishers. She firstly summarizes the changes she has observed in the world and the field of ELT such as the development of technology, specialized magazines and professional conferences, which enable access to information and resources much more than ever before. However, it is also noted that teachers being more informed about approaches, methods, and materials makes it more difficult for the publishing industry to satisfy them compared to the 90s when the discussion was mostly around new teaching procedures and task-based learning (p. 267). Another difference between now and the past is that course content, approach and task design reference syllabus guidelines and standards such as the Common European Framework. This makes publishers less free in deciding what content they put in textbooks. As for novel types of materials such as interactive digital materials, it is claimed that they need to be in their final format to be tested and are usually too costly to change once prepared (Amrani, 2011: 267-268). Therefore, digital materials are not easy to pilot in the same way as textbooks, where black and white

unfinished copies are distributed to pilotees and major changes are easily applied in accordance with the feedback received (Donovan, 1998). However, as publishers assess general flexibility in their materials with "shorter development cycles" (Amrani, 2011: 273), and ELT publishing is now a "much more tightly controlled and planned environment" where it was once more open to contributions from outside and receiving materials from independent authors (p.292), all of this means that full piloting is no longer the main research method of choice for publishers, and it is nowadays much more rarely done.

Amrani maps the methods of material evaluation used by textbook publishers. These are piloting (as discussed in detail below with reference to Donovan, 1998), reviewing (extensive reading of materials by experienced teachers who can relate the materials to real classroom teaching situations and students), focus groups (a selected group of people discussing the content and structure of a textbook face-to-face), questionnaires, expert panels (bringing experts together to review materials and advise on current trends), cooperation with academics and researchers, editorial visits and classroom observation around the world, desk research and competitor analysis. Amrani explains the aim of classroom observations by publishing insiders as follows:

> […] the focus is much more on the way in which materials are used and whether the design of the materials is executed as planned. **If teachers are using them in alternative ways, what are the reasons behind this**? Publishers are interested in **why teachers adapt material and in what ways**. (p. 293) (bolding added)

Textbook publishers are therefore aware that classroom observation is a very useful method for material evaluation as it offers insights that cannot be gained through questionnaires, feedback, focus groups and extensive reading. These latter methods do not include

observation of what is actually happening inside a classroom with reference to the content and structure of the material. What's more, another advantage of classroom observation is that it minimizes the risk of inaccurate feedback which stems from a person's inability to observe themselves and to report comprehensively on what exactly took place (should no observer be present and the teacher using the materials self-report on his/her experiences). That is, "what people say they do and what they actually do is often different" (Amrani, 2011: 290). Therefore, as a publishing insider, Amrani states that classroom observation is necessary for a better understanding of the actual use of the materials. However, the experience and knowledge gained through classroom observations conducted by publishing insiders has not been very well documented in the literature as these data are not publicly available due to concerns regarding confidentiality, and lack of communication between researchers and the publishing world. Although this type of research by publishers is reported to have been much more frequent in the 90s and decreased later Amrani (2011), further investigation is needed as to what extent materials today attempt to be research-led, what the sources of information that shape TESOL materials in terms of structure and content are, and to understand the lack of communication and gaps between the textbook publishing industry and academic researchers concerning beliefs about appropriate materials and appropriate production practices.

According to Amrani (2011), the cost of making changes (particularly major ones) as a result of piloting and/or pre-production user feedback seems to be too high for publishers. In two different parts of her work, she states that publishers do not consider any changes in their materials solely on the basis of piloting (p. 268) or focus groups (p. 291). She repeats a few times that especially major changes are not considered depending on limited feedback. For

instance, a focus group, an insignificant number of questionnaires, one instance of piloting, are not sufficient grounds to lead to a substantial change in materials primarily due to its cost. Amrani also summarizes the ways in which publishers benefit from the evaluation methods mentioned above. She states that evaluation provides market credibility and assures publishers that their investment is worth making. That is, it helps ensure they get their product right for their target market so that they can secure sales. Additionally, the effectiveness of the materials helps maintain the publisher's reputation for materials development. Any shortcomings that may offend an audience or any sections found ineffective may result in a significant loss of revenue for publishers (Amrani, 2011:271). Therefore, materials evaluation is essential for publishers through whatever method they find useful.

Overall, Amrani's summary of the concerns of publishers is in line with Gray's contention that TESOL textbooks and materials should be considered as commercial commodities that are designed and marketed in the same manner as any product offered to a consumerist society (Gray, 2010:139).

Donovan, 1998

Donovan (1998) overviews "who gets what from piloting" (p.167-170) and this discussion is of importance here as my focus is on publishers' accounts and Donovan is an experienced publishing insider. According to Donovan, pilotees validate publishers' material. That is, as a result of piloting, the publishers have an idea of what impact their new commodity may have in the market as they usually invest around a few hundred thousand pounds on publication of a set of course materials. However, publishers' perspective on piloting by Donovan was updated by Amrani, who notes that piloting is no longer as common as it was back in the

1990s. The most important benefit of piloting is that it provides information to publishers about their material. It provides information about the suitability of their approach to their audience, organisation of sections, units, exercises, assessments, suitability for the given time of teaching, learner interests, etc. (Donovan, 1998; 168-169).

Prowse, 2011

Another chapter that reports the process of textbook production is by Prowse (2011). He offers an overview of the process and its steps, such as a team of writers being brought together by the publisher to get to know each other, the team then working individually, followed by regular meetings and team comments on each other's work. What makes Prowse's account interesting and noteworthy, is that it describes the stages of production— although the way Prowse collected the accounts has been criticised (see Harwood, 2014) in that it does not reflect the actual practices of authors about aspects such as piloting and to what extent the writers take account of SLA/Applied Linguistics research in their materials. Prowse summarizes the steps of material production from the very beginning (research on a new level of textbook) to the end (post-production) that was typically implemented in the 1990s. I illustrate these stages in Figure 1. The figure was also used as a prompt card in my interviews where I asked textbook authors and editors to describe the production stages with the aim of understanding in what ways the practices have changed since Prowse's account.

Market research and feedback

Initial Stage

-Research on new level – what is needed/gaps in market/weaknesses of other materials

-Meeting with co-authors to get to know each other and discuss and draft the basic rationale.

-Creation of draft units

-Meeting with the publisher and project manager

First Draft

-Send the first draft out to readers (out of classroom) and triallers (inside classroom) and feedback on the first draft

-Meeting with publishers, about content and philosophy of draft materials

-Feedback expected on big issues on content and design rather than details.

Second Draft

-Involves quite a lot of change – finding new texts, cutting out presentations, adding other activities, etc

-Sent to readers to review the materials

-briefing the person writing the Workbook and Teacher's Book

-Feedback expected on details from readers

Third Draft

-'Finished' units are copy-edited and sent back to writers

-Meetings with designers and editors.

Finalisation

-Follow-up production work in the area of design, cuts and rubrics

Piloting

-Written feedback on materials

-Final revision

Figure 1 Stages of production (after Prowse, 2011)

The production process that Prowse describes is quite different from the way it is described in other accounts I have mentioned here so far (e.g., Bell and Gower, 2011; Singapore Wala, 2003). For example, he notes that market research and visits take place at all stages of material production. In contrast with other accounts, the following quote indicates the existence of extensive market research including classroom observation, focus group discussions with students and teachers, methodologists, and teacher trainers in the market:

Coursebook projects I have been involved in have been researched in great depth with repeated visits to the market by authors and editors whilst a project is under development and during the writing process. These visits take many forms, always including a lot of **classroom observation of lessons** in a range of schools and locations, **discussions with students about their interests**, individual and focus group **discussions with teachers**, meetings with educational advisers and planners, and discussions with methodologists and teacher trainers working in the market. When syllabuses and sample materials are drafted, they are discussed with and

reported on by focus groups of classroom teachers, sometimes remotely but often face

to face with the authors. Then as further materials are produced, the reporting and

feedback meetings continue with further visits to the market. Finally, when the

course is published, market visits continue for promotion but also to see the materials

in action and gather feedback for further editions. (p. 166-7) (bolding added)

Prowse's description of extensive market research and preparation is similar to Richards'

(1996) account which states that piloting and user feedback used to have a much more

prominent role in material production as he reports that teachers were consulted on what they

wanted by forming a group of teacher consultants and information from students was sought

through classrooms observations while the units were being piloted by teachers. This process

was repeated for all drafts of units and this sounds far removed from what other authors and

editors report in the literature (cf. Harwood, 2010, 2014; Tomlinson, 1998, 2003, 2011;

Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017) and in conference talks (e.g., Zemach, 2018) about the

realities of the production industry including claims that such piloting and feedback stages

are now usually impoverished or non-existent. Additionally, although the stages of

production are summarized as above, Prowse's account includes very little detail about

whether and to what extent the writers take account of TESOL material research that includes

discussions on the level of language, pedagogy, culture, etc. in their materials.

Aitchison, 2013

A similar account to Prowse's chapter is offered by Janet Aitchison (2013) who has over 20

years of experience as a teacher and ELT materials writer who has worked for most of the

global publishers in different positions. Aitchison shares her experience on topics such as

how to get in touch with a publisher, getting paid for your work, what to expect on a writing

project, etc., offering insights about what it takes to become a TESOL materials writer and

how things work. Like Prowse, for instance, regarding the research undertaken by TESOL publishers, she states that a variety of tools are used to undertake market research, including 'in-person and online surveys with teachers and key decision makers' (e.g., Directors of Study and Programme Coordinators) (p. 19). By means of these surveys, which are sometimes supplemented by focus groups, publishers gather information about teachers' and decision makers' preferred pedagogy, classroom challenges, desired learner outcomes, what they think about pricing and formatting, etc. Aitchison continues to describe what to expect from a writing project for an inexperienced writer. Where Aitchison's account differs from those of other publishing insiders (e.g., Bell and Gower, 2011; Prowse, 2011; Singapore Wala, 2003) is that she states quite straightforwardly that writers are assigned editors who coordinate a team of writers located in different parts of the world. In this process, it is clear that what the author needs to do is to satisfy the expectations of the corresponding editor who will 'shepherd you through the process' (p. 31). In this scenario, the author is an agent that works in accordance with the guidelines provided by the publisher. However, in order to better understand the decision-making mechanisms and factors at play in textbook production, which is vital for production of principled materials that meet the actual needs of learners and teachers, we need a closer look at how the content is chosen, what the selection criteria are, and who decides what topics are to be included or excluded from the materials.

Timmis, 2014

In another book chapter, another highly experienced TESOL material writer and scholar Ivor Timmis (2014) summarizes his experience as part of a material writing project team for an unnamed Asian country. His account includes the main rationale and principles the team implemented in the textbook writing project which seem to be based on Tomlinson's (2003) material writing principles and also SLA research. For instance, regarding corpus-based

research findings on the nature of language and language processing, he notes that 'it would seem to be negligent to ignore them completely' and therefore argues that 'there should be less emphasis on forms which are difficult but infrequent' (2014: 250).

In addition to the principles and initial plans and rationales and how they turned out in the reality of the production process, Timmis also mentions topics such as author selection criteria for materials to be included in the textbook and ways of receiving feedback on the materials in draft, which are neglected in the related literature and are relevant to this thesis. He notes that the authors were invited to take part in the project because they had recently completed a short course in materials development taught by the leader of the writing team on an MA programme. Timmis also notes that he had no experience or knowledge of the country that the materials were written for. He was not familiar with the context. That is, he had not visited the country and also had very limited experience in teaching the level that the materials were aimed for. He summarizes the content of the author guidelines provided by the publisher that includes the scope and sequence, as well as suggested topics to include, some of which might be considered taboo today such as poverty, natural disasters, epidemics, etc.

Timmis provides two moments from his experience which reflect the lack of principle in material production at the time. Firstly, with regard to a full authors' brief, he notes that the authors were not informed in the beginning but later received feedback that the publisher wanted 'three grammar points' in each unit. The source of this decision was unknown. He points out that the principles were not robust, and he regrets that the team were not informed first (p. 252), given the wasted time this delay resulted in which is very valuable in textbook production as it is one of the biggest reasons for compromise. Secondly, he talks about negotiations regarding content that was challenged by the editor. In one unit, he used an interview with the Asian pop star Coco Lee and the editor challenged it in terms of

appropriacy because Lee had adopted Western Values and 'turned her back' on Asia (p. 253). As a result of the negotiations, she featured more peripherally in the material, being the subject of a role play rather than being a role model and the text stayed in the book. Such negotiations and narratives indicate the underlying tensions which can feature in the process of textbook writing.

2.3.3.1.2.　　　Studies on Production

This section summarises studies that aim to investigate TESOL publishers' account rather than insiders sharing their previous experience. With a wider focus than the present thesis, Littlejohn (1992) aimed to understand why materials are the way they are based on his own experience as a writer, personal communication with publishing insiders, interviews with authors as well as analysis of publisher guidelines and textbook content. Littlejohn interviewed five authors and analysed the content of five sets of materials and author briefs provided by publishers. He attempted to explain why materials are the way they are in four main avenues, which are (i) to what extent the materials are based on Applied Linguistics research, (ii) to what extent they reflect personal perceptions of authors, (iii) what stages are included in production of materials, and (iv) the impact of macro-sociological forces on the nature of materials. Regarding the four dimensions mentioned above, Littlejohn concluded that (i) there was a mismatch between the emphasis in the scholarly discussions at the time and the material content, (ii) authors were mainly concerned with the cognitive capacities of learners and aimed to minimise potential issues by structuring the lesson and this was evident within their materials, (iii) authors were positioned as agents who work in accordance with the demands and guidance provided by publishers, who are driven by the profitability of materials, and (iv) materials reflected the features of the capitalist society at the time with regard to the 'social, political and economic processes of commodification, deskilling,

standardization and centralization of control' (p. 277). He supports this claim with the arguments that the material packages:

-deskill teachers on when and how to teach what by providing detailed instructions and by specifying the actual words they need to use (p. 248)

-force learners to 'follow a narrow, standardized path towards accumulating predetermined knowledge' instead of personal understandings (p. 249)

-represent ruling class ideologies as 'natural' and 'commonsensical' (p. 256)

-portray a capitalist society through representations such as clocked and divided labour, and reproduce 'patterns of consumerism, commodification, work and authority relations' (p. 256)

Littlejohn concludes that authors are agents writing to an agenda set for them by the publishers, who produce cultural objects as shaped by the wider society. Littlejohn's study is a rare example of an attempt to map the production of TESOL materials that includes interviews with publishing insiders and analysis of publisher guidelines, which enables inclusion of the publishers' perspective from a researcher point of view.

As discussed, Littlejohn's research featured publisher guidelines to authors, and guidelines surface in subsequent accounts, as well. Richards (2014) talks about how publishers are trying to be sensitive to cultural appropriacy. He states that recently produced textbooks have become more culturally sensitive than they used to be. This is because publishers and writers try to make sure their textbooks reflect progressive and politically acceptable values. To this end, they avoid social bias and ethnocentrism, and try to reflect universal human concerns, needs, and values in content. In order to provide consistency in this regard, publishers provide guidelines for authors. Similar to Gray's (2010) findings on author guidelines, Richards explains how 'part of one publisher's guidelines suggests maintaining a 50–50

balance between the sexes' (Richards, 2014:27). This resonates with Pauwels (1998), who surveyed 136 sets of international guidelines and found a notable similarity of content and structure among the guidelines. For instance, they tended to include advice on avoiding non-sexist language, underlining that the guidelines were presented as advice rather than prescriptions. Such guidelines on equality, cultural sensitivities and taboo topics are considerably more detailed nowadays as we see in Gray's work and in the upcoming chapters of this thesis, where the advisory tone of the guidelines also seems to have shifted to a more prescriptive approach.

Publishers provide authors with guidelines for two main areas regarding content: "inclusive language and inappropriate topics" (Gray, 2010:112). In other words, they firstly want the textbooks to have a non-sexist approach that represents both sexes (visually and verbally) equally. Secondly, they want the authors to avoid some topics that might "offend the sensibilities of potential buyers" (p.112). In addition to equal or fair representation of both sexes, Gray also notes that fairness in representation should also apply to age, class, ethnic origin and disability (Sunderland, 1994 as cited in Gray, 2010:113) and that the emphasis on these issues has changed in line with the concerns raised by potential buyers (Gray, 2010:112), which is one of the most important concerns for ELT publishers as offending their customers would otherwise cause a decrease in their sales. Furthermore, Oxford University Press publishers reported that they advise their authors to avoid a number of topics, for which the acronym PARSNIP is used (politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, isms and pork) (Gray, 2010:119).

It is stated that in addition to the curriculum requirements of different markets and the taboo PARSNIP topics, "cultural sensitivities and practices also had to be taken into consideration"

in deciding what to put in textbooks (Gray, 2010:122). For instance, one of the informants mentioned that Turks are very sensitive when they are drawn as Arabs in textbooks. This might result in a reaction to the material and is therefore avoided by the authors. Also, informants claimed that they tried to avoid mentioning Graeco-Roman cities in Turkey, which are felt by Greece to be 'a great national loss' (2010:122). In the Italian context, on the other hand, the authors tried to avoid mentioning Dracula because of the national sensitivity about this topic. The reason for this exclusion is related to a popular religious group, Jehovah's Witnesses, considering that they could be offended by references to blood. Numerous examples can be given about the sensitivities of different markets. A sentence by one of the informants helps us read between the lines as she said 'the bottom line….is that we want our course to be bought' (Gray, 2010:124). It is clear from the overall discussion that textbook publishers are primarily concerned with the attitudes of their potential buyers and therefore their sales figures.

The topics mentioned so far summarize the lines that ELT publishers and therefore authors and editors prefer to follow with concerns which stem primarily from their desire to grow their target market and increase sales. This is also supported by the interviews that Gray (2010) conducted with publishing insiders. The topics that they raised during the interviews included market sensitivities, publishers being "very very market driven", changes in the market over time (e.g., racial balance), their motivations for exclusively including good-looking people in the visuals, and their focus on textbook content promoting aspirational messages (Gray, 2010:123). It is clear that publishers are well aware that the textbooks are not only materials designed for educational purposes, but also commercial commodities. Gray further discusses the commodification of the English language. That is, the language is transformed into a commercial commodity which is represented as if it is a means to

happiness and success through its representation in the textbook. In other words, the construction of English language as a commercial commodity makes it a product to be advertised and promoted on the market, and textbooks are advertisements for the promotion of language and language learning.

Gray evaluates the results from the content of author guidelines and interviews with publishing insiders in a wider social context. It is argued that advertising suggests "…the possibility of personal transformation by showing us … those already transformed" (Gray, 2010:134). With this idea in mind, in the case of ELT textbooks, the way in which participants are represented and "the sensory orientation of much of the artwork combine to hail students to a lifestyle in which the discourses of success, mobility and egalitarianism form the basis of the promotional promise of English" (Gray, 2010:134). Gray concludes that ELT materials are delivered to a global market as standardized products with standardized methods which assumes that all individuals want and need exactly the same thing (p.138). In addition to their financial concerns, which I do not intend to criticize very harshly as any commercial organisation does and should aim to financially benefit from their products, publishers are also concerned with the quality and effectiveness of the content of their textbooks.

The aim of the review so far has been to summarize the information about the concerns of ELT material publishers, so that the data gathered within the present research project can be evaluated in relation to the existing literature. However, as noted by Harwood (2014:24), thorough piloting seems to have become a thing of the past in the TESOL publishing industry and even the old methods of material evaluation are not applied as commonly as they were back in the 1990s. While the preparation of a textbook, its textual and visual content and

design, delivery of samples to pilotees and end-users are much easier thanks to advances in technology, the effort and time spent on trialling the materials to receive feedback to improve them is apparently less than it was. Moreover, publishers still partly depend on questionnaires, which, as a method, is criticized by Amrani herself. However, it is also noted that a textbook is easier to criticise than write. Additionally, the lack of piloting is due to reasons such as the cost of producing pilot editions, the inability to find pilotees representative of the wider population of teachers, and the tendency to receive vague and overly brief feedback. The present research also aims to understand the current state of the industry in terms of some main lines of discussion and is rather descriptive by nature.

2.4. Statement of the Problem

In summary, the main discussions within studies of TESOL material focusing on culture in terms of content and consumption include the following conclusions:

(i) The inner circle culture dominates the content in materials although we can no longer speak of a 'target language culture' for English language (e.g., Messekher, 2014; Mishan and Timmis, 2015; Yamada, 2010);

(ii) Materials lack the required depth in representation of culture and facilitation of intercultural communicative competence through ELT materials (e.g., Byram, 2009; Yuen, 2011);

(iii) Materials have become increasingly less research- and theory-led and more and more market-driven (e.g., Bell and Gower, 2011; Gray, 2010, 2013; Tomlinson 2003a);

(iv) Teachers and learners react to inappropriate content in ways such as ignoring or rejecting it (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993; Forman, 2014; Gray, 2000);

(v) Teachers almost always need to adapt materials in some way (e.g., Islam and Mares, 2003; Menkabu and Harwood, 2014).

In accordance with the literature reviewed so far, it can be concluded that ELT materials and their content are influenced by several factors including commercial concerns, aims, target users of the textbook, ideological bias, etc. and the materials may include ideological content and messages. It is also clear that the material production process changed in the 1990s (see Amrani, 2011; Donovan, 1998) and the literature requires further research on how materials are produced (Harwood, 2010, 2014) and how the process has evolved. The present research study aims to address the lack of communication between (i) textbook publishing insiders, (ii) textbook researchers in the area of TESOL, and (iii) consumers by investigating the accounts of textbook writers on how textbooks are produced, why textbooks are the way they are in terms of cultural content, and where the industry is with regard to some of the scholarly discussions that have been ongoing about TESOL textbooks.

Due to the gaps mentioned so far, the literature lacks information on the extent to which the research findings and discussions reviewed above are known and considered by publishing insiders. In order to understand the decision making in material production, where the industry currently is and where we are headed regarding cultural content, taboo topics, what is changing and has changed in the industry, and what the concerns of publishing insiders are, the present study aims to gather and map the accounts of publishing insiders. Additionally, through comparing local and global contexts, it aims to explore the extent to which there are changes in the production of materials under different circumstances led by different concerns.

So, put simply, the research questions of the present thesis can be described as follows:

(i)   Why are TESOL materials culturally the way they are?

    a) To what extent is the content determined by authors?

b) *Why cannot they make everyone happy?*

(ii)   How aware is the TESOL publishing industry of scholarly research on textbooks?

a) *To what extent is this research taken into account when producing textbooks? Why?*

To this end, publishing insiders were interviewed about the above-mentioned topics and the process of textbook production, how they make decisions about content, what they expect from teachers and learners with regard to skills, subject and cultural knowledge, cultural awareness, and how they expect learners to act with regard to cultural content. In order to keep the discussion on topic and provoke thoughts on the above-mentioned topics, sentences summarising the arguments found in the literature on materials were used as prompt cards in the interviews. Additionally, textbooks written by the participants and guidelines provided by publishers (e.g., scope and sequence, lists of topics to cover and avoid, etc.), were analysed where relevant. It felt these accounts at interview supplemented by reference to insider documents (such as publisher guidelines to textbook authors) would reflect the publishing insiders' understanding of the world, culture, role and nature of materials, their assumptions about teachers and learners, sources of information, concerns and experiences, all of which would allow me to understand why textbooks are culturally the way they are.

3. Methodology
3.1. Introduction

The present chapter describes the design of the study: it explains the research methods used, basic analytic processes involved, my research paradigm and approach that I adopted to answer the research questions in this study, procedures of data generation that I followed, ethical considerations, and data analysis procedures.

This chapter begins with a brief theoretical overview of the three main research traditions in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, and situates the study within an interpretivist approach. Section 3.3 provides details about the research design employed in this inquiry. This is followed by an account of my positionality as a researcher, and section 3.5 outlines the reasons for the use of semi-structured interviews and content analysis as my main research tools. The next two Sections, 3.6 and 3.7, attend to the issues of participant recruitment and describe the data in the present study. Ethical considerations and the issue of trustworthiness are covered in section 3.8 and 3.9. This is followed by a summary of how the present study evolved (3.10) and the field work phases (3.11). Lastly, Section 3.12 explains the basic analytic processes involved in qualitative data analysis, followed by Section 3.13, which describes the approach to reporting and interpreting the data adopted in this study, while Section 3.14 summarises the whole chapter.

3.2 Research Methodology
3.2.1   Main research traditions

In gathering, analysing and interpreting data for research, there are three main traditions that are widely recognised. These are quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method approaches. Each of these approaches uses different lenses through which they view and understand the world, and require implementation of their own methods for research purposes (Richards, 2003:2).

Quantitative methods collect numerical data and use instruments to quantify and measure the extent of a phenomenon, minimising the bias of subjectivity of the researcher and social experience. It is the dominant research approach in natural sciences. Quantitative research originates from the philosophical perspective of positivism, which attempts to understand universal principles or rules that govern human behaviours. A realist stance underpins a positivist approach and a positivist believes that reality is essentially independent of who is examining it and when and how it is being examined. Quantitative researchers nowadays typically take a post-positivistic position, a modified version of positivism which originated mainly in psychology during the late 19th and throughout the 20th century (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). In accordance with their philosophical position, quantitative researchers employ methods that aim to minimise researcher subjectivity such as surveys, experiments, correlational studies, language testing research, etc. (Phakiti, 2015).

On the other hand, the qualitative approach is an interpretive approach that relies on qualitative data and aims to study and explore social phenomena in their natural setting to make sense of them with regard to the 'meanings people bring to them' (Stein et al., 2012:146). While controlling variables to minimize the influence of the researcher is one of the most emphasized features of the quantitative approach, qualitative research aims to collect the richest possible data. As noted by Holliday (2015:50), 'the basic aim of qualitative research is to get to the bottom of what is going on in all aspects of the social behaviour'. To this end, the qualitative approach tends to treat 'whatever can be seen or heard' as data. Historically, qualitative research originates from studies in sociology, the humanities, and evaluation and the numbers of qualitative approaches have increased, and the various types of approaches have become more distinct since the last decade of the 20th century (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Qualitative research has an emergent, fluid and flexible nature that enables the researcher to respond to new details and developments (Dörnyei, 2007:37). This enables

qualitative researchers to start without a hypothesis or theory. Rather than defining research questions, hypotheses or theories at the outset of the research, "they generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning" (Creswell, 2003:9) as the research proceeds.

Lastly, the mixed-method approach is a rather pragmatic combination of the two approaches described above to collect, analyse and interpret data. The main goal of the researcher in the mixed-method approach is to enable better understanding of social phenomena (Elwood, 2010). To this end, the researcher combines quantitative and qualitative research procedures for gathering, analysing and interpreting data in accordance with their research questions, rather than philosophical orientations. The use of mixed method research helps overcome two disadvantages that underlie quantitative and qualitative procedures. Firstly, the mixed-method approach provides a better understanding of the context by giving much more detail regarding the participant and the research setting (e.g., participants' living or working conditions, where they study, or socialise), and a lack of focus on these phenomena is one of the disadvantages of quantitative research. Secondly, by employing quantitative research tools and procedures, mixed-method approach minimises the bias stemming from the personal experiences and interpretations of the researcher, which is one of the potential weaknesses of qualitative research (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

3.2.2   Research design employed

I broadly classify my study as qualitative since the main strength of the present study lies in a qualitative approach that includes relevant methodological preferences. As Dörnyei (2007:40) puts it, a qualitative approach is required to answer the *why* question, which is the main goal of the present study: to investigate the nature and causes of human behaviours, their decisions, preferences, reasons for their behaviours as perceived by themselves and the social world in general. Another one of the most important features of qualitative research is

that it is concerned with subjective opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals, and qualitative researchers generally regard investigation of the 'insider perspective' to be the only way of understanding one's own meanings, perspectives and experiences (Punch, 2005). The qualitative researcher focuses on a particular aspect of the social world, gathers data on people's behaviours, experiences, beliefs and attitudes, accesses the meaning individuals bring to phenomena, and creates knowledge by making meaning from the data (Patton, 2014). To this end, rather than relying on a single data source, qualitative researchers typically collect data in different open-ended forms such as interviews, observations, documents and audio-visual information. In this type of data gathering, participants are not constrained by predetermined scales and instruments, so they can share their ideas freely. Once the data is gathered, the completed data corpus is reviewed with the purpose of making sense of it. The researcher organises the data into codes and themes that cut across all of the data sources (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:257). Therefore, to explore the publishing insiders' views of the issues under discussion, I preferred a qualitative approach, and collected data in any form available, including semi-structured interviews and documents that the participants agreed to share with me.

Being the first qualitative project that I have undertaken, I wanted to make sure that I followed a robust procedure in design and implementation. Therefore, the present research follows the checklist for qualitative research design proposed by Creswell and Creswell (2018:255) in design, data collection and analysis. The checklist of questions for designing a qualitative procedure is as follows:

Question	Status	Section
Are the basic characteristics of qualitative studies mentioned?	√	**3.2**
Is the specific type of qualitative design to be used in the study mentioned? Is the history of, a definition of, and applications for the design mentioned?	√	**3.2.2**
Does the reader gain an understanding of the researcher's role or reflexivity in the study and how they may shape the interpretations made under study?	√	**3.2.3**
Is the purposeful sampling strategy for sites and individuals identified?	√	**3.2.5**
Is a clear recruitment strategy for enrolling participants mentioned?	√	**3.2.5**
Are specific forms of data collection mentioned, and the rationale given for their use?	√	**3.2.4**
Are the procedures for recording information during the data collection detailed?	√	**3.2.6**
Are the data analysis steps identified?	√	**3.2.12**
Is there evidence that the researcher has organised the data for analysis?	√	**3.2.12**
Has the researcher reviewed the data generally to obtain a sense of information?	√	**3.2.12**
Are the ways that the data will be represented mentioned—such as in tables, graphs and figures?	√	**3.2.13**

Has the researcher coded the data?	√	**3.2.12**
Have the codes been developed to form a description and/or to identify themes?	√	**3.2.12.3**
Are the themes interrelated to show a higher level of analysis and abstraction?	√	**3.2.12.1.3**
Has the basis for interpreting the analysis been specified (personal experience, the literature, questions, action agenda)?	√	**3.2.12.2**
Has the researcher mentioned the outcome of the study (developed a theory, provided a complex picture of themes)?	√	**3.2.12.2**
Have multiple strategies been cited for validating the findings?	√	**3.2.8**

Table 1 Checklist for qualitative research design (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:255)

3.2.3 Positionality
3.2.3.1 Role of the researcher

It is also of significance to note that the research outcome in a qualitative study is the product of the researcher's subjective interpretation of the data, which makes qualitative research fundamentally interpretive (Dörnyei, 2007:38). In other words, the personal and political stance of the researcher in relation to the topic under investigation has the potential to influence and compromise the processes of data collection, interpretations, and the reporting of findings (Silverman, 2000). Therefore, I have been aware that my position as the researcher in the present study, my values, personal history, and position has the potential to influence the way I interpreted the data. With this in mind, I would like to reveal my position at this point.

I am a Turkish citizen and a former member of the target audience for the global publishing houses as part of the Middle Eastern market as a language learner and consumer of textbooks published by the global publishing houses such as Oxford University Press, Pearson, Macmillan, Cambridge University Press, Express Publishing, etc. This means that I learned the English language in classrooms where the main material for teaching was either a book published by the global publishers or sometimes a book prepared and distributed by the Ministry of National Education. As a young learner of English, I was exposed to the type of content which included representations of my culture I have never experienced—for instance, textbooks included pictures of a person with a Turkish name riding a camel somewhere in Turkey. Another type of problematic content I and my peers were used to being exposed to was textbook content featuring a group of young students going on adventure holidays to 'exotic' places in Africa and having conversations about safaris, airport security, hotel reservations, passport controls, how they enjoyed their weekend abroad and issues they had while all these were taking place. Again, I found it hard to relate to these experiences as they

were unfamiliar to me. However, I was aware that none of this was real. Neither I nor any of my classmates at high school where we used these textbooks had seen a camel in Turkey or a person who wears a fez in daily life except in popular tourist attractions in coastal towns, or had any chance to travel abroad, experience problems on safari or experience adventures during weekends spent in London or Louisville with host families we had found online. Being exposed to all this textbook content, I naturally began thinking about how this content usually involved irrelevant or controversial representations of my own or somebody else's culture or was simply inappropriate for the context where I grew up as it was too distinct from our reality. Our purpose as learners of English was not to travel around the world or talk to tourists about how we rode camels, but to pass university entrance exams. I first got a passport when I was 23, and travelled abroad when I was 25 for the first time, long after I had finished studying English by using textbooks. What's more, I am one of a handful of people among my then-classmates who had this opportunity for international travel and study abroad.

Although there have been remarkable improvements in textbook content in the last three to four decades with regard to coverage of women in textbooks, and critical evaluations and discussions have been ongoing about topics such as representation of gender, race, age, etc., I personally find materials ineffective and lacking depth in the understanding and treatment of culture. This is because, as a quirk of fate, I was still able to find a lot of unrealistic material very similar to the content I remember from our books at high school while I was flipping through TESOL textbooks during the early stages of the present research. At this point, I would like to describe a content which I think is a great example of the type of content I described above, included in one of those books I read through.

The content I want to describe is from a year 10 TESOL textbook, which was distributed to all regions of my country between 2015 and 2017. The page shows an activity which includes a passage and comprehension questions. It asks pupils to read the text and complete the tasks, work in pairs where necessary, and gives them tips about the use of language. However, rather than the grammar and vocabulary teaching, I am more concerned with the topic and the underlying ideas within the material. The text is about two friends, who go to Africa for an adventure holiday, as it is an 'exotic' destination. Unfortunately, the two friends experience some issues with their hotel room, and at the end, they have a car accident but they finally return home safely.

Although we could easily problematise the way Africa was defined as an 'exotic desert', I would like to focus on the tasks students are asked to do. After the text and matching vocabulary exercise, followed by a set of questions in task E where students only need to detect the answer within the text, exercise F and G ask students to talk about the common points of these adventurous holidays and 'imagine they were [character name 1] and [character name 2], and write a formal letter of complaint about the holiday'. The textbook that includes this page is part of a series that includes 6 levels, all written by the same authors, has numerous examples of similar content and was distributed to all regions of the country, where there will be many students who grew up in similar conditions to me, and who have never been any kind of holiday, much less an adventure holiday. The book asks them about a world they do not belong to, and would not be able to imagine. As a language learner, I am aware that this type of content also has the potential to give learners an impression that the English language is not a part of their world, is far removed from their experience, and will not be a useful means of communication as they are not even remotely likely to find themselves in the situations represented in the textbooks.

In summary, what I did not understand when I was a high-school student in a Turkish town was how the content of the materials was chosen, what topics would be covered or mentioned, how different cultural elements, ideas, figures, and events would be represented in a textbook that would be used by people the authors and editors had never met. My position today remains more or less the same as a researcher. I wanted to know and am now attempting to investigate how things work in the textbook publishing industry and why textbooks are the way they are without a stance about how they should be except that they need to be principled and informed by the research conducted by scholars in the field.

I am aware that several alternative interpretations are possible for each dataset I collected, and as the researcher, I am the measurement device in this study (Dörnyei, 2007:38), although I attempted to ensure reliability through procedures such as inter-rater reliability where possible (Section 3.2.12.4). As noted above, the only stance I have had during preparation of data collection tools, research questions, data collection and interpretation, stemming from my past experience with TESOL textbooks, was that materials need to be principled in production and every single detail needs to be carefully reviewed before final production and distribution to schools where students from very different backgrounds are exposed to them without their consent as a requirement of the curriculum. Lastly, as every participant in the present study also agreed, one of the main functions of TESOL material research and discussions in the field is to inform the material producers and potentially enhance their products. I designed my questions and positioned myself as a researcher in accordance with these ideas and I can clearly state that my relationship with my research context and participants has been a 'functional relationship', which was established to establish meaning, built for the purpose of collecting information in relation to the aim of my research study (Cohen et al., 2007).

3.2.3.2 Paradigm

My ontological position is that reality may exist independent of human thought, but meaning or knowledge is a construction in the human mind. Meaning is a socially-constructed phenomenon 'by individuals in interaction with their world' (Merriam, 2002:3), which results in different interpretations of reality. Although it is possible that an objective reality exists, it is only indirectly accessible to us and people construct their own version of reality. As research proceeds, meanings are developed interpretively (Richards, 2009). Textbooks are commercial, cultural, and social artifacts that are shaped within an interwoven network of people who have relations, expectations, ideologies, goals, disappointments and a limited physical energy. The task of a constructivist researcher interested in textbooks is to understand multiple ways of looking at the textbook under these circumstances.

I would also like to state my theoretical orientation that I employed in the present study. I have a constructivist research approach based on socio-cultural theory (SCT) to investigate how and why TESOL textbooks are the way they are with a particular focus on cultural elements, the current state of the TESOL textbook production industry with regard to TESOL material research, what has changed in the last 20 years regarding taboo topics, marketization of material production, and with regard to the textbook as a commercial product in general.

In order to interpret the findings, I base my views on SCT, which is a theory of human mental functioning. Basing the research design on SCT means viewing the TESOL textbook as a socially constructed product that is produced within a community and at the same time is shaped by the factors surrounding the people linked to it. This view, that seeks to explore and understand the dynamics of textbook production and the current state of the industry by investigating the decision-making processes involved, the social, personal, and the contextual factors at play, is in line with the definition of textbook as a socially constructed product. The

main argument of SCT is summarised is that "developmental processes take place through participation in cultural, linguistic, and historically formed settings such as family life and peer interaction, and in institutional contexts like schooling and work places, to name only a few" (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006:197).

3.2.4 Data collection methods

As mentioned above, the present study is predominantly based on a qualitative approach and data collection methods were employed accordingly. The following subsections provide information about the research methods used in this research: semi-structured interviews and qualitative content analysis including the advantages and drawbacks of these collection methods.

3.2.4.1 Interviews

Use of interviews in qualitative inquiry is regarded as 'the gold standard of qualitative research' (Silverman, 2000:51) and its nature is described as a 'conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984:102). Interviews, as well as questionnaires, are widely used for research purposes to collect information at a depth that is not possible with questionnaires in scenarios where participants report on their own knowledge, opinions, beliefs, views, and behaviour in response to questions (Heigham and Croker, 2009) as they have the advantage "of providing researchers with unscripted, conversational data" (Mackey and Gass, 2007:136). Interviews can be categorized into three different types: (i) questions are planned and shared with each participant in advance; (ii) questions are planned and asked in either a face-to-face or virtual interview; or (iii) unplanned questions are asked to participants during the interview in accordance with the topics or areas that the researcher wants to discuss (Lodico et al., 2010). In contrast to email interviews or questionnaires, the conventional way of conducting interviews, where the interviewer and the participant come together in person or in a virtual

environment, is advantageous in terms of giving the opportunity to ask follow up questions where needed in addition to structured questions and to clarify questions or expressions in the interview. The researcher may also decide to ask alternative questions in accordance with the responses of participants to initial questions. Lastly, meeting the participant can help develop trust and a personal rapport in scenarios where sensitive information may be shared (Richards, 2003).

In addition to the numerous advantages they provide, interviews have also been criticised on several grounds. The first and foremost criticism against interviews is the demanding nature of the process of conducting them. In a conventional interview, the researcher needs to be multitasking as they need to establish trust and rapport with the participants by showing a sympathetic understanding of their opinions (Monette et al., 2014), and also "must be both listening to the informant''s responses to understand what he or she is trying to get at and, at the same time, bearing in mind his needs to ensure that all his questions are liable to get answered within the fixed time at the level of depth and detail that he needs" (Wengraf, 2001:194). In short, considering the steps before and during the interview, it is a complicated task and also a delicate interpersonal and professional relationship that needs to be managed by the researcher very carefully at all times.

Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Mackey and Gass, 2007). In structured interviews, pre-planned questions are asked to each interviewee in the same order and manner while in unstructured interviews, participants are expected to explain their opinions freely without any pre-planned questions (Punch, 2009). In semi-structured interviews, the researcher knows what topics need to be covered and to a large extent what questions need to be asked. However, as noted by Heigham and Croker (2009:185-6), the interviewer 'needs to allow sufficient flexibility to probe some aspects in depth and, where

necessary, to let the respondent lead in much the same way as in an open interview'. With this purpose, an interview guide is used to identify key topics that need to be covered, but the researcher may change the manner and order of questions, as well as asking new questions or follow-up questions where they think it is necessary.

One of the biggest disadvantages of semi-structured interviews is that they provide large amounts of data and, thus, can be extremely time-consuming at the stages of conducting interviews, transcription and data analysis. The researcher needs to keep control of the dialogue to prevent the participant from going too far off-topic. I preferred semi-structured interviews to elicit information on the pre-defined key topics that the present thesis focuses on, by also allowing my participants to talk about any topics that they want to go into in greater detail. During the interviews, I asked the participants to talk at length and freely about their previous experience, thoughts, opinions, memories, etc. regarding the key topics and they were only interrupted where they were going too off-topic. With the flexible approach I adopted for the interviews, I probed any comments that could potentially lead to an interesting discussion to elicit more in-depth responses on topics already featuring in the interview schedule or new topics that the participants mentioned.

3.2.4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

Featured in a wide range of research from applied linguistics to medicine, qualitative content analysis (QCA) is a data analysis strategy that is often used in many disciplines, most commonly in linguistics, political science, business, psychology, history, and education (Waltz et al., 2010) by researchers 'aiming to understand a phenomenon by analysing the presence of meaning and relationships through various forms of human activity and communications' (Selvi, 2019:440). Mayring (2000:2) defines content analysis as "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of

communication, following content analysis rules and step by step models". It is becoming more and more popular among applied linguists as it offers advantages including 'methodological systematicity and flexibility, contextual emphasis and sensitivity, language-orientedness, and applicability to real-life settings' (Selvi, 2019: 440).

Commonly used types of content analysis can be categorised according to their purposes. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1286) distinguish between three types of qualitative content analysis. The differences between these types of content analysis can be briefly explained as follows:

(i)   Conventional QCA: Analysing categories for coding which are directly derived from the text data.

(ii)   Directed QCA: Analysing with a theory and/or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes.

(iii)   Summative QCA: Analysing with counting and comparisons, mostly through keywords or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context.

In accordance with these definitions, the type of QCA used in the present study can be categorised as a summative content analysis also drawing on conventional QCA, used to identify the emergent themes, as it aimed to detect any differences or similarities with reference to topics adressed, and analyse the discussion about topics mentioned in the interviews (e.g., taboo topics listed in the publishers' documents or an illustration of feedback received by writers) and interpret the occurrences in relation to the context, which was shaped by the interviews in this case. For instance, one of the documents consists of feedback received from readers on a draft version of a textbook (Document 10). This document was analysed to confirm the interview findings regarding the nature and usefulness of reader feedback.

Participants in the present study were asked to share any documents that they could and would potentially enrich the discussion. The documents they generously shared included author guidelines provided by the publishing houses or ministries of education (with the purpose of defining the scope and sequence of the textbook project, and content inclusion/exclusion criteria and recommendations regarding different markets and levels), and book units and sections where relevant to the discussion and available to share within the context of the interview (face-to-face or virtual). As stated above, these documents were classified, organised and their content was summatively analysed to enrich and support the discussion.

3.2.4.3 Research methods used in the present study
3.2.4.3.1   Interviews used in this study

While studies analysing textbook content dominate the literature on TESOL material research, as discussed earlier (Section 2.2.3), one of the main criticisms of relying on content analysis of textbooks and documents that content analysis does not customarily provide data from the two main stakeholders of textbooks: (1) textbook creators (writers and publishers) and (2) users (teachers and learners) (Harwood, 2014:10). Instead, the findings and evaluation of data in content analysis tend to be based on the intuitions of the researcher. However, exploring the accounts of publishing insiders and the process of production are vital in understanding why we are where we are now and where we are headed as these parties contribute a great deal to shaping textbooks.

Interpretation of why textbooks are the way they are arises not only from examining the content, but also from exploring the accounts of people linked to it, who are publishing insiders working in different levels and positions under different conditions in different publishing bodies (freelance, in-house, global and local publishing houses) as well as governmental bodies (ministries of education). For the purpose of my project, I knew through

a review of the literature what topics I could cover and what questions I could ask. However, I also needed to allow enough flexibility to be able to follow up some information in depth and let participants give as much detail as they wished on the topics they were being asked about. For this purpose, I developed a semi-structured interview guide consisting of 17 questions in order to elicit information regarding the accounts of publishing insiders about a series of topics. For various reasons and in ways explained in Section 3.2.9, I needed to alter some of the questions in my interview schedule after the first series of interviews. I adopted a format that included introductory questions as ice-breakers. After thanking the writers for participating in my research and declaring that their names would not be used and their identities anonymised, I stated that I wanted to ask them some background questions and started with the following question:

Can you please tell me about your background in textbook publishing? When and where did you start?

I had two follow-up questions about background relating to their previous roles in the industry and previous teaching experience. These were followed by content questions and probes about their opinions and attitudes with regard to the current state of the ELT publishing industry, the textbook as a product, constraints associated with publishing and authoring, and to what extent textbooks are written using a research-based approach. A final question invited participants to express any additional views they had. The main areas focused on in my interviews were previous experiences and background (education and training, teaching experience and how they became a publishing insider), the process of production (design procedures, feedback, drafting, piloting, etc.), the current state of the industry (how it has changed, strengths and weaknesses, what they think about being an author/editor), controversial issues (PARSNIP and other issues about textbook content in

different markets), where the industry is in terms of various issues which preoccupy TESOL material researchers (intercultural communicative competence, marketization of materials, level and aspect of cultural representations, etc.), and ways forward/recommendations (see Appendix 5 for the complete interview schedule).

While designing my interview guide, I tried to avoid any leading questions and ambiguity to the best of my understanding (Dörnyei 2007:138). To this end, questions were phrased carefully with supervisory advice and prompt cards were used to initiate talk by asking participants to comment on statements rather than asking them direct questions. For instance, rather than asking the participants what they believe publishing houses attempted to sell to any market regardless of how suitable their books are, which is one of the allegations made against the publishers (Bell and Gower, 2011:136), I presented the following sentence in a prompt card and asked interviewees to comment on this statement.

-Marketing teams and distributors want to make sure their products get into as many schools as possible, no matter how suitable they are for the context.

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Prompt cards and statements used in the interview were extracted from the relevant literature regarding the topics I attempted to address in the interviews. I also probed any interviewee comments that could potentially lead to an interesting discussion, whether about additional topics I had not anticipated, or to elicit more in-depth responses to topics already featuring in the interview schedule. Interviewees were asked to talk at length and freely about their

previous experience, thoughts, opinions, memories, etc. regarding the topics and only interrupted where they were going too off-topic. The interviews were later transcribed in their entirety verbatim, and retaining the original structure of the interview with questions and answers (see Appendix 8 for an example). As suggested by Cohen et al. (2011), all transcriptions and notes were transferred to an electronic format, and multiple copies were saved on my password-protected personal computer and external hard drive to preserve and protect the data.

3.2.4.3.2   Content Analysis of Documents

During the interviews, participants were also asked to share any relevant documents that could potentially support and enhance the discussion, or exemplify their statements. Five of the participants shared 24 documents of different lengths and types of content, including cultural briefs provided by publishers identifying sensitivities to consider for different markets, guidelines aiming to inform authors and editors about the scope and sequence and writing philosophy for projects, rationales for units and sections or whole projects, sample/draft units that the writers thought would be useful, etc. The documents were closely read to support and enrich the discussion where possible, and also to triangulate the findings of the interviews. The documents were downloaded, categorised and stored carefully for analysis. The content of these documents and how they were used is explained in more detail in Section 3.2.6.2.

3.2.5   Contacting and selecting participants
3.2.5.1 Local Authors

Following my decision to conduct a study that included an investigation of the process of textbook production and the dynamics of the industry, I began scanning governmental and non-governmental websites or portals where teachers share and discuss classroom materials in countries in the Middle East and contacted TESOL teachers working in different countries

in the region to inquire which textbooks are currently being used to find out potential authors to contact. As I studied English Language and Literature, and have been within the ESOL community since 2005 as a learner, teacher and researcher, I fortunately have contacts with EFL teachers in many countries, particularly in the Middle East. The Middle East was also a point of interest as the countries are generally at the centre of the discussion on cultural sensitivities and representations. I initially tried to contact as many authors as I could since I was aware that textbook publishing insiders are a relatively small community and there are grounds to believe that for confidentiality reasons, authors may tend not to speak about the processes and procedures included in textbook production as information gathered by the publishers is generally kept confidential (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017).

In an ideal world, I would have chosen a textbook that is currently being used and interviewed the authorial team, then observed the lessons in which the book is being used, and interviewed the users regarding the material and its use. By doing so, I would identify the gaps between the images of the textbook in the minds of the writers and users, how accurate their assumptions were about the users and the way they thought their material would work inside the classroom. This type of holistic approach to TESOL material research is recommended in the literature and has lots of potential for filling knowledge gaps within our field (Harwood, 2014; Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017). Alternatively, I would have chosen other participants with different profiles, from different backgrounds, more or less experienced and qualified in textbook writing to see if and how these factors impact the materials. This would also have required observations as they write or multiple interviews and analysis of the materials they produced at all stages. However, in a project of this nature, it would be difficult enough getting anyone to participate because of a reluctance on the part of authors and publishers to consent to take part, and I believe the best a researcher who is

not familiar with the textbook publishing industry, particularly on the global scale, can do is to hope to end up with a convenience sample.

Fortunately, I managed to interview nine writers/editors working for a range of global publishing houses with different levels of experience. This gave me the opportunity to observe any differences or similarities between different global publishers and their philosophies. However, as none of them were able to share information about any material they were currently working on, and I was not able to observe classrooms where their materials were being used, the focus of this research became rather broader than an in-depth analysis of a particular series of textbooks. I also was only able to rely on the accounts shared in the interview regarding the influence of experience in textbook writing, rather than being able to observe and compare the ways an experienced and inexperienced writer work, and the qualities of the material they produce.

Although I am familiar with the books on the international market as a consumer, I did not know any potential participants to approach for my research. So, I started to look for any information available online. Through an extensive scan of the websites, Facebook groups, online forums and blogs, where I was able to find information about the textbooks, I identified the editors and authors of some of the textbooks that are currently being used or had been used recently in the Middle Eastern context. I tried to contact the publishing insiders through e-mails or other contact information that I was able to find online. Once I contacted and received an answer from 2 authors from different countries in August 2018, they gave suggestions for other authors I could contact for interviews.

I contacted every writer/editor whose contact information I was able to find through emails. However, due to working conditions and understandable worries, including the risk of losing their job for sharing confidential information with a third party, all writing teams except one

refused my request. The writing team accepted my request on condition that I would acquire an official letter from the Ministry of Education in their country stating that they were allowed to participate in the present research study. The writing team consisted of an editor, a team leader, and six writers. These roles were assigned to them by the Ministry of Education, and they were hired for a new project as a team again. As explained in Section 3.2.9, my initial goal was to conduct classroom observations to examine how the materials were used, and the writing team were happy to agree to take part in the project on these terms. So, I decided to interview this team of writers and base the questions on a recent book they had written for their context, where the book was being used at the time. I downloaded the textbook series, analysed the content, extracted some pages I thought would be useful as prompts, and designed my questions accordingly. Once I received supervisory feedback and approval on the final version of my interviews, I planned my visit to the site.

The permission from the MoE required translation of my interview schedule from English to the local language, preparation of a letter requesting permission from the local authority to conduct the research, and travel to the country to meet the participants, to conduct the interviews, and to collect data. Details regarding the translation and interpretation service I received, travel documents and other procedures required in this process are not reported here to ensure confidentiality. This is because only a few teams are contracted by their government and they wished to stay anonymous, and even naming the country which was the focus of this study would markedly increase the chances of them being identified.

I prepared all the necessary documentation and arrived in the city where the writers worked in January 2019. I submitted my letter seeking permission to go ahead with my research to the local authority on 20th of January and thanks to the kindness and interest of the local branch of the MoE, I received the permission letter within two working days. I visited the

school where the writers were then working as a team. After several attempts at trying to set a meeting time for the interviews, I initially interviewed the editor working with the writing commission. When I visited to interview her, I also had the chance talk to other writers in person. As a result, I interviewed the whole team at the school on 22nd and 23rd January 2019.

However, after I completed the interviews, my application for conducting classroom observations and user interviews was later denied by the MoE without any further explanation. Therefore, I changed my plan in the way described in Section 2.10 and decided to change my focus to a study of textbook production only, interviewing writers working for a range of global publishing houses in an attempt to understand the industry from a wider perspective and make comparisons between different scenarios and circumstances where textbooks are produced.

3.2.5.2 Global Authors

Contacting authors working for global publishing houses was an even greater challenge. After finding out the names of authors of the popular textbooks in the global market, I initially tried to contact authors of the books through their emails, but to no avail. I prepared a short letter introducing my project and calling for participants, asked some Facebook pages and groups to share them, but did not hear from anyone using this technique. Later on, thanks to supervisory advice and some recommendations from the authors who refused my request but were kind enough to offer advice on recruitment strategies, I decided to attend a conference where publishing companies attend and man stands to promote their products. I duly attended the 53rd IATEFL International Annual Conference and Exhibition held in Liverpool between 2nd and 6th April 2019.

Prior to the conference, I prepared a leaflet that gave potential participants information about my study and requested authors to contact me if they were interested (Appendix 1). I was

even fortunate enough to get my study announced at the end of some talks where the speakers very generously invited authors in the audience to participate in my study. During the conference, I visited all the stands manned by publishing houses, talked to authors, editors, marketing and promotion staff and asked them to contact me if they were interested in participating or to share the information with others who could be.

I left the conference with 29 promises to participate and even more business cards in my bag. I then e-mailed each of them. While 12 did not respond at all, two turned out to be authors working in a local market. I ended up with 19 authors/editors who responded to my e-mail and we agreed on a date for a Skype interview with 16 of them and a face-to-face interview with the remaining three. Later on, I emailed them further details explaining the purpose and scope of the research along with the interview questions. At the end of the e-mail exchanges that took well over a month, I interviewed one author in person, but had to cancel the remaining two face-to-face interviews due to authors being unavailable. In the first two attempts, both meetings were rescheduled and later cancelled as the writers wanted to drop out although I emphasized that I was happy to wait until they become available. I was only able to conduct a Skype interview with eight publishing insiders in the end. I wanted to conduct as many interviews as possible via Skype instead of meeting in person to reduce the carbon footprint of this study and it was the only way the writers would be able to participate due to availability, time and geographical constraints.

The interviews with almost all of the participants in the global context were conducted via videoconferencing. This was due to several reasons. Firstly, the participants were located in different countries and continents, where I would not be able to travel due to financial and time constraints, as well as because of my wish to keep my carbon footprint low. Secondly, in our increasingly online world, a person may feel most relaxed and willing to participate by

being in their own environment for the interview. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018), an 'online interview' could refer to audio and video or audio only conferences, a combination of texts and visuals (i.e., questions or prompts presented in writing or as visuals such as tables, figures, images, etc), or text-based only, or an open-ended questionnaire accessed online. For reasons such as the absence of the researcher, and that they allow participants to sit comfortably in their own environment, it is speculated that online interviews may yield the best results (Rose et. al., 2019). It is also speculated that virtual interviews can be, in some cases, more productive than face-to-face interviews as long as measures to minimize distractions are taken. Although text-only and audio-only interviews are criticised as they result in the displacement of time and space, and non-verbal cues are missed, face-to-face video conversations are also enabled in video calls which provide useful scaffolding to facilitate understanding between people (James and Busher, 2009). So, during the single face-to-face interview, the participant only mentioned and described the content of documents and books where relevant while the writers I interviewed on Skype could simply drag the file to the chat screen and share it with me, which enabled me to see, refer to, and view again the document whenever I needed.

By preferring a video-chat program that enables document sharing, and a chat window that enables the sharing of links and texts (Skype in my case), I experienced no disadvantages because of conducting virtual interviews when I compare my experience to the interview I conducted by physically meeting the participants. They were still able to see the prompt cards in front of them, and they had access to books, documents and drafts in their working environment. Conducting the interviews online was practically easier and technically richer as the participants also had access to the electronic files stored on their computer (which is almost every document they have as they work freelance) and sharing or reading them aloud were made easier in the virtual format. During the only interview for the global context

which was not virtual, I visited the participant in their home where we sat on a table and talked, with all the relevant documents in their computer, which was off. Therefore, unlike the virtual interviews, the computer was never accessed or the documents never shared with me.

As a result of the process, I interviewed 17 participants who have been working as either a writer or editor in a local or international context. As I aimed to find out the factors that influence why textbooks are the way they are, I attempted to gather accounts of authors and editors working to provide material for (i) a local or (ii) a global context (a ministry of education and for global publishing houses). To provide a better picture of the scope of the present research and the participants, I developed a profile of the authors including their experience in teaching and material writing, class levels taught and academic qualifications. All of the participants held degrees in disciplines related to the English language (e.g., English/American Literature or English Language Teaching). A summary of local and global textbook authors' profiles can be found in Table 2 below. Profile information is given only in general terms and details like gender and specific qualifications are omitted to protect identities.

Participant	Years of Experience	Level of Education	Participant	Years of experience	Level of Education
LA1	8	PhD	GA1	20+	PhD
LA2	5	MA	GA2	20+	MA
LA3	8	MA	GA3	8	BA
LA4	3	BA	GA4	20+	PhD
LA5	4	BA	GA5	15	BA
LA6	2	BA	GA6	20+	BA

LA7	15+	***BA***	***GA7***	15	**BA**
LA8	2	***BA***	***GA8***	20+	**BA**
			GA9	15	**MA**

Table 2 Profiles of participants

3.2.6 The Dataset
3.2.6.1 Interviews

As explained above, I ended up with a total of 17 publishing insiders, consisting of a local writing team of eight people working for the ministry of education of a country in the Middle East, and another nine authors who work in-house or freelance for different global publishing houses around the world. The interviews were audio-recorded, totalling some 26.7 hours (1604 mins) in duration. Table 3 shows the durations for interviews for each participant.

Participant	**Duration of interview**	*Participant*	**Duration of interview**
LA1	01:15:07	***GA1***	02:04:17
LA2	01:28:11	***GA2***	02:25:00
LA3	01:32:59	***GA3***	03:04:44
LA4	47:43	***GA4***	02:28:03
LA5	43:58	***GA5***	01:41:48
LA6	55:28	***GA6***	01:36:22
LA7	38:09	***GA7***	01:15:44
LA8	48:35	***GA8***	01:36:22
		GA9	01:33:14

Table 3 Duration of interviews

While the interviews with the local writing team lasted between 38 minutes and slightly over one hour and a half, the duration of the interviews conducted with writers working for global

publishers ranged from 75 minutes to over three hours. One of the interviews was divided into two parts to prevent fatigue, but the rest of them were completed at one sitting as it would have be more inconvenient for the participants to arrange another meeting within their busy schedule. This reveals one of the important features of semi-structured interviews. As the table indicates, they were all different from each other in terms of the questions asked and the answers given except for the similarity in the topics covered. Follow-ups questions and probes, together with the personal interests of writers influenced the duration of the interview. For instance, while one participant was more interested in taboo topics and expressed their opinions, shared memories and previous experience about this topic, another participant was only able to briefly answer this question with only one or two examples.

3.2.6.2 Documents

During the interviews, the participants were asked to share any documents that could support and enhance the discussion. I had to verbally reiterate the guarantee of anonymity detailed in the participant sheet and consent form (see section 3.2.7 below) and create rapport to convince them to share relevant documents with me as they are highly confidential. Five of the participants kindly and voluntarily shared 24 documents related to how textbooks are written, such as author guidelines provided by the publishing houses, draft units, documents showing the feedback received from readers, rationales for units and sections or whole projects, pedagogical and philosophical approach statements from publishers, and taboo topics to avoid in textbooks to be marketed in different contexts. The document data corpus is described below. The documents are described without association to the participants who shared them to ensure anonymity. As a result of my requests before and during the interviews, I received the documents described in Table 4:

NAME	CONTENT	PAGES
DOCUMENT 1	Author guidelines and writing philosophy by publisher for a sample unit, describing classroom activities, extra practice exercises, communication and grammar points for each unit	3
DOCUMENT 2	Introduction section of a document titled 'teacher notes' and tips for each unit in a book as part of a teachers' book. The section includes the rationale for the design of the book (aims, level), and provides teachers with tips to make the most of the book regarding topics such as classroom management, how to practise grammar, how to complete a listening/speaking task, etc.	20
DOCUMENT 3	Summary of approach and writing philosophy of a publisher on topics such as respecting learners as individuals, how their curriculum is made inclusive and respectful.	1
DOCUMENT 4	Summary of writing philosophy and approach for a publisher describing their institutional rationale, philosophy and pedagogical approach to material writing.	4
DOCUMENT 5	Editor brief provided by a publisher to inform the project editor of target level, key features, context, workflow for the project and course structure.	4
DOCUMENT 6	Author brief provided by a publishing body to inform the writers within the project of target level, key features, context, workflow for the project and course structure.	5
DOCUMENT 7	Draft unit and content page prepared with the main rationale of diversity and inclusion, representing people from	8

	different backgrounds and lifestyles and which encourages discussions on these.	
DOCUMENT 8	Draft unit and content page prepared with the main rationale of diversity and inclusion, representing people from different backgrounds and lifestyles and which encourages discussions on these.	8
DOCUMENT 9	Draft unit and content page prepared with the main rationale of diversity, equality and inclusion, representing people from different backgrounds and lifestyles and which encourages discussions on these.	8
DOCUMENT 10	A complete draft of a student textbook in PDF format showing feedback received on the draft version for each page.	131
DOCUMENT 11	A document that includes feedback on a draft version of a learners' book regarding the design and artwork.	2
DOCUMENT 12	A guide provided by a publisher on cultural sensitivities, including their rationale and topics to avoid.	20
DOCUMENT 13	A framework providing a set of learning objectives for learners at all stages (CEFR A1 to C2) for use of English, and listening and speaking skills.	19
DOCUMENT 14	Draft unit that represents elements from different cultures	4
DOCUMENT 15	Draft unit that represents elements from different cultures	9
DOCUMENT	Draft unit that represents elements from different cultures	9

16		
DOCUMENT 17	Draft unit that represents elements from different cultures	9
DOCUMENT 18	Cultural brief by publisher identifying topics to avoid	1
DOCUMENT 19	Cultural brief by publisher identifying topics to avoid for the Middle Eastern countries with topical categories such as behaviours, animals, food, etc.	6
DOCUMENT 20	Cultural guidelines for a Middle Eastern country with topical categories such as interpersonal relationships, countries, politics, etc.	4
DOCUMENT 21	Checklist for cultural sensitivities to consider in six main target markets with a topic-based categorisation	8
DOCUMENT 22	Project brief for a textbook series including the targeted learner age and level, syllabus, and sample unit structures.	7
DOCUMENT 23	Table of values showing which value is to be taught in each unit of the book with unit names and types of activities.	2
DOCUMENT 24	Table of values showing which value is to be taught in each unit of the book with suggestions on types of activities.	1

Table 4 Descriptions of documents provided by authors

The documents were requested from the participants during and before the interviews, and were downloaded, reviewed and stored on my password-protected computer straight after each interview. Short notes were taken on each document regarding what discussion it was shared to support or exemplify and any particular information the participant gave about the documents. The complete data set of documents consisted of 292 pages.

The documents are all related to the topics of discussion covered in the interview. Generally speaking, the documents can be categorised into three main topics: cultural briefs provided by publishers indicating sensitivities to consider for different markets, general author/editor guidelines providing information about the scope and sequence, workflow and writing philosophy for projects, and sample/draft units that the writers claimed were written with intercultural communicative competence or representation of different cultures in mind. The documents were closely read and analysed to triangulate the findings of the interviews, and support and enrich the discussion. For instance, in response to a question about the techniques and strategies writers employed to enhance adaptability, one of the writers described the procedures they followed, which included suggesting ideas to teachers for different classroom scenarios in teachers' notes, and generously provided a sample section from the teachers' notes they prepared for a textbook series (Document 2). The content of this document is duly described within the discussion related to the topic of strategies for enhancing adaptability (See Section 4.6.2.2.2).

3.2.7   Ethical Considerations

The ethical treatment of participants is prominent in qualitative studies as it plays an important role in judging qualitative research (Locke et al., 2007). The present study was designed and conducted considering the ethical issues that could arise regarding participants' rights and dignity, privacy and confidentiality and data storage and security. Prior to taking any action regarding the steps of the study, I submitted my application to the Ethics Committee of The University of Sheffield outlining the procedures I would follow to ensure that my study conforms to the fundamental principles governing research ethics along with the objectives, scope and applicability of the Research Ethics Policy of the university. The application was approved on condition that I adhered to my information sheet and consent form which outlined the title of the study, its rationale and purpose, use and storage of data,

etc. (Appendices 2 and 3). These documents provided the participants with information about the details of the study, assurances regarding the anonymity of participants, how and why the data would be collected, stored and destroyed. Participants were fully informed about the study's purpose and audience, as well as what their agreement to participate entailed, so that they could decide whether they wished to participate willingly and voluntarily or not (Rallis and Rossman 2009:273). They were reminded once more before the interview that they could withdraw at any point or decline to answer any question they wished.

Due to the fact that publishing insiders generally do not openly talk about industry practices, anonymity was at the forefront of conversations I had with participants. I assured them that their identity would not be revealed, and that the names of any company or person they shared with me would also be anonymised in reporting the data. Therefore, I was particularly interested in the question of anonymity and confidentiality regarding research ethics in the literature and in policy documents (BAAL, 2016; Wiles et al., 2007). This is because textbooks, by their very nature, are available to the public when it comes to information such as names of the authors, editors, publishing house, the year they were published, etc., as these are selling points that the companies want the market to know. To this end, I made the following decisions to ensure anonymity and confidentiality to the best of my abilities:

-Textbook content mentioned and documents shared by the participants are only described and summarized; no units, pages, titles or exercises are reproduced.

-Numbers such as total years of experience in writing and teaching are reported as round figures as there are not many publishing insiders who have as many years of experience as some of my participants and accurately reporting this information would make it easier to identify them.

-Gendered pronouns referring to the participants in the present study may have been changed. That is, some male participants were reported as female and vice versa.

-No companies, textbook series, publishers or particular markets were named in association with any of the participants where I thought there was any possibility that doing so would give clues regarding the identity of the participant.

-All data collected for the present study were safely stored on my password-protected computer and not even uploaded to any sort of cloud accounts for the sake of security and confidentiality.

-As there are not many writing commissions in the Middle East working for ministries of education, I avoided reporting some details such as name of the country, or reproducing the permissions and official documents required for conducting the interview; and related field experiences are excluded from this section for the same purpose. These are stored on my password protected computer ready to be submitted to any authority that may require further information with regard to reliability, validity and the ethics of this study.

Through these steps that were followed from the first day of the study, I tried my best to keep my promise of anonymity and confidentiality. Any sections that were considered confidential by the participants themselves during or after the interview were either excluded from the data or reported by avoiding mentioning some topics or names in accordance with their requests. Lastly, I also offered to send participants a copy of the transcripts of their interviews to give them a better picture of how they presented information. Without exception, they said that they were happy with the content and instead wished to see the thesis when completed. Therefore, once this thesis has been passed by its examiners, I will email a copy of the manuscript to the participants.

No other issues were raised in the data collection process of this study.

3.2.8 Trustworthiness of the research

Trustworthiness is defined 'as a set of standards that demonstrates that a research study has been conducted competently and ethically' (Rallis and Rossman, 2009:264). By observing these standards, readers and reviewers are convinced that the study has merit and value, which means that results of the study can be considered credible, worth taking account of and therefore potentially useful to guide further research and practice in the field (Rallis and Rossman, 2009). Ways of establishing trustworthiness and credibility for the research have long been discussed in qualitative methodology. While trustworthiness is the standard for assessing the overall quality of qualitative studies (Cohen et al., 2011), the terms reliability, validity, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability fall under this umbrella term and are used in both quantitative and qualitative approaches to describe the standards observed in design and interpretation of the research.

In a qualitative approach, the quality of research is usually considered in terms of its reliability and validity. The positivist term of reliability refers to the consistency of interpretations elicited about the phenomena that the study sets out to measure (Norris and Ortega, 2003). Validity, on the other hand, refers to the extent to which the results of a study accurately answer the research questions (Loewen and Plonsky, 2016). Depending on the nature of the study, there are multiple ways to ensure or contribute to the trustworthiness of a study. The most commonly suggested techniques are (i) triangulation, i.e., elaboration of data through using multiple data sources, methods, or theoretical perspectives, (ii), community of practice, i.e., engaging in critical and sustained discussion with research supervisor or colleagues, (iii) participant validation, i.e., sharing descriptions and analyses with the participants if possible (iv) personal perspective, i.e., indicating the researcher's subjective

interests, potential biases, and strengths, and (v) humility, i.e., ensuring reasonable claims, and acknowledgement of other possible viewpoints (Rallis and Rossman, 2009).

The present research (i) relies on multiple sources of data (interviews and documents), (ii) supervisory guidance and feedback have been received at all stages of design and interpretation. In addition, (iii) participants will receive a copy of the thesis when complete (and were offered the opportunity to view interview transcripts early in the analysis stage, which they declined), and (iv) I have provided a short summary of my background and all potential biases it may bring. Lastly, (v) all of the claims made in the present study appear to me to be reasonable and findings may not necessarily be generalisable beyond its scope.

One of the most popular techniques used for ensuring validity of qualitative research is inter-rater reliability. This refers to the degree of consistency with which data excerpts are assigned to the same coding category by different observers (Silverman, 2005: 224). In order to ensure that the final analytic framework represents a credible account of the data and achieve inter-coder reliability in the interview codes, I asked one of my colleagues to code a sample set of data at the end of the second cycle of the coding process before finalising my codes and themes and continuing to refine the themes for discussion. The coder was another PhD student in the area of TESOL and language education, and was in a later stage of her research having completed data analysis and coded interviews for her own project. The rationale for coding and descriptions of themes were provided prior to coding and inter-coder agreement was achieved for all codes included in the finalised codebook by merging themes where necessary and exclusion of some units of data. Further details with regard to the implementation of inter-rater reliability are given in Section 3.2.12.4.

Other ways of adding rigour to a research project and ensuring that it does not only report "merely subjective assertions" are to provide detailed explanations of how (i) the data were collected and analysed, (ii) participants were selected, (iii) data collection instruments are designed, (iv) the study changed (where applicable), (v) interpersonal relationships were developed with participants, as well as detailed descriptions of procedures followed for analysis and interpretation of data and reporting of findings (Ballinger and Wiles, 2006:235). The present study offers detailed explanations at all of these stages. As suggested by Stringer and Genat (2004:59), I offer an 'inquiry audit' of the research for readers and reviewers by explaining the processes for defining the research questions, conducting the data collection and analysis, and making reports available.

Developing appropriate relationships with participants is another way of ensuring the trustworthiness of a research study (Cohen et al., 2011). At the early stages of the present research, I noticed that there were grounds to think that the writers may hesitate to share their true opinions and practices. For instance, only five participants were comfortable enough to share documents with me. Occasionally, I needed to emphasize the anonymous nature of participation in my project and that none of the participants, companies, or personnel would be named during reporting of the findings for them to share their actual experiences when they signalled that they had something to share but hesitated to do so (e.g., one of the participants said 'I assume you will report this without naming the publisher and the book?').

Secondly, my position as a researcher (described in more detail in Section 3.2.3) was often perceived as a novice researcher knowledgeable on TESOL material research investigating the dynamics of the industry, and this influenced my relationship with the participants. To exemplify the point, while answering the questions regarding if and to what extent TESOL material research is followed and considered by writers, I felt that participants believed they

needed to give a positive response to save their face. This was because they were of the opinion that they should claim that they needed to stay abreast of research findings to a PhD student immersed in the research. This was suggested, for example, when it came to discussing authoring material that could be easily adapted by teachers: although some participants said they always tried to enhance adaptability of textbooks, they failed to exemplify or describe their techniques to do so. Therefore, I attempted to collect data from multiple sources to increase the trustworthiness of the present study.

In summary, to enhance the trustworthiness of the present study,

(i) efforts were made to treat the research participants ethically,

(ii) detailed explanations of how the research instruments were designed, how participants were selected and how the data were collected are provided,

(iii) a detailed description of the changes in the original research design and methodology is provided,

(iv) my personal perspective was described, and potential biases were identified,

(v) multiple sources of data were used,

(vi) I received several rounds of critical supervisory feedback on my research design, instruments, and coding and analysis procedures which acted as mechanism for ensuring both the quality and methodological rigor of the research,

(vii) an inter-rater reliability check was employed during the data analysis process to ensure accuracy in the coding of data.

3.2.9   Changes in research design and methodology

As mentioned above in Section 3.2.5, I wanted to investigate every step in the in the planning, development, and use of a textbook that is currently being used. For this purpose, I

intended to interview the authorial team, then observe the lessons in which the book was being used, and interview the users regarding the material and its use. This procedure would help identify the gaps between the images of the textbook in the minds of the writers and users, enabling me to study how accurate their assumptions were about the users and the way they thought their material would work inside the classroom. Findings potentially would also have shed light onto the areas where there is room for improvement in the ways textbooks are produced and used. This was my initial plan when I started collecting data. My initial research questions were as follows:

1-Whose culture do the two language teaching textbooks reflect, and how? Why are TESOL textbooks the way they are in the level and aspect of culture they represent?

2-How and why do teachers and students treat the cultural/ideological content in language teaching textbooks? What, if anything, would they prefer to be done differently in the textbook and in class?

3-To what extent does the expected curriculum in the minds of textbook writers/editors become the enacted curriculum?

To answer these research questions, I had prepared a workflow consisting of six main steps: (i) content analysis of textbooks written by the authorial team, (ii) interviewing the writers regarding the content and their idea of how the materials would be enacted inside the classroom, (iii) re-running the content analysis for confirmation and enhancement of interview findings, (iv) classroom observations to see how materials are actually used (v) interviewing students, and (vi) interviewing teachers about their beliefs and attitudes about the content and what took place during the lesson. This holistic approach would help fill an existing knowledge gap in EFL textbook research regarding the extent to which intended

curriculum turns into enacted curriculum in EFL classrooms with a primary focus on cultural/ideological content.

Based on the above design, I decided to interview this team of writers and base the questions on a recent book they had written for the local context, where the book was being used at the time. I downloaded the textbook series, analysed the content, extracted some pages I thought would be useful as prompts during the interviews, and designed my questions accordingly. I did a pilot study to find out the level and aspect of the cultural representations in the books. Once I completed my pilot study and received supervisory feedback and approval on the final version of my interview schedule, I completed the second phase of my then-planned workflow, which was interviewing the authors.

However, after I completed the interviews, my application for conducting classroom observations and user interviews was denied by the local MoE. Therefore, I needed to change my plan. Considering the data I had collected and aiming to make the most of it, I decided to alter my research to focus on production only instead of the holistic approach I had initially planned. I had already collected useful data from publishing insiders on topics I wanted to cover. I decided to add to my interviews with local textbook writers by also interviewing writers working for a range of global publishing houses in order to understand the industry from a wider perspective and make comparisons between different scenarios and circumstances where textbooks are produced.

Thanks to supervisory feedback and a series of revisions, I finalised my adjustments to the interview schedule I would use with the global authors and began looking for participants working for any global publishing house. The changes were not radical, but aimed to shift the focus of the interview from including questions on consumption to a focus on production only, with the exception of three content questions where I showed the writers material from

their own books and asked (i) what they thought would take place inside the classroom regarding the enactment of that particular page, (ii) teacher and student behaviours they expected with regard to the content, and (iii) if they would change the material in any way if they were writing the content at the time of the interview with total control of the publishing process. This is because I would not be able to observe classrooms for comparison. I updated my interview guide, excluded the consumption questions and added five open-ended questions focusing on the production process, and on writers' accounts on current issues discussed within the TESOL material research. For example, I replaced the question where I showed an excerpt from their own book and asked 'What do you think the students will think and do when they turn this page?', with another question where I gave participants a prompt card summarising the current discussion about cultural content in TESOL materials and asked the participants about their opinions and practices about that topic. The new prompt card stated that 'ELT textbooks often represent cultures by taking a 'tourist's perspective' as they focus on topics such as 'food' and 'transport' (extracted from Yuen, 2011:463), inviting interviewees' reactions to this statement. (See Appendices 5 for the interview schedule used in the local context and Appendix 6 for the updated version, and Appendix 7 for prompt cards used in the interviews). I also altered my research questions as follows:

(i)   Why are TESOL materials culturally the way they are?

   a.   *To what extent is the content determined by authors?*

   b.   *What are reasons for compromise in textbook production in local vs. global settings?*

(ii)   How aware is the TESOL publishing industry of scholarly research on textbooks?

   a.   *To what extent is this research taken into account when producing textbooks? Why?*

3.2.10 Pilot Study

The second factor that led to changes with regard to design of the interviews and my approach and position as an interviewer and was very eye-opening in many ways was piloting. I benefited from piloting in numerous ways. Firstly, it offered me the opportunity to gain awareness of and improve my interview technique. For instance, I noticed that the ability to ask follow-up questions and probes based on what participants say (Dörnyei, 2007:138) is an essential skill in eliciting detailed and further information where possible or necessary. As I gained more experience by doing several interviews, I was able to maintain a flexible approach to the participants and the topic rather than being strictly bound to the interview guide. The awareness of my positionality as a researcher and that I was there to listen helped me follow and elicit interesting and particular developments (Richards, 2003: 53). I noticed that interviews are easier said than done in both preparation and practice, and that it takes a lot of practice, feedback and introspection to gain expertise. Every participant has a different background, expectation of the interview, perception on their role, face, tone and voice. These are relevant factors because, as the interviewer, I tried to read body language and use that to help work out whether to intervene, ask probes, wait or ask the next question. Thus, maintaining alertness and flexibility and acting accordingly was a vital skill in the actual practice of conducting interviews.

In December 2018, to determine whether my questions were effective in generating enough data, I interviewed an ELT materials author and also a scholar in the field of TESOL I personally know and took notes. The interview took 69 minutes. I realised during this pilot interview that an author might sometimes not provide adequate information by giving general answers such as 'for a really long time' in response to a question of 'how long'. The ability to take the interview to a deeper level by asking for more details through follow-up questions required being highly attentive at all times but seemed to be the best solution to gather useful

data. To overcome this limitation, I decided to ask follow-up questions and developed an understanding of what kind of follow-up questions could be necessary. For example, in the pilot interview, when I asked the participant to 'tell me about their background', I was expecting them to address topics such as when and how they started writing, the projects they had been involved with and what they are currently doing. As I noticed that some of the information could be left unaddressed, I decided to include follow-up questions that acted both as a checklist and reminder during the interviews for each question. I asked the follow-up questions to intervene where the interviewee went too far off-topic and to make sure the answer covered the relevant information. For instance, the follow-ups for the first question about the participant's background were as follows:

1: How did you start?

2: How long have you been working in the industry?

3. Do you have any teaching experience?

The process of piloting helped me clarify the average duration of an interview in which I would cover all the key areas and topics that I aimed to cover. After piloting my interview guide, I noticed that it had the potential to get too long, which would consume the interest and energy of the participant before I finished asking some of my content questions. So, I would need to interrupt when the interviewee went too off-topic. As a result, I modified and reordered my questions for a seamless flow and decided on communicative strategies for introducing a new question and interruption where necessary. For instance, once I was convinced that the participant finished answering the first question, I said 'now, I would like to ask a few questions about the textbook publishing industry and how it works' to signpost the shift and introduce the next theme. (see Appendices 4 and 5 for comparison).

3.2.11 Research field work phases

The interviews in this research were conducted in two phases. Firstly, textbook authors working for a local market were interviewed. Secondly, authors working for different global publishers that produce materials for the international market were interviewed to understand and compare similarities and differences between local vs. global contexts and circumstances. However, as the study was re-designed after the first phase of interviews, a revision of the interview schedule and a second round of participant recruitment was also necessary, which delayed the second phase of interviews.

While the first group of authors were interviewed in the same location on 22nd and 23rd of January 2019, the participants working for global publishers were recruited at the IATEFL 2019 conference, which took place in April 2019, and the interviews were conducted on different days between 14th of August 2019 and 18th September 2019. Only one of the interviews with the authors working for global publishers was conducted face-to-face. The rest of them were virtual interviews as most of the participants were in different countries and continents. Once the last interview was completed, the interviews were transcribed in their entirety verbatim, retaining the original structure of the interview with questions and answers.

I conducted my last interview with an author who had over twenty years of international experience in material production both in local markets and the global publishing industry, but the conversation did not spark any new insights on the topics covered in the interview. Seeing that I had only heard only a few new examples of taboos in the second last interview as well, I decided that I had reached the data saturation point and stopped collecting data (Charmaz, 2006).

In summary, the fieldwork in the present research started in December 2018 with the first pilot interview and ended in September 2019 with the last interview in the second phase of interviews conducted with authors working for global publishers. Once the interviews were completed, the process of preparing data for analysis started.

3.2.12 Data Analysis

Data analysis procedures in the present study consisted of analysis of interviews and qualitative content analysis of documents provided by participants. The following sections describe details of the procedures followed for data analysis and interpretation.

3.2.12.1   Interview Analysis

With regard to analysis of data, I followed the data analysis procedure described and recommended by Creswell and Creswell (2018:268). These steps are described in figure 2.
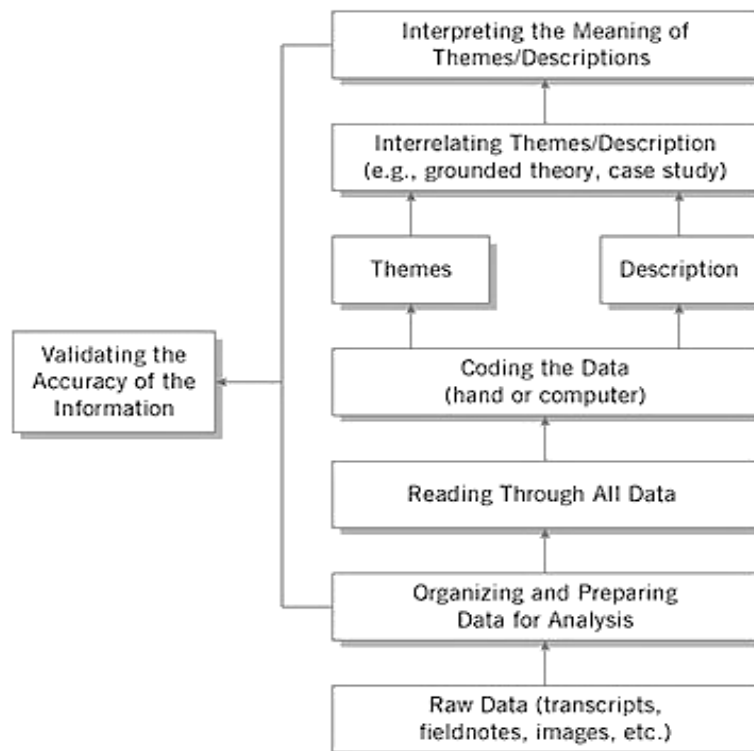
Figure 2 Data Analysis in Qualitative Research (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:269)

The interviews were audio-recorded, totalling some 26.7 hours (1604 mins) in duration, and were later transcribed in full in a Microsoft Word format. The complete data corpus was prepared and I organised the data in categories based on data forms (interviews vs. documents) and research sites (local vs. global) to make it more manageable (Esterberg, 2002). As recommended by Cohen et al. (2011), I converted all transcriptions and notes to electronic format, and saved multiple copies. I ended up with a data organisation format as follows (Figure 3):
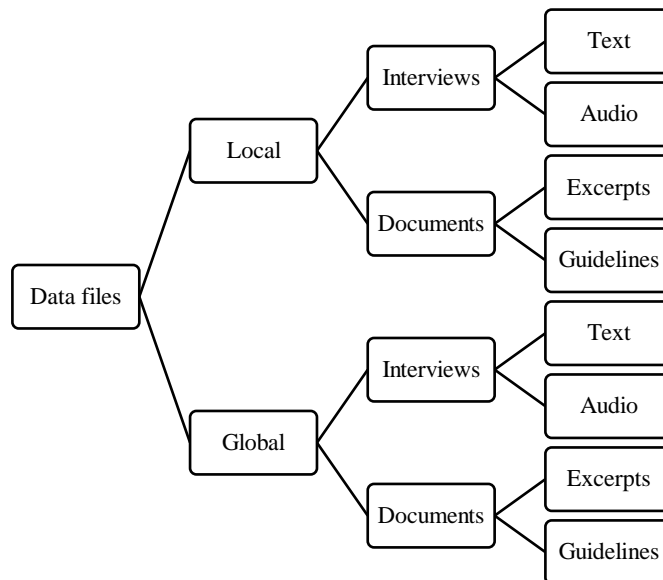
Figure 3 Organisation of the data

The interview transcripts were then transferred to NVivo 12 for the coding stage, which is described in the following section.

3.2.12.2   Coding

Coding involves segmenting sentences, phrases or paragraphs within interviews into categories and labelling those categories with a term, which is usually based on an expression used by respondents (referred to as an *in vivo* term; Creswell and Creswell, 2018:269). I employed a middle-order holistic coding perspective, "somewhere between holistic and line-

by-line" (Saldaña, 2009:118). I employed a middle order approach because I already had a general idea – obtained from the review of the literature – of which broad thematic areas and which main themes could occur and I did not need to start with word or sentence level coding as I knew where to look for what. In addition, the present study involves the analysis of multiple data forms, interviews and documents, and a holistic approach that is informed by key topics of the research that enables a middle order coding seems to be very appropriate for these kinds of qualitative studies as noted by Saldaña (2009:142) who cites Bazeley (2007:67) and states that 'holistic coding is applicable when the researcher already has a general idea of what to investigate in the data, or "to 'chunk' the text into broad topic areas, as a first step to seeing what is there" (Bazeley, 2007:67). Single holistic codes (either in vivo or descriptive) were applied to text segments of different lengths that provided clues as to what the textbook writers said regarding their thoughts, behaviours and opinions.

As most questions in the interview guide were based on the relevant literature, I had tentative ideas in mind about what emergent codes may be, which were also shaped during the interviews and transcription as I underlined stretches of the text of different lengths that captured my interest while transcribing the interviews, as suggested by Saldaña (2009). Therefore, the nature of the interviews I prepared and the process of transcription helped establish the main themes. My tentative/initial themes, that were based on the review of the literature, my field notes and observations while conducting and transcribing the interviews, were supported by closer reading of the whole data corpus when coding. I used NVivo 12 for analysis as it provides storage of data and codes, easy access and enables the separation of developing themes under 'nodes' and enables the researcher to group information and create themes from interviews appropriately under these nodes. The broad areas that I expected to investigate were:

-textbook writing as a profession (writers' backgrounds, how they started, what they like or dislike about the profession, etc.)

-textbook as a product (the phases of production, strengths and weaknesses of the industry, decision making, priorities and concerns, etc.)

-where the industry is in terms of TESOL material research (writers' awareness, opinions and practices on topics discussed in material research)

-beliefs (writers' expectations in relation to allegations and discussions in the relevant literature shaped by studies that problematise and criticise textbook content)

I began coding with these major themes and 'expected codes' (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:270) in mind, and therefore created initial nodes accordingly. Closer reading of the data extracts therein led to development of new nodes, sub-themes and themes. The first phase of coding resulted in a total of sixty-four inductive nodes, under fifteen thematic categories, which shaped four macro-themes. As a result of the first cycle of coding, I ended with four sub-themes and main themes, which were still the same as above. To exemplify, out of the four main themes, the sub-themes for textbook writing as an occupation were as follows:

Textbook Writing as an Occupation
- How they started
    - Met someone at a conference
    - Invited by an author friend
- The way they work
    - In-house or freelance working conditions
    - Recruitment process
    - Training
- Teaching experience
    - Levels taught
    - Years of experience
    - Contexts they worked in
    - How, if in any way, teaching experience facilitates writing
- Pros and cons of being a writer
    - Pros
    - Cons
- Requirements and what it takes

- o Commitment
- o Team work
- o Punctuality
- o Effective communicative skills

In addition to these expected codes, new nodes also appeared during the first cycle of coding process, which were mostly in-vivo codes which did not fit into any existing codes. The categorisation and interrelation of these emerging codes were dealt with within the second cycle of coding, as described in the next section.

3.2.12.3 Second cycle coding

As noted earlier, 16 new in-vivo codes such as *every class is different, content is as important as language, it paid for my house, never sold a single copy* also appeared in the code list as I proceeded with the analysis. These emerging codes were either categorised under the existing codes by modifying the definition to include the topic, or were interrelated and listed under a new and separate code in their own right.

Once the categorisation was completed, I studied the list of existing descriptive and in-vivo codes to identify links between them. Charmaz (2006:60) refers to this process as axial coding, which she defines as an application that "relates categories to subcategories, specifies the properties and dimensions of a category, and reassembles the data the researcher has fractured to give coherence to emerging categories". That is, redundancies and similarities were identified by comparing each piece of data coded under a category with other codes under the same category and other categories. During this comparative process, some codes were subsumed by other codes, some others were dropped all together, and a coding manual consisting of 59 codes was generated. Once I reviewed the whole data corpus again with the alphabetised codes at hand, I finalised the themes, described them and created a map of interrelations and prepared an outline for my narrative of findings as presented in Chapter 4

and 5 (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). With all codes clearly defined and categorised, I applied my codebook to the data one last time, to finalise the coding process.

As a result of the last round of coding and the process of re-sorting the codes, no ambiguity was detected and the codes were clustered together according to similar concepts. I ended up with the following four main themes (see Appendix 9 for the final version of the complete code book):

-Textbook writing as a profession

-Textbook as a socially constructed product and a commercial artefact

-The industry and TESOL material research

-Expected teacher qualities and practices

Instead of working manually on printed transcripts, which I believe needs to end in the interests of a greener academia and TESOL (one page printed produces 1 gram of carbon dioxide), I found it more helpful to work on a wide computer screen to view multiple documents simultaneously to detect similarities and differences, enabling quicker coding and transfer of data extracts and tables.

3.2.12.4   Inter-coder reliability

Once I coded the interviews again with the final version of my codebook, I asked another researcher in the field of TESOL to code a random part of my data using my nodes for inter-coder reliability. The coder was a final year PhD student working on qualitative data for her own thesis and had recently completed the stages of coding and inter-rater reliability for her own study. I shared two randomly selected interview transcripts that I had coded from local and global settings and my nodes, along with short descriptions as exemplified in Table 5.

Node	Definition
Theme: Expectations	*What authors expect regarding teacher behaviours and qualities*
Teacher behaviour	*Things a teacher would be expected to do*
Adaptation	*Adaptation behaviours and preferences*
Resistance	*Behaviours of resistance to inappropriate content*
Teacher qualities	*Qualities a teacher would be expected to do possess*
Awareness on local culture	The extent to which they expect teachers to know the local cultural sensitivities
Proficiency and fluency	How linguistically and pedagogically proficient and fluent teachers are expected to be

Table 5 Sample nodes and descriptions

As a result of the coding, we had two types of disputes regarding (i) if the data coded under the nodes were correct (i.e., coding the data with the right node), and (ii) how existing nodes were organised (i.e., overlapping or nodes that could be subsumed, or listed under a different theme, etc). As a result, before further discussions, we reached to agreement on 96.6% of my codes (57 out of 59) with regard to existing nodes, and 95.6% (89 out of 93) in the codes. I further explain the types of disagreements below along with examples and actions taken in response to these.

As for the first category of disagreements, I had 'levels taught' as a child node under the 'teaching experience' node. This child node was initially created with the purpose of understanding if the authors had teaching experience at the level they are writing for. However, not many participants gave details about the levels they had taught, and it would not be a significant finding. Therefore, it did not fit in my narrative and the coder recommended that I could remove the code, and I agreed. In another example, I had 'awareness of local culture' as a separate node under 'expectations' since the 'teacher qualities' child node consisted of sections where participants described what they would expect from teachers using their books with regard to language proficiency, fluency, and dependency on textbook. She suggested that cultural awareness could also be considered as a 'teacher quality' and it could be merged into the related node. Seeing that it was positioned as

a teacher quality expectation in my narrative of findings, I duly merged the 'awareness on local culture' under the 'teacher qualities' node.

In the second category, the second coder suggested that the codes did not reflect the node in three instances. In one of my questions, I asked the participants what they would expect a teacher to do when they think the content is culturally or ideologically inappropriate. However, while answering the question, the participant described what they think a teacher 'should do' rather than what they think teachers actually would. This was the case in one more code within the same interview and I therefore uncoded those parts of the transcript. In another instance, in response to a follow-up question asking about their level of awareness regarding the discussions within the relevant literature, the participant explained the extent to which the industry takes research findings into account in writing textbooks. I had coded this under 'awareness of discussions' and the second coder suggested that the sentences were expressing the participants' opinion about other textbook authors or publishers rather than her experience or own practice. I made no changes to the coding in this instance, however, and explained to the coder that their beliefs were also part of my discussion and the answer contributed to my understanding of the current state of the industry. Lastly, one of the participants talked of a three-year job experience where she worked as a freelance writer of short stories and dramas for children. The coder suggested that this section could be coded under 'years of experience in writing'. However, I did not make the change she suggested as the 'experience in writing' code was intended to refer to experience in textbook writing and other types of creative writing were not relevant to my narrative or discussion. I explained the rationale behind the changes that I did not make and we agreed that all other codes were correct and accurate. I checked all other interviews for similar inaccurate codes and detected no other instances. Therefore, consequent to the discussion, we reached to 100% agreement on the coded data.

3.2.12.5 Content analysis

This method is defined as "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analysis rules and step by step models" (Mayring, 2000:2). As explained in section 3.2.4.2, the documents were summatively analysed and I aimed to detect any differences or similarities between local and global equivalent documents, and support the discussion about topics mentioned in the interviews (e.g., taboo topics listed in the documents or an illustration of feedback received by writers) and interpret the occurrences in relation to the context, which was shaped by the interviews in this case. I aimed to triangulate the findings, rather than the documents serving as an independent source of data. For instance, the document that consists of feedback received from readers on a draft version of a textbook page by page (Document 10) was analysed to confirm the interview findings where the participant described the type of feedback they received and how it contributed to the process of textbook writing.

3.2.13 Reporting the findings

Patton (2002:503) points out that the reporting stage needs to "provide sufficient descriptions to allow the reader to understand the basis for an interpretation, and sufficient interpretation to allow the reader to understand the description". However, while it can be relatively easy to provide sufficient details for some parts where using illustrative examples from the data is an option to justify conclusions, I faced a challenge related to ethics. As explained in section 3.2.7, for the sake of anonymity, no materials or documents provided by the participants were reproduced. I only described the content and what is on the page for exemplification and enrichment of the discussion.

With regard to interview findings and relating them to the research questions, I reported the findings through tables and figures based on the interviews, and direct quotes from the interviews to help the reader to understand the basis for each interpretation.

Gibbs (2007) identifies general guidelines for the use of quotations in a qualitative study. These were followed for the use of quotations from the interviews. According to these guidelines,

(i) Quotes should relate directly to the text (e.g, enhancing understanding of the respondent's world.),
(ii) Quotes should be contextualised (e.g., was it a response to a question or mentioned spontaneously?),
(iii) Quotes should be interpreted (What points do they support or qualify?),
(iv) Quotes and text should either be in balance or text should predominate,
(v) Quotes should be as brief as possible,
(vi) The most representative quote should be used if a number of respondents make the same point, and
(vii) Selected quotes should be used to illustrate the range if the responses include a range of views (Gibbs, 2007:97-8).

One last challenge was to separate what would go into the results section and what would go into the discussion. To aid my decision making, the following approach by Meloy (2002) was adopted:

> The rule I developed was level of abstraction: That which appeared as cold, clinical description (how many said what) went into the results section; that which was more story-like was included in the discussion section. To reduce the boredom of qualitative data presented in this way and enhance believability, I used a lot of examples and quotes in results, which was a lengthy chapter.
>
> (Meloy, 2002:12)

Findings of the present study were discussed in relation to the existing literature in material research regarding the content of TESOL materials, what has changed in the last decades about the planning, production and post-production phases of material publishing, the responses of publishing insiders to the charges levelled against textbooks in TESOL material

research, and as a result, I hope to offer a better understanding of the dynamics of textbook production industry to readers. While Chapter four includes the findings of the local context, Chapter five includes the findings of the global context.

3.2.14 Summary

The purpose of the present study was to explore why TESOL textbooks are the way they are and to what extent the industry is aware of the discussions within the TESOL material research and the extent to which they prioritise these research findings in production. The following were the main questions that guided the processes of research design and implementation:

(iii) Why are TESOL materials culturally the way they are?

     a. To what extent is the content determined by authors?

     b. What are reasons for compromise in textbook production in local vs. global settings?

(iv) How aware is the TESOL publishing industry of scholarly research on textbooks?

     a. To what extent is this research taken into account when producing textbooks? Why?

Eight textbook writers working for a local market hired by the government in a country in the Middle East, and nine writers working for a range of global publishing houses voluntarily participated in the study as a result of the recruitment process. Data were obtained through two types of sources: semi-structured interviews and documents provided by the participants. The interviews and documents were organised with respect to the context and type of data, and were analysed via (i) qualitative analysis of interviews using NVivo 12, and (ii) qualitative content analysis of documents.

The findings were reported and discussed in relation to the existing literature on TESOL materials—particularly culture and material production—in two separate chapters. While the general findings of the research in the local context are reported with regard to the research questions and discussed in Chapter four, Chapter five includes the results for the international context.

4   Results: Local Context
4.1 Introduction

In the local setting, there are different types of employment options available as a textbook writer: (i) as an in-house or freelance writer for a private local publishing house, or (ii) as a member of an authorial team employed by the ministry of education. The participants in the present thesis fall into the latter category. They are members of a team who are working as teachers at state schools, but were asked by the MoE to write textbooks as a result of some eligibility and availability criteria that will be described in detail later in section 4.2.

A particularly common type of textbook nowadays is that which is produced and authorized by a ministry of education. Instead of considering textbook publishing as a whole, I believe that evaluating the circumstances surrounding particular cases can result in a better understanding of why textbooks are the way they are. To begin with, I believe that textbooks are constructed as a result of the circumstances they are produced in (e.g., by whom, where, when and why) and the factors at play (e.g., working conditions, stakeholders, demands and needs). Hence, I present the results of the interviews regarding the following five main themes in understanding why textbooks are the way they are:

(i) Textbook writing as an occupation

(ii) Current state of the industry in the local context

(iii) Textbook as a product

(iv) Research and the textbook

(v) Writers' beliefs and expectations regarding user qualities and behaviours

4.2 Textbook writing as an occupation

One of the most salient issues to address regarding the nature of textbooks and why they are the way they are is the circumstances under which writers work and the materials are

produced. In order to gain an understanding of the circumstances, the participants were asked to describe their educational background, how they got involved in textbook writing, the way they work, and the terms and conditions in their work.

4.2.1   Getting Involved

Without exception, participants in the present study hold at least a bachelor's degree relevant to the English language (e.g., English Language Teaching, English Language and Literature, American Culture and Literature). Prior to becoming a textbook writer, they were all working as English language teachers in state high schools and universities. The ministry decided to form a team of authors to write TESOL textbooks to be used in state schools across the country. For this purpose, ministry staff contacted potential writers that they already knew from previous projects and asked them to form a team of authors from schoolteachers. Except for the team leader and editor, who were contacted as a result of a previous project, they were all 'recommended by a friend already in the team'.

4.2.2   Formation of The Team

The team leader had been a member of a team of authors who wrote a series of TESOL textbooks previously, and the books were reportedly received positively by users and ministry officials. Although the book was replaced with another textbook in the following years, the team leader was contacted again later with a request to form a new team of authors for prospective textbook projects, as he describes in the following quote:

> **LA 2**: […] They later replaced the books but whoever used it in that time liked them a lot. We received e-mails and compliments stating that the book was the best they had seen lately. So… They kept our names in mind, apparently. When the process restarted, they called us back in 2011-2012 and asked us to build a team. We also wanted to build this team but it was very tough. But we still managed to find the right people and built the team from our friends working at universities and state schools. We chose people who had experience in this field, or… We asked them to write a reading or listening task and tested the way they work and approach. We evaluated them according to these. It was not

very academic but at least we went beyond randomly picking people. Eventually we had a team of quality writers.

At the request of the MoE, they started contacting teachers they knew and thought would make suitable additions to the team. As the time schedule was tight and they were also not sure what exactly to look for except related educational background, they built a team of authors from people they were able to reach and trust as they were responsible and accountable for the project. The following quote from one of the authors summarizes the selection process and criteria.

> **LA 6:** A friend of mine who had been a member of the team recommended me when they needed another author. They contacted me and hired me as a member of the team.
> **AY:** How did they choose you, was there any sort of test?
> **LA 6:** No. I guess things in this team work on the basis of people's trust in each other. They interviewed me very briefly and thought I was suitable for the role. And things were tight. It was a busy time.

Once the team was formed and the ministry was contacted to appoint them as authorial team members, they came together and started working on the books based on the guidelines provided by the MoE (see Section 4.4.1.1 for details). Only two members of the team had previous experience in textbook writing and they received no training in material production before or after they started. The authors developed their skills and gained experience by observing their experienced colleagues, trying to write short tasks and exercises and getting feedback as part of the team. As the team leader describes in the following quote, the chaos in the beginning lessened as time passed and they gained experience, which enabled a more systematic workflow.

> **LA 2:** […] Then we started working. Everyone was new back then. There was chaos as they came from schools. We had to get used to it quickly. Afterwards, we got involved, observed, tried, learnt.

4.2.3 Terms and Conditions

The team experienced very different working conditions as members of a textbook writing team compared with their previous role as language teachers. While their employment status and job title did not officially change, the team meets every day at a school where they work on the new project. When there are no active writing projects, the authors resume their jobs as schoolteachers. Although textbook writing duties bring additional roles and responsibilities which sometimes means working overtime, travelling to the capital city several times a month, and has its own challenges, they receive no extra payment for writing. LA 3 and LA 5 describe the situation in the following quotes.

> **AY**: Are you paid extra for this role?
> **LA 3**: For textbook writing?
> **AY**: Yes.
> **LA 3**: No.
> **AY**: You only receive the teachers' wage?
> **LA 3**: The teachers' wage and nothing except that.
> **AY**: Is that all?
> **LA 3**: Yes.
> **AY**: But you work extra and do things that a teacher is normally not expected to do, are these not considered?
> **LA 3**: No. Think about it, we work until two-three at night. We worked all night till the morning for 15 days to finalise one of our books at a workshop. This is more of a voluntary work. If you do not want to do it, you would not do it. Otherwise I would go to my school and spend my time with my students, have free time after the classes and go back home with the peace of having fulfilled my responsibility. But there is no such thing here, the working hours never end and your mind is always occupied by the book.
> _____
>
> **LA 5**: We work not only writing textbooks, but also preparing questions for national exams and we work really hard. For instance, we have been to [their capital city] three times last month. We have a huge 'time' problem.

This setting where language teaching textbooks are locally produced by teams employed by the ministry of education reduces factors such as market demands and competition, international cultural considerations and any issues arising from preparation of content for an unfamiliar context. However, it has its own constraints which shape the circumstances and partly explain why textbooks produced under these circumstances are the way they are. The following section explains the circumstances in the local context.

4.3 The Textbook Industry in the Local Context

In this context, language teaching materials including textbooks used in state school are provided by three main sources: (i) international publishers, (ii) local private publishers, and (iii) the ministry of education. The second category of publishers are further divided in nature according to whether their materials are subject to the inspection of the MoE. According to the regulations for textbooks and educational materials, any textbook or material to be used in any school within the country must:

(i) not include any unconstitutional content

(ii) not include any scientifically erroneous information

(iii) not include any advertisements

(iv) be prepared with an approach which is supportive of fundamental rights and freedoms, and be against any kind of discrimination

(v) comprise of aims and achievements of the national curriculum

(vi) be designed and prepared to support education and to consider the developmental characteristics of students

Any materials that are aimed to be used within the country must comply with these regulations and all private publishers are allowed to submit their textbooks for use in state schools after inspection and approval. Requirements when submitting a textbook for approval include details about the authors' educational background, their social security and employment status. Publishers who wish their textbooks to be used in state schools need to electronically submit their drafts on the MoE portal. These materials are evaluated by a panel of specialists consisting of (i) teachers or scholars with a minimum classroom experience of five years, and (ii) specialists holding at least a doctoral degree in the related field. The materials submitted to the MoE are evaluated and marked, and textbooks that reach a certain base point are approved for use for a five-year period.

This approval process brings its own strengths and weaknesses to the planning and production processes of the textbooks used in this context as described in detail in the following sections.

4.3.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Textbook Production Process

In order to compare the global and local contexts where textbook production processes and circumstances differ, the authors were asked to comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the textbook production process. The only strength the authors identified with their setting, where textbooks are produced under the guidance and control of the MoE, is that the textbooks are produced by teachers who are members of the local culture and have classroom experience in the context where the books will be used.

> **LA 5**: Strengths… It is of course a good thing that the state schools use textbooks which are written by their own teachers. People with a teaching background know the positive sides and defects and I think are able to reflect these on textbooks. As they know the students and schools, I think this is a strength.

According to the participants, the fact that textbook authors are members of the same culture as the context where the textbook will be used, have classroom experience and are therefore familiar with the needs, sensitivities and demands of the target audience is the most significant strength of the local setting.

When the participants were asked to identify any weaknesses, however, they were unable to give any specific examples. Only one of the authors mentioned the weakness of locally produced textbooks with regard to design and use of visuals and the ill-planned pedagogical approach which results in a lack of technological integration and too much input. She noted that international textbooks are strong in terms of design and visual content, which is a

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weakness for local publications, although local producers have the advantage of being able to prepare more suitable content for their own context.

> **LA 1**: Weakness, books do not include a reasoning which enables carefully designed, well scrutinised tasks. For example, visual quality is low, mechanical exercises are very common or technology is not integrated so well. All books begin with 'How are you? Fine, thanks!' as if it is talking with someone… As I said, they usually put too much input on the page. You look at the page and the whole page is text, the whole page is exercise. Students look for a visual that will grab their attention. International books are superior in terms of their visuals but content may not be suitable culturally or socially. In contrast, while books produced in [name of the country] are suitable in terms of content, they cause a lot of trouble for students.

The topic of weaknesses and issues that arise in the production of local textbooks is explored in more detail in Section 4.5, which addresses constraints.

4.4 The Textbook as a Product

One of the vital points to address in understanding why textbooks are the way they are is the production processes and procedures followed in different contexts and circumstances. With the purpose of identifying the steps, procedures and dynamics in the process of textbook production in the local context, participants in the local authorial team were asked to comment on the planning, production and post-production stages of the textbook production process they follow. In this setting, the most important factor is that the project is led and controlled by the MoE, who provide the scope and sequence, objectives, topics, units, and determine which topics can or cannot be included. The whole process is shaped by this MoE intervention, which is perceived as support or control at different times.

4.4.1   Production Process

The production process is discussed in terms of (i) planning before the writing starts, (ii) the process of writing, when authors design, write, and revise materials, and (iii) post-production, when the ministry publishes and distributes the materials in hard and online versions. The following sections describe the steps and procedures included in each stage of production.

4.4.1.1 Planning

The first phase in the production of textbooks is the planning stage. In the local setting, considering the ministry of education as the publisher, this phase includes needs assessment, preparation of scope and sequence for the textbooks in accordance with the national curriculum, selection of authors for the project, and allocation of roles. The authors are not informed about the needs assessment process. The need for a new textbook or a series of textbooks is identified by the MoE as a result of changes in the curriculum, which also outdates any existing textbooks in a given subject area if they do not cover new achievements and objectives in the updated version of the curriculum. Also, as noted in 4.2, textbooks are approved for use in state schools for a maximum five-year period, and a new textbook is needed to replace them once this period comes to an end. Specialists employed by the MoE assess the existing materials and curriculum, and prepare the scope and sequence of the new requirements. The authors only become involved once the guidelines are ready. The team leader and editor are contacted and briefed by the MoE, this briefing including details of scope and sequence, and a table of values and achievements the book must address. The structure of the authorial team and the flow of communication are illustrated in figure 4.
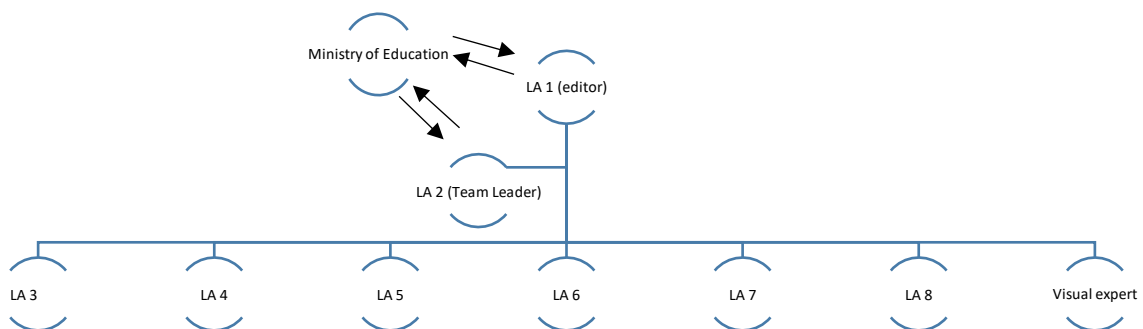
Figure 4 Flow of communication and structure of the team

The number of units in the book is determined by the guidelines. In addition, the guidelines include the following information for each unit, page, and activity:

(i)   unit titles (e.g., Invitations and Celebrations)

(ii)   main values to be covered (e.g., honesty, helping others, patriotism, justice)

(iii)   sub-values to be covered (e.g., keeping promises, hospitability, awareness of cultural heritage, sharing)

(iv)   where the values are to be covered and types of activities (e.g., content A or B, reading text and activity 8 for sub-value 3)

(v)   pages (e.g., 113-118 for Content A in unit 8)

(vi)   skills practised in the content (e.g., reading, speaking, writing for Content A in unit 8)

The participants also generously provided me with copies of two of the tables of values that were sent to them by the MoE (Documents 23 and 24). In these particular examples, the book included ten units, and the unit titles were themes such as Studying Abroad, Inspirational People, Television and Social Media, World Heritages, Invitations and Celebrations, etc. For each unit, the values and sub-values were also provided along with which unit, page, activity and type of activity which was to cover this value. For example, Table 6 exemplifies the entries for one of the units.

UNIT NAME	Main Value	Sub-value	Topic	Page	Activity type
[unit title]	[value 1]	[sub-value 1,2]	Content A - Listening Text (Listening and Speaking)	75	Listening
	[value 2]	[sub-value 1,2]	Content A - Reading Text and Activity 5 (Reading and Writing)	76 - 77	Reading
				78	Speaking

Table 6 Excerpt from the content guideline

As exemplified in Table 6, what the authors are responsible for is to create texts, visuals and tasks that teach the given values through given task types to fit exactly within the given number and structure of the pages. The textbook writing team also need to comply with the curriculum, which includes guidelines on topics of the vocabulary, phrases and structures, skills, achievements and values to be covered within the textbooks. As the ministry specialists may change frequently, there is not a standard procedure as to what guidelines the ministry provides. For instance, while the authorial team had been provided with target vocabulary lists for previous projects, defining the vocabulary to be taught was left to them for the project that they were working on at the time of the interviews. The editor describes the content of the curriculum in the following quote:

> **LA 1:** They were given a list of achievements, and a sort of curriculum. There it says this is the target vocabulary and they included them in the stories. What I saw there was that it is not up to them, they mainly include things like… You could see the curriculum… It says for every week or every unit… The book will consist of 14 units and for each unit, this vocabulary will be used, these grammar structures will be used, these objectives, these achievements will be the aims, and they write accordingly. There is a curriculum that guides them. For example, they want the kid to ask a friend a question via computer, they want the kid to be able to write an e-mail, that is why they integrate an e-mail there. And there they want this vocabulary to be used, the kid should start an email, finish it, say 'See you' or 'Best wishes', they want the writers to consider pragmatic notions as well… This is how it was.

Table 7 shows how other values and sub-values are listed in the guidelines provided for one of the projects.

Value	Sub-value
Love	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Friendship	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Self-control	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Responsibility	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Patience	Sub-value 1,2,3,4

Helping others	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Respect	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Patriotism	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Helping others	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Self-control	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Honesty	Sub-value 1,2,3,4
Justice	Sub-value 1,2,3,4

Table 7 List of values and sub-values

However, the MoE seems to have taken a less prescriptive stance on vocabulary in recent years. Although LA 1, who was the editor in several projects, stated that they were provided with vocabulary lists, LA 3 noted that the ministry had not provided lists of vocabulary to be taught for the most recent project they were working on. When the vocabulary to be included in texts and units was pre-defined by the MoE, this was perceived to limit the creativity of the writers, as well as the originality and authenticity of textbook content:

> **AY**: Do the guidelines include anything else? Such as vocabulary and structures…
> **LA 3**: No, there is nothing in the most recent textbook guidance like 'Teach this and do not teach this' about vocabulary. This limits writing a lot, so when the vocabulary is given, the content cannot be original and authentic. Vocabulary is now our initiative; dictionaries already offer information such as A2-B1 regarding the level. We look up the vocabulary in the Oxford Dictionary, use it if it is appropriate for the level, or look for a synonym where necessary.

Once the guidelines are received and roles are allocated, the team starts working on the content of textbooks accordingly. The allocation of roles consists of dividing up the units to write, which requires every member of the team to author the same type of activities. These activities include writing, editing, selection of texts, writing texts, preparation of tasks, drills, questions, exercises and also revision of content written by other members of the team as indicated by the following quotes from two participants answering the same question.

AY: What exactly is your role in the team?

LA 6: I can work in very different areas. It began with writing texts. Then it was observed that I was better at detecting errors and revision. I have a much better grasp of formatting. Revisions, uploads, etc., I am better at the technical side. We all do everything. We write texts, prepare tasks and exercises, etc. Where I feel more comfortable doing is detecting errors. My colleagues come to me and say '[her name], could you have a look, are there any errors?' and I like this, of course.

LA 3: We wrote reading passages, paragraphs as well as related exercises, workbook exercises, teachers' book instructions… Whatever you see in the book, we are involved in all of them in some way. Grammar references at the end of the book, indexes, everyone turns their hand to everything in some way.

In summary, the needs are assessed, the team is selected, guidelines and content are prepared by the ministry, and authors meet, allocate the work and roles, then start working on the content.

The stages included in the production phase, workflow, decision making, and other factors at play in preparation of content are explained in the following section.

4.4.1.2 Writing

Once the roles are defined, and units and content are allocated between the writers, the authors start working on writing the content in groups of three or four. The process of writing can be better understood by speaking of: (i) workflow and (ii) source of content decision making. The workflow was interrogated with the help of a prompt card that summarises the stages of production typically followed in the production of TESOL textbooks (Figure 5).

Market research and feedback

Initial Stage

-Research on new level – what is needed/gaps in market/weaknesses of other materials

-Meeting with co-authors to get to know each other and discuss and draft the basic rationale.

-Creation of draft units

-Meeting with the publisher and project manager

First Draft

-Send the first draft out to readers (out of classroom) and triallers (inside classroom) and feedback on the first draft

-Meeting with publishers, about content and philosophy of draft materials

-Feedback expected on big issues on content and design rather than details.

Second Draft

-Involves quite a lot of change – finding new texts, cutting out presentations, adding other activities, etc

-Sent to readers to review the materials

-briefing the person writing the Workbook and Teacher's Book

-Feedback expected on details from readers

Third Draft

-'Finished' units are copy-edited and sent back to writers

-Meetings with designers and editors.

Finalisation

-Follow-up production work in the area of design, cuts and rubrics

Piloting

-Written feedback on materials

-Final revision

Figure 5 Production stages of a textbook

As described by LA 8 and LA 2 below, the authors start by doing research on the given unit titles and themes by reading what they can find online to come up with ideas regarding texts. Once they choose the specific topics, they start writing a reading text that includes the target vocabulary and grammar structures in accordance with the scope and sequence provided by the MoE, prepare warm-up and follow up tasks and exercises for the topic, and complete the first draft with drills. When they have completed the first drafts, they gather to review each other's work. The editor is also present at these sessions. This step is conducted by showing the team the draft pages on a projector screen and commenting on these collectively. When the changes have been made, the first drafts of the textbooks are submitted to the MoE for initial inspection, where they receive feedback such as spelling mistakes, design and visual revision requests, etc. The team revises the books accordingly, and submits it again for final evaluation by the panel of area specialists. This is an overall evaluation where the suitability of the textbooks are assessed and either accepted for use or rejected.

> **LA 8**: MoE requests a book from us and says 'These are achievements, this is the programme, this is the book, write the book in three months'. We first prepare an

outline. We split into groups according to units. In every group there is an area each person is good at. For example, one is good at writing long texts, one is good at technical, workbook, etc. and one is good at reading and detecting mistakes. So that's how we split in that group. Then we write and prepare the book and look at it and it looks amazing to us of course because we wrote it.

LA 2: The second stage (feedback and changes) starts in the panel because the book is read and criticised; it passes or fails... reports are prepared. We take the report as our second draft and work on it for corrections. When the book is resubmitted to the panel, it goes in the third updated version. As it is read in [capital city], it passes through the same assessment with the same reasoning. All these must be done before the second draft actually, but our books reach students in the second-draft version (as described in the prompt card).

A panel of specialists for each subject in mainstream education and language teaching gather biannually. If a book is rejected by the panel by being awarded a mark of less then 70 out of 100, the authors can revise and resubmit their book. The books that are approved receive feedback and are sent back for a final revision by the authors. Once the revisions at this stage have been completed, the books are printed and distributed to state schools and become available online on the MoE portal for a period of five years.

The changes that are requested by the panel are not subject to further evaluation by the authors. Any revisions, requests for removal of content or re-writing need to be completed before resubmission. The findings regarding the nature of the feedback and revisions are considered part of the post-production process and are reported in the next section.

4.4.1.3 Post-Production

Each unit in a textbook is submitted and reviewed twice (firstly by the MoE officials and secondly by the panel) before the third submission, which is when the textbooks are published. The third round of review is completed by the team is completed by the authors as a final check before publishing. However, this process is not followed by a piloting or

trialling process, which would require another phase of revision before finalisation. In this setting, the last two stages illustrated in figure 5 are omitted, and books are published after inspection and revision, which is conducted in the form not of a dialogue and negotiation between the authors and the MoE, but a control and inspection process where the authors try and fit their materials into the demands and requirements imposed by the ministry.

In addition to pointing out mistakes such as typos, feedback received from both the MoE and the panel also includes comments on topics that they think need to be excluded. Although the authors attempt to discuss the situation with the MoE occasionally on the grounds that their proposed topics or the content they write are in fact suitable, they generally end up making the requested change. Although a dialogue may take place, it is only normally a clarification of why the content was removed, rather than a potential objection or resistance by the team. For example, as LA 8 exemplifies in the following quote, the panel members may ask the authors to remove Shakespeare or a reference to yoga, and objections by the authors are not taken into consideration. The authors eventually make the change and submit a new version of the textbooks as required. These topics that are in the taboo list are discussed in detail in section 4.5.7.

> **LA 8**: (*talking about how they split into teams and write the first drafts*) Then we send it and any inappropriacy is usually detected in the overall inspection. What I call overall is the inspection by the MoE before the panel. They send the mistakes they detect. Spelling mistakes, upper/lower level vocabulary warnings. We receive criticism on visuals and design. Then there is the actual overall [evaluation], which is an inspection for suitability. That is where we have trouble. For example we need to remove Shakespeare, etc. We bicker over it, argue, they tell us to remove references to yoga. I say 'why?' They have given us 'spare time' as a subtheme, they say 'It is like a religious thing, do not get involved in this'. These are annoying.

4.4.1.4 Overview of the Process

In summary, the process of writing materials in the local context where an authorial team is employed by the MoE is illustrated in Figure 6. The time between the decision by the MoE to

initiate a new project and publishing the final product is usually between six to eight months. Once the initial request from the ministry is delivered to the authors, they are required to prepare the first drafts of the textbooks in the whole series in three or four months, depending on how long it is until the next educational year begins. The MoE identifies the need, requests the authorial team to write a new series of textbooks that complies with the guidelines they provide, the authors prepare the books and receive feedback on two draft versions, make the requested changes, submit the revised version, and online and printed versions of textbooks are published for a period of up to five years. In some cases, however, as noted in Section 4.5.3, curriculum changes result in textbooks being outdated and used for not more than a couple of years.

6-8 months

Needs Assessment	Request	Production	Evaluation	Revision	Final Revision and Decision	Use
• MoE identifies the need • Previous authors are contacted and employed	• MoE requests books • Gives a deadline • Provides guidelines	• The team writes the books • Come together and revise • Editor gives feedback	• Panel evaluates the books • Experts mark the books • If +70, approved • No piloting	• Authors make requested changes (obligatory)	• Further revision by MoE specialists or editors • Re-evaluation and print	• Books distributed to schools • Used for up to five years • Then revised or destroyed • Secondary schools choose from available options

Figure 6 Stages of production in the local context

4.5 Constraints

The process of textbook production is easier described than done. Although the process looks easy and simple, it is not without flaws or difficulties. With the purpose of understanding the factors at play as to why textbooks are the way they are, participants were asked what problems they confronted in the production of textbooks and how the quality of their materials could have been enhanced. The most important constraints in the process of materials production are lack of ample time, the interventions of the MoE, lack of training for

authors, lack of principle in decision-making, diversity of the audience of users, and taboo topics that are not allowed to be included in textbooks. Each of the constraints is explained in the following sections.

4.5.1   Time

One of the most important and complained about constraints is the shortness of time that is allocated for production of textbooks. As noted earlier, the production of a textbook series overall takes around six to eight months, while the actual writing time within this process is limited to a few months. The authors noted time as a constraint that prevents materials from being as good as they might have been, given longer to author. The MoE pushes the authors to complete and submit the materials within the given deadlines and the authors have no option but to conform to these deadlines within the given time period.

> **LA 2:** (*talking about the latest project he was involved in*) They were told (by the MoE) that they needed to write a group of books. There were four books and four more were needed in two months. They were worried that it was impossible, but [capital city] wouldn't understand, they want these between the covers no matter what.

The authors work with strict and short deadlines, which result in compromises and mistakes in the textbooks. The deadlines prevent the authors taking steps they would ideally take to make textbooks better such as:

(i) writing materials without mistakes:

> **LA 5:** […] And the books may happen to include mistakes as this time is very limited for textbooks. It's something we would never do on purpose but it happens as we don't have enough time for crosschecking. Although we look again and again, we can't see because the time is limited. We can't detect mistakes as we look at it too frequently. For example, you write 'an' by mistake but you keep reading it as 'and' without noticing.

(ii) being able to do enough research on topics they cover for better presentation of information (for instance, for a unit on space travel, authors read news, blogs, and gather information on the topic) :

LA 5: […] Even when you write a small bit, you need to do research on it and learn what you are talking about. This takes a lot of time. You need to gather a lot of information. You also need to transmit as much information as possible with as few words as is needed. It is hard and requires a lot of reading. Research takes a lot of time even if we need to do a very small work.

(iii) piloting the books and getting enough feedback, the lack of which also makes

improvement of materials impossible:

LA 2: We cannot fully experience and accomplish all of the processes in writing materials. I mean, for instance, we did not have the chance to fully understand and evaluate the piloting process of the books. As the programmes/curriculum keeps changing every 2-3 years, the periods for writing and using at schools are not enough. The books are changed without taking evaluations/feedback from teachers at schools. As the books become history when they are changed, it does not make sense to change anything in them. We are experiencing this pointless circle. Then we are also unable to see any results on how we did, as changes are made all the time.

(iv) planning better materials for more effective adaptability:

AY: (asking about their strategies for writing more adaptable materials)
LA 5: We would love to do it if we had time. We like to put in content that will help teachers who deal with students at insufficient levels but it takes time. Our biggest problem is time. All we can do is to try and stick with the curriculum.

4.5.2   MoE Intervention

As noted earlier in Section 4.4.1, the MoE provides the authors with detailed guidelines that

the writers need to adhere to. These guidelines include unit titles, achievements, values, etc.

that limit the freedom of authors in producing more engaging and inclusive materials as well

as offering them an outline to follow, which saves them from some of the labour of planning.

However, the intervention of the ministry is not limited to the guidelines they provide. The

impact of the MoE on materials is reflected through the self-censorship that the writers

knowingly or unknowingly apply as they anticipate what the MoE officials and the panel will

say, and what feedback they will give on the drafts of the textbooks, in their evaluations.

The MoE and the panel are important parts of the whole production process representing the

control mechanism and funder of the project. Their role includes controlling the content,

managing the project and making sure the textbooks are ready on time as well as prepared in accordance with the requirements of the national curriculum. However, they also act responsibly in selection of the cultural and ideological content on the textbooks. As the present thesis focuses on the cultural content of materials, the authors were asked about how the MoE intervened in the content and how these interventions influenced the textbooks with regard to culture.

It was stated by most participants that the MoE officials on the panel have politically-led sensitivities about the cultural content. For example, unit titles such as 'travelling abroad' are provided by the curriculum designer working for the MoE, and the writers need to comply although they explained they would ideally avoid this type of 'touristic' content and apply a different approach in writing textbooks. However, there is no communication between the authorial team and these officials except the one-way flow of guidelines.

> **AY**: TESOL textbooks in the past were written with a more touristic approach and had a lot of content about travelling, going abroad, etc. It was assumed that the person who learns English is planning to or can go to the UK or USA, let's say. Is this similar or different in your case?
> **LA 2**: It is not up to us, really. Because we receive plans and programmes already prepared by the ministry. Even the titles of the units are given to us. We talked a lot about this, too. Why are the titles always like 'travelling abroad', or 'learning x', 'food', 'breakfast', 'legendary figures', etc.?
> **AY**: Who decides this? Who are they?
> **LA 2**: That is another thing. Curriculum designers working for the ministry. They decide everything in [capital city].

In addition to this, the MoE is also the control mechanism regarding the appropriacy of content. As exemplified in the following quote, the MoE may ask the authors to remove a whole section that they do not think is appropriate for any reason. The ministry and panel seem to evaluate the materials from a user perspective regarding their appropriacy and try to eliminate any inappropriate representation or message that students will inevitably be exposed to at schools as part of the curriculum. This results in deletion of sections that

include representations of different people, products, cultural elements, etc. as exemplified in the following quote.

> **LA 4**: While we were writing the [name of the previous series of textbooks they wrote] series—we were giving the vocabulary on physical appearance—we gave the films for which Hollywood stars received an Oscar for the best make-up to show how their appearances changed. We thought we had done a great job and put really engaging photos, too. That section was sent back to us. One of them was a horror movie, we changed that for the kids not to be affected negatively. But it turned out those artists had other movies and 'adult' movies, so they asked us to remove that part. They had such strict limitations that we were able to use almost no actors. We had to change that and do something else quickly.

Other examples show the politically-led approach on content. For instance, in another example, the MoE asked the writers to remove any references to Shakespeare on the grounds that he was thought to be homosexual. The content of the books are carefully reviewed by both specialists in the ministry and also the panel, and the appropriacy of any content is problematised when they see the smallest chance of it being inappropriate for students. It is reported to be a very common situation, for example, that visuals used in textbooks are rejected and changes are requested. The demands by the MoE regarding the content and visuals, in particular, are considered as one of the reasons why the local textbooks are not as well designed and written as international textbooks.

> **LA 6**: What made me sad and surprised the most was when references to Shakespeare were removed. I felt very helpless at that moment. Because we teach English to these students and imagine that they will go to England. Even if Shakespeare is homosexual, that does not prevent him from being a great figure in English literature. We wanted the kids to hear of Shakespeare from us. What is wrong with when we put a small part of Romeo and Juliet in our workbook as an activity in a unit titled 'love'?
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> ---
>
> **LA 6:** […] I still don't think we are close to the visual quality in international textbooks such as Oxford in terms of engaging the students. There are a number of reasons. We had too many visuals that were not wanted. There have been many visuals that were not approved.

The intervention of the ministry and the restrictions described above prevent authors from realising their own approach and producing the ideal textbooks in terms of representing

different people and lifestyles from different cultural backgrounds. As LA 5 states, the unit

titles, values and objectives are defined by the MoE, which requires authors to write on these

topics, although the guidelines may not be appropriate for all contexts in the country.

> **LA 5**: (*regarding the cultural appropriacy of materials for learners living in rural areas*) We think and talk about this, too. Of course, it is hard for students. In those places, students may have never been on a holiday in their lives. But if the unit title is tourism or holiday, you have to talk about these, there is nothing you can do. We receive it as a unit title, and we have to write it like that. We sort of idealise this unfortunately and we need to pay attention to these. But we cannot work on such details, unfortunately.

4.5.3   Brief Shelf Life

Another significant constraint associated with the local textbooks is the brief shelf life

textbooks have. As stated earlier, a series of textbooks is produced within six months, used

for up to five years (in most cases, not more than a couple of years) and replaced with a

totally new series of textbooks instead of piloted and/or revised versions of the previous

textbooks. Since the curriculum changes frequently, existing textbooks that are prepared

according to the previous curriculum or programme that requires different pedagogical

objectives need to be replaced by new textbooks.

> **AY**: In these books [names of the previous textbooks they wrote], is there anything/any part you say you would do differently when you look back on them? > **LA 2**: Of course there is. For all of them. But we cannot fully experience and accomplish all of the processes. I mean, for instance, we did not have the chance to fully understand and evaluate the piloting process of the books. As the programmes/curriculum keeps changing in every 2-3 years, the periods for writing and using at schools are not enough.

The lack of permanence in the curriculum and therefore the textbooks result in a waste of

time and valuable resources as well as the loss of enthusiasm of writers who are unable to

track and have a grasp of how their materials are used, what their strengths and weaknesses

are, and how they can be made more effective. The authors need to modify units that they

carefully designed at the last minute, which requires compromises to prepare the revised

version of the materials for delivery on time. In addition, they are aware that materials are

written according to the political sensitivities of the time, instead of a principled approach to culture and ideology that places educational materials beyond politics.

> **AY:** (*Asking if they would change anything in their previous books*)
> **LA 5**: Of course there is. But not stemming from me. For example, I had a unit in [book name] that I had completed. Later on, due to a change in the curriculum, the name of the unit and many other things changed, because the programme had changed. The grammar topic was the same but the time was too short to re-design the unit.
> _____
> **LA 2**: Every country has their own sensitivities. Curricula are always a product of the times and textbooks comply with them.

4.5.4 Lack of Training

Authors in the local context are schoolteachers who got involved in writing textbooks because they were recommended by someone they knew to the MoE officials as potential writers as the need arose for new members in the authorial team. They learned by doing, on the job, as they were fitted into the team. The participants believe that it would have been beneficial if they had received training on how to write materials. For instance, LA 6 noted that she had expected to be trained when she was first hired, but is still waiting to be trained by international professionals on how to write materials.

> **LA 6**: They definitely should. Ever since I got into the team… -I later stopped expecting this. I was informed that I was going to be part of the authorial team, and it took about a month for me to start. Within that time, I started working as a member of the team, but I was waiting, like 'When are they going to invite me for the training?'. I still expected some sort of training but I later figured that it was never going to happen. I was, of course, disappointed. There is no time for training, there is time for nothing for us as we have internalised this understanding of 'It'll be all right on the night'. It is actually the first thing to do. We had to learn it all by observing and trying. We learnt from the experienced members of the team. I am still expecting proper training. But I don't want this training from someone from [name of their country]. Who trained them in the first place, right?

The authors think that training on how to write successful materials can potentially help the authors in, for example, effectively blending the achievements and objectives into given units, and prepare content more confidently as they are not native speakers of English. LA 3

stated that as they are not native speakers of English, they have difficulties in areas such as figuring out 'the native speaker way of thinking and phrasing expressions.'

> **LA 4**: We are given a table of values. We actually look at other books -international publications. For example, patriotism cannot be given so explicitly. We are expected to blend these values into the units. Alright, but without giving any training, they ask us to do it somehow and put these values into the units. I personally do not like these sorts of things.

> **LA 3**: Yes, this is a weakness for us, it would be much better if we had [training]. We talk about this and think, 'if only we were in contact with the world-famous publishers and know how they do this job'. At the end of the day, we are writing books about a foreign language and are not native speakers so we unconsciously cannot think the way they do. While expressing a topic, we sometimes have difficulty in figuring out how a native speaker would phrase that particular topic. It would be better if we could learn from the professionals.

4.5.5 Lack of Principle

Another constraint in the local setting is the lack of principled decision making regarding the topics in the textbooks, allocation of roles, and the planning and writing of the textbooks, all of which require, ideally, principled planning and execution. However, in this particular setting, different levels of the same series of textbooks may be written by different authors. This lack of principle results in production of textbooks prepared without an overall rationale and approach to essential elements such as the level of difficulty, allocation of roles, in-house crosschecking and feedback within the group, all of which could result in better materials.

> **LA 3**: [*Name of the series*] was prepared in A1-A2-A3-B1 levels… Each level was written by different groups. For instance, I used A1.2 myself and was satisfied with it, but A2.1 was killing me. It wasn't flowing. I said, 'How can this be published?' while I was using it. You can't engage the students, can't handle the book… This depends on both the approach of authors and the system they employ.

The interviews with the local authorial team included discussion of excerpts from their own books. An excerpt which was discussed included representations of the military and patriotism. The team claimed that this content would not be included in textbooks today, but

that there was no control, inspection or correction at the time that particular textbook was written and 'everyone wrote something'.

> **AY**: The military as a topic is not a common topic in a TESOL textbook. How did this content end up here?
> **LA 2**: Those were times where everyone wrote something. There was no control, inspection or correction.

In addition, although it is not usually explicitly stated, the political environment in the country influences what can and cannot be included in textbooks. The authors are aware of the sensitivities of the era and apply conscious or unconscious censorship to the content they write in order to be on the safe side and to try to minimize the time consuming process of revising in response to feedback.

> **AY**: For instance, male-female relations and words such as boyfriend/girlfriend are excluded in [*country name*]. Is it the same here?
> **LA 2**: Every country has their own sensitivities. Curricula are always a product of the times and textbooks comply with them. Politics cannot be in course books anyway. Or mentioning alcohol even by saying 'Do not drink alcohol' does not sound reasonable to me.

4.5.6 Diversity of Audience

The context where the authors work includes learners from different socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. As the writers agree, the demographics of their target audience differ dramatically in terms of lifestyle, social and economic opportunities, which shape their daily activities, means of entertainment, what they do at weekends and in their spare time. For instance, students in the parts of the country which attract tourists may see the need for and relevance of acquiring English. On the other hand, students in other regions of the country may be unlikely to spend their weekends at the beach, on an international holiday, or on an exotic adventure trip. Although the situations represented in the textbooks as a requirement of

the guidelines provided by the MoE may be familiar to some students, then, they may be far

removed from the experience of a considerable number of students.

> **AY**: (*asking about making everyone happy*)
> **LA 1**: You can't make everyone happy because are we going to localise the local? There are many contexts within the [name of the country] context. Different books can be written for east, west, north and south, but I don't think that's realistic. If an intercultural perspective is drawn up aiming to improve intercultural competence, this can be overcome. You cannot please everyone. Even individuals are different… I am saying north and south but people in these are different, so a middle way is needed.

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> **AY**: (*asking about touristic content in textbooks*)
> **LA 5**: These are always talked about, but for instance, the name of the unit is 'travel' and 'different types of holidays' and divided into subheadings like 'spa holiday, beach holiday', etc. and the teacher is forcibly led to this. Of course, it is a sore point that very few students can actually go on a holiday.
> **AY**: It can be very normal for a student in [city name] to go swim in the sea, playing at the beach, but those in [city name] have none of their daily and free time activities in their books, which is the only relatable thing in their lives. Do you think this may influence their learning and performance?
> **LA 5**: Of course. The kid has never seen those. There, these should be used with the purpose of improving the imagination of the students. But we think 'Can this content impact the students negatively?' but of course cannot know.

Diversity of the students in the country goes beyond the cultural level due to differences in

the quality of language education they receive according to the schools they attend as well as

technological and communicative opportunities they can access. As LA 8 explains, there are

schools where students have six to eight hours of English classes per week and the same

books are distributed to schools where this is limited to only two to four hours. The authors

are aware that it is impossible for teachers in the latter category of schools to cover all the

topics and activities but need to adhere to the MoE guidelines regarding how many hours of

instruction they should devote to them.

> **LA 8**: Ultimately, the thing is that we write these books with [the name used to refer to the higher level schools] in mind, for 6-8 classes per week. This book is unfortunately distributed to all schools. It is very normal that teachers who do only 2-4 hours swear at us. They are right in that they say 'How can I get through this book in so few hours?'. It is impossible for teachers to cover the whole book and stay on track.

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> **LA 8**: It is impossible with a single book. You can see our PDFs, I try to design my activities with teachers in [name of a prestigious school] in mind but even they are displeased as they find our books communicatively too simple. But we talk to our friends

at [name of a lower level school] and they say 'Did you try too hard to write this? It is too hard, way beyond the level'. They say 'You know the profile of a student at this school, how can I teach this in two hours per week?'. In short, they say, 'I just give the grammar and skip'. They are right, it is not possible with a single book.

4.5.7   Taboo Topics

Taboo topics are the topics and themes that are purposefully excluded from textbooks. The local context where materials are written under the control of the MoE has its own taboos based on national and governmental cultural sensitivities. The most commonly known taboos in the production of TESOL materials are associated with the acronym PARSNIP, which stands for politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms, and pork (Gray, 2010). Although the MoE does not conventionally provide a list of taboos, there are certain frames of reference in the minds of the authors as well as ministry officials with regard to what can be included in textbook content.

4.5.7.1 PARSNIP Taboo Topics

The taboos of politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms, and pork are also regarded as taboos in the local context. In particular, alcohol, sex, narcotics, and pork, which are explicitly forbidden in Islam, are definite taboos which cannot be mentioned in any shape or form. However, the approach to the topics of politics, religion and -isms can sometimes be more flexible depending on which religion, political organisation or idea, and -ism is represented. For example, references to religion can be approved as long as they represent Islam.

> **AY:** Do you mention alcohol?
> **LA 8:** No, I mean, there is no mention of it in any way. Visual, etc, never. Isms and politics are of course not, should not be. Religion can be if it is our religion.
> **AY**: How can that be mentioned?
> **LA 8**: We are asked to mention it. Eids, for example. They say, we get criticisms such as 'Festivals are mentioned but why not the eids?'. We put in festivals from around the world to enhance the cultural knowledge of learners and they say 'Don't we have our own festivals, our eids?'

4.5.7.2 Other Taboos

In addition to the PARSNIP taboo topics, there are other taboo topics in the local context that constrain the textbook writing team. Rather than lists of taboos provided by the MoE for the authors to adhere to, these topics are reflected in the self-censorship applied by the authors while writing the textbooks and objections received from evaluations by the MoE and the panel regarding the content. The authors know what to expect from the MoE and the current sensitivities, and also have their own experience and intuitions regarding topics that might negatively affect learners.

As the taboos are unwritten rules in this particular context, participants shared their previous experience regarding topics that they were requested to remove/exclude from textbooks. Although the topics that are removed from textbooks are not limited to those indicated in Table 10, the table illustrates what topics are removed, an example, and on what grounds the topics were excluded.

Taboo	What happened	Why
Guns and violence	Images representing guns were removed	Inappropriate for young learners
Death	A gravestone image was removed	Too depressing
Crime and violence	Mentioned as a taboo by one or more participants	Inappropriate for young learners
Flamingo	A photo of a flamingo bird was removed	Paedophilic connotation
Male-female love	Mentioned as a taboo by one or more participants	Culturally inappropriate
Extreme sports	Story of a boy who was skateboarding on a train was removed	Students may want to do the same, which is dangerous
Stories with bitter details	Astronaut dog Laika's story was removed	Too depressing as the dog died on the mission
Bar or home party	Mentioned as a taboo by one or more participants	Culturally inappropriate
Pyjama parties	A drawing of girls chatting in pyjamas was removed	Girls staying at somebody else's house is

		considered inappropriate
Celebrities with bad reputations	References to some actors/actresses were removed	Disputes between the figures and the government
Yoga	Reference to yoga as a free time activity was removed	Culturally inappropriate
Shakespeare	Romeo and Juliet was removed	Inter-sexual love and because Shakespeare is thought to be homosexual
Nudity	Mentioned as a taboo by one or more participants	Culturally inappropriate
Minorities	Mentioned as a taboo by one or more participants	Political disputes between ethnic minorities within the country

Table 8 topics excluded from textbooks

4.5.7.3 Importance of the Message

In some instances, what matters is the message. The authors believe that some of the taboo topics could be represented as they trigger discussions and engage students as long as the message is positive. While alcohol, narcotics, pork, religions other than Islam, and sex are regarded as taboos and cannot be mentioned in any shape or form regardless of the message, topics such as crime, extreme sports, and violence can be mentioned with a positive message. As LA 3 and LA 8 exemplify below, extreme sports and crime can be used as long as they are 'softened', while other taboos such as love are strictly avoided.

> **LA 3**: For instance, we wrote a unit about extreme sports, said 'It is great, exciting' and so on but then we said 'A teenager is going to read this, what if they say, 'Why don't I do this?'… We said 'This is not right, let's soften it'. We said 'Extreme sports are great, exciting, but you need to be trained for this, you need to be prepared' or we removed 'Wow! So exciting!' and said 'Extreme sports are good' to soften it a little.
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>
> **LA 8**: In a unit titled 'love' we represented love with a couple who were married for 40 years. No falling in love or flirting. Teenage falls in love, date, etc., never.

4.6 Opinions and Beliefs

With a particular focus on culture, the present section offers the accounts of the local authorial team regarding:

(i)   their typification of teachers,

(ii)   their opinions on the topics discussed within TESOL material research,

(iii)   strategies they employ to enhance ICC, adaptability of materials and learner motivation.

4.6.1   Authors' Typification of Teachers

Who textbook writers write textbooks for is a decisive factor in why the materials are the way they are. Their assumptions about and typification of users are factors that influence their approach to writing materials. The following sections include the accounts of the participants relating to teacher qualities and behaviours regarding cultural content.

4.6.1.1 Teacher Qualities

a) Awareness of local culture and sensitivities

The authors expect teachers working at the schools where textbooks are being used to be aware of the culture and sensitivities in their context. It is assumed that every teacher is knowledgeable about the local and national values in the context they teach, that teachers know their students and what may offend or negatively affect them, and therefore will be able to adapt the materials accordingly where they see necessary. The type of teacher the authors visualize as they write materials is therefore aware of these values and sensitivities and treats the textbook content in accordance with this awareness. LA 8 summarises this approach in the following excerpt.

> **AY**: (asking who they write for)
> **LA 8**: As it is regarded as a default feature of our teachers that they are knowledgeable regarding local and national values, [the textbooks] are written

accordingly. There is no expectation like them not knowing. Our teachers already do know these.

AY: Do you think they feel responsible about these values?

LA 8: We assume that all of them treat [the materials] this way. Teachers do pay attention to these. We do not assume the existence of a teacher doing otherwise. There is no such thing.

   b) Qualifications and Proficiency

Another important assumption regarding the teachers using the textbooks in the local context is regarding their qualifications and how proficient and competent they are to use TESOL materials effectively and teach English. In this context, English language teachers hold undergraduate degrees from different areas such as engineering, and they become ELT teachers with a language proficiency exam result and completion of a brief pedagogical training programme. For this reason, it is assumed that teachers are not proficient and capable of adopting a communicative approach to their teaching. Rather, their lack of qualifications requires them to teach language with as mostly grammar-based approach. Therefore, the authors assume they cannot adopt a completely communicative approach in preparing textbooks and need to compromise by writing the content with a more grammar-focused approach.

> **LA 8**: In [country name], unfortunately, there are very few teachers who are graduated from English Language Teaching or English Literature… Because people from very different fields became English language teachers. So most of them do not have pedagogical training. And in the last 18 years, I have met only two English language teachers in the schools I have worked with who were graduates of the English department. Engineering graduate, went to prep-school, became an English language teacher… One changed field, became an English teacher… One became an English teacher as it was her minor field. So now—excluding the exceptions—the first expectation of teachers is that they say, 'Give us grammar'. They go technical. They want to write on the board and formulate, solve, etc. We cannot ignore these, we cannot go totally communicative because… Private schools go completely communicative and they are doing it right. Teachers who do right and what we actually want them to do mostly work at private schools. Because they have more hours to teach English, we (state schools) do not have that chance. Grammar, we give grammar intensely after each unit so teachers won't have trouble inside the classroom.

4.3.1.1.Teacher Behaviours

As well as qualities, there are behaviours that textbook writers expect from teachers who use their textbooks, which is, I believe, another factor that affects why they write materials the way they do. The authors believe that teachers have a certain set of behaviours with regard to how they use teachers' guides, teach values, how they act as a role model inside the classroom and educate students morally.

a) Use of teachers' guides

According to the local authors, although teachers' books are essential in understanding how to use the materials more effectively and offer a lot of supplementary materials, most teachers in their context have only recently started using teachers' guides as much as they should, while the explanations and supplementary content in teachers' books were more rarely consulted in the past.

> **LA 7**: […] Most teachers do not consult teachers' books but they are starting using them with our books. I think it helps. We included a lot of additional materials. They [think] are there supplementary materials written in [country name]?'. Yes there is and it is great. The more we put some things in the teachers' books, the more our new generation teachers use them.

> **LA 3**: […] I wrote this book and gave it to the teacher. What I hope is that they will understand the rationale and system of this book by using the teachers' book and try to give what we offer to students based on this.

Consulting the teachers' book before and during classes is important as they can help teachers get to know the textbook, and understand the methods and its underlying rationale. The authors assume that every teacher at least reads through the teachers' book and textbooks are written with the assumption that teachers know what the teachers' book has to offer in addition to the student version.

> **LA 3**: […] Because this book is written according to some methods. I mean, it is hard for teachers to adopt a grammar-based teaching approach while using a practice-based textbook. [If that happens] The book is wasted, too. So firstly the teacher has to know what the book is. The textbooks are written by assuming they get to know the book,

they take it and read it. We say, 'The teacher must have at least gone through this book.'

b) Adaptation and Flexibility

The authors also believe that teachers using their textbooks should and do adapt their materials. As they know their context, classroom, levels and their students' needs, cultural and national values and sensitivities, they are the competent authority to adapt materials accordingly inside the classroom. In addition, as LA 7 exemplifies, even if teachers prepared the materials themselves for a very specific target audience and context, they would still need to adapt and modify the content by techniques such as adding, skipping, and simplifying as needs and demands change even between different classrooms within the same school.

> **LA 7**: There are no perfect books but perfect teachers, this is where I stand. I had a chance to use my own books for two-three years when I went back to my school. You can arrange the texts according to which class you are in, or skip that part if it is unsuitable and can use something else instead. Or, if you do have to use it, you can simplify, give other examples, and adapt it as you want it. It can even differ from classroom to classroom. I can apply a text however I want.

c) Enhancing the content

Lastly, the authors believe that textbook content offers raw material that should not be given to students as it is before being revised and enhanced in accordance with their needs. It is assumed that teachers do not consider textbooks as final products that are ready to use, but each teacher evaluates the materials, the level and needs of their students, the content of the textbooks, and adapts them in accordance with their sensitivities as these sensitivities differ in every region and context although authors attempt to prepare the materials to the best of their abilities.

> **LA 4**: (*commenting on prompt card stating that every teacher adopts the textbook*) We cannot just randomly put the content in front of the students as it is. Of course, the teacher will enhance and revise it according to the need. As a teacher, content is not given to students as it is, it is adapted according to the needs of the pupils.
> **AY**: Do you consider this while writing the textbooks?

LA 4: Now, every teacher should be enhancing this in accordance with the needs of their classroom. You cannot overcome this. Needs and sensitivities of students do certainly change geographically but we try to prepare them to the best of our capacities. This is the maximum we can do.

4.6.2   Research and the Textbook

There have been debates and discussions on TESOL materials with regard to topics such as what they should be like, how to evaluate them, whether the cultural representations are accurate, whether they are balanced in terms of level and aspect, and to what extent they support the development of intercultural communicative competence (see Section 2.2.3 for fuller coverage). However, most of the studies so far on these lines of inquiry are based on content analysis of textbooks and categorisation of content according to whose and which aspect of culture they represent. These studies are also based on the assumption that materials writers chose to prepare materials this way, due to reasons which can by no means be investigated through content analysis. By consulting textbook writers, I have been able to pursue these investigations beyond the speculation of content analysts.

The present section includes accounts of textbook authors on:

(i) whether they think they are responsible for protecting students from culturally or ideologically inappropriate content.

(ii) the strategies, if any, they employ to improve materials in aspects about which they have been criticised including balancing the level and aspect of cultural representations, enhancing adaptability, and the development of intercultural communicative competence.

4.6.2.1   Responsibility Concerning Content

Without any exceptions, the authors believe and strongly agree that it is primarily their responsibility to protect students from any culturally or ideologically inappropriate content.

Firstly, as LA 2 notes, 'it is absurd' to deny this responsibility and leave it all to teachers, who can only adapt the content given in the books. Secondly, although teachers know each class they teach and all their students, the authors are also teachers who have teaching experience in the same context, who know the average student in the context, and their sensitivities.

> **AY**: Here are some quotes on your responsibility as writers about the content of the textbook. Please comment.
> **LA 2**: I agree with the first one (*As a writer/publisher, it is my responsibility to protect students from exposure to any culturally/ideologically inappropriate content*) Because it is firstly our responsibility, and secondly of teachers. It is an absurd point of view to think that it is teachers' responsibility no matter what I put in the book. The content must first pass through my filter. If a teacher does not like it, the book needs to pass through the teacher filter, too.

It is also important to note that, through their own experience and intuition, the authors are aware that the TESOL textbook can act as a source of information on other cultures, and young learners can be easily affected by what they see in textbooks. Therefore, there are solid grounds to assume that writers are aware of how textbooks may affect students, may change how they portray and perceive other cultures, and that these books need to be prepared carefully as they are part of the national curriculum, distributed to all schools and used by all students across the country.

> **LA 6**: I certainly think that how we represent the world in materials is a big responsibility. I remember that when I was a teacher, I used to look at textbooks provided by the MoE and say, 'What kind of book is this?' I take all that back now. Because it turned out to be a very tough job. A huge responsibility. I was not the best student, I have never been, but I was a responsible student. And I used to be affected by things that I read in textbooks. English was my favourite class. I learned the very first things about foreign cultures from those textbooks. And I know that the things that they read there can change things in a young mind, arouse curiosity or can be hugely affected by what they see. Because it is a young mind, you never know what will affect it. That's why we are sailing in a really strange sea.

4.6.2.2 Strategies

The following sections include findings on whether participants are aware of the discussions in the literature regarding balancing the level and aspect of culture, enhancing adaptability, and developing students' ICC and consider these areas while writing their textbooks. The following sections include a brief summary of the discussions and the accounts of authors on these topics.

4.6.2.2.1 Balancing the cultural content

It is claimed in TESOL material research that cultural representations in TESOL materials need to be balanced in terms of level and aspect of culture. Aspect of culture refers to which cultural elements are represented in textbooks. It is argued that the number of representations of the cultures of the inner circle (the UK, the US, Australia, etc.), outer circle (India, Singapore, etc.) and expanding circle (all other countries) (Kachru and Nelson, 1996) need to be balanced as English language no longer belongs to inner circle countries. Level of culture, on the other hand, refers to the depth of these cultural representations and it is argued that representations of persons and products dominate TESOL textbooks while cultural practices and perspectives, which are thought to have more potential in fostering an understanding of other cultures, are represented much less frequently (Yuen, 2011). However, although the discussion on these lines of inquiry has been ongoing, we do not know if textbook authors are aware of these and what action they take while writing TESOL textbooks with regard to these, if any.

To elicit accounts from authors on these topics, I provided prompt cards that summarise the discussion on inner, expanding and outer circles, and regarding the dominance of products and persons instead of practices and perspectives.

4.6.2.2.1.1 Aspect of Culture

In terms of balancing the aspect of culture, authors stated that they included representations of international cultures and that the content of their textbooks is not necessarily dominated by inner circle culture. However, rather than having a plan and rationale in mind with regard to balancing these, authors claimed they do not limit the content to inner circle culture and are open minded as they include representations of expanding and outer circle cultures, as well. Rather than balancing the aspect of culture, the authors in the local context are more concerned with finding examples that are suitable for the effective coverage of the given themes such as festivals.

> **LA 2**: We talk about Germany, India, England, [their country] [in the books]. We actually can talk about an Iranian girl, for instance. The cultural content is diverse, but as I said… did we plan this? We did not.
>
> **LA 3**: Do we balance these…? We have something like this, for example, we have the topic of festivals. We scan festivals that can attract students… Let's say, Poland and England. I use these in the four units I have. As you said, we did not have the intention of balancing these. Rather than that, we try to decide how to specifically teach the learning outcomes, and these start coming up after we choose them.

In line with this, as Figure 7 shows, content analysis of one of the textbooks written by the participants indicated that the cultural representations are dominated by the inner circle, which is represented 33 times, while the cultural representations regarding the expanding and outer circles occurred 12 and 8 times, respectively. It is therefore clear from the results that textbooks are not balanced in terms of cultures represented. The textbook was chosen for analysis as it was the latest series the authors had completed and the team leader stated that the particular level would be a representative example, with rich cultural content.
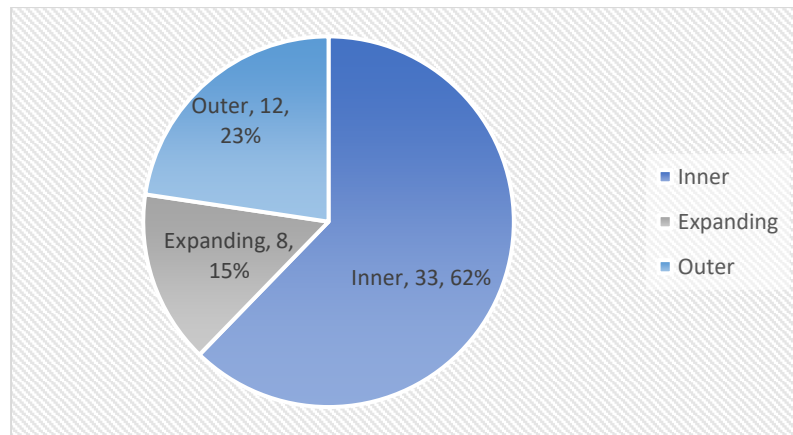
Figure 7 Representation of cultures in the textbook written by the authors

4.6.2.2.1.2   Level of Culture

Similarly, with regard to balancing the level of cultural representations in their textbooks, participants stated that they are not following the TESOL material research and the current discussions (as expressed by LA 3 below), but aim to include all cultural contexts and items in their textbooks. Although they do not share a rationale and approach defined in advance in terms of balancing the level of culture, they believe that they include cultural perspectives as well as practices, persons and products. This lack of planning to achieve balance is due to what they see as bigger issues they have to address which are more immediate, as noted by LA 5 in the quote below.

> **LA 3**: We haven't—I personally haven't—reviewed the literature about this, I believe it is the same with my friends. But when I look at these, we try to create balance within the units on our own. Let's say the unit title is 'going abroad', whatever. Let's say they go to London. What are they going to do? You make the character take the double decker bus, go to the London Eye, the flow automatically is shaped around the products of that culture. We paid attention to this but did not think like 'This is a representation of product, this should include perspective'. The schema unrolls on its own. Out of these four p's, we may have not paid enough attention to perspectives, we may have skipped that. But generally this order is shaped on its own in the book.

> **LA 5**: In our case, we have perspectives but of course it is not balanced. Because we have bigger problems to address before perspectives.

In line with these statements, content analysis results of the textbook produced by the participants (Table 11) showed that the cultural representations included references to 21 products, 14 practices, 16 persons and two perspectives. While the content is dominated by products (e.g., magazines, companies, places to visit), and persons (e.g., celebrities, famous athletes), perspectives that reflect the beliefs and attitudes of people living in these contexts are only represented in two activities within the textbook.

Products (21)	Practices (14)	Persons (16)	Perspectives (2)
Magazines (4) Universities (4) Companies (3) Fictional characters (3) Touristic places (2) Student programmes (2) Festivals (1) Other (2)	Entertainment (7) Dance (2) Art (2) Habits (1) Businessmen (2)	Celebrities (6) Historical characters (7) Athletes (3)	Spiritual arts (1) Common understanding (1)

Table 9 Distribution of level of culture in textbook content

4.6.2.2.2   Enhancing Adaptability

As stated earlier, it is widely accepted that a teacher needs to adapt the textbook even if the textbook is specifically written for the context in which it is used, and the participants also agreed that they expect teachers to adapt materials in accordance with the proficiency of the learners, and their cultural values and sensitivities. In addition, authors also think that they write the materials in a format that offers flexibility for adaptation. The strategies the authors employ for providing better flexibility are (i) always keeping in mind that the books are to be used by students with different proficiency levels, sensitivities and socio-economic backgrounds, and (ii) giving definitions, alternatives, guidance and recommendations in teachers' books, which is considered a user manual that teachers need to consult and follow for successful use of textbooks. Teachers' books include information on (i) how the content

should be taught step by step, (ii) the topics, expressions and vocabulary, and tasks in case teachers are not prepared for the lesson or simply are not knowledgeable on the theme of the unit.

> **AY**: Is there anything you do to make the content or the textbook more flexible for adaptation?
> **LA 8**: Technically, we do. We try to make them use the materials as functionally as possible. We chose vocabulary carefully. They should be able to use the vocabulary in real life. Teachers should know the word, too—this is very important. We give very detailed definitions in the teachers' book saying, 'This is how you teach this topic'. But in some topics, we say 'It is up to you'. If there is a very troublesome topic, we put it all in the teachers' book. We want the teacher to be able to complete the lesson with the help of the teachers' book. We want them to go step by step from there.

A close reading of the teachers' book of the latest series the authors had completed and its comparison with the students' book showed that it offers:

(i)   An additional brief page on grammatical and functional objectives for the four skills at the beginning of each unit,

(ii)   Short definitions of concepts that teachers may not know. For example, if the reading text is about a special gadget African people use and its name is not explained within the text, it is defined in the teachers' book,

(iii)   Answer keys

(iv)   Task objectives

(v)   Elaboration of drills and tasks. Explanations of what is expected from students and the steps to be taken for teaching the content such as the following:

Task 2.a: Listen to four job definitions on the radio. Match the numbers and jobs as you listen.
Teacher's note: Explain the task. Students will listen to [description of the track]. Ask them to look at the visuals, and then play the audio. Have them write the correct numbers next to each job. Elicit the answers.
Key: 3,2,1
This activity enables students to [objective]

Although it might have been initially planned to help teachers adapt materials where they may be culturally inappropriate for the context, no recommendations were found within the teachers' book regarding any alternatives or recommendations for adaptation or supplementation when the textbook included themes and sections about movies, celebrities, studying and travelling abroad.

4.6.2.2.3 Stimulation of ICC

Stimulation and promotion of intercultural communicative competence has been one of the most popular topics of discussion in TESOL material research (e.g., Byram and Wagner; 2017; Risager, 2018; Yuen, 2011). It is expected that textbooks be written with improving ICC in mind. The authors also believe in the importance of writing materials that help learners improve their ICC by raising their awareness of the self and other cultures, gaining critical awareness, ability to reflect, motivation to interact, and to acquire new knowledge through discovery and interaction.

The strategies writers employ to reflect their approach on stimulation of ICC is to give multiple cultures at once for comparison. For instance, if the content includes national monuments or cultural symbols, authors give examples from different countries such as Big Ben from England, the Taj Mahal from India, the Pyramids from Egypt, Sydney Opera House from Australia, etc. As the editor, LA 1, states, the writers 'put these elements on the page and expect students to look at their own' national monuments and symbols, too.

> **AY**: How do you reflect your approach to ICC in textbooks?
> **LA 1**: What we can do on the page is to say 'There is this here', that's it.
> **AY**: You say 'There is this here', and is this given along with questions that ask them to reflect, compare and increase awareness?
> **LA 1**: Of course, of course… Yes, there certainly are those kinds of things. 'Go there and there, there is this here, and what do we have?' is always asked to students. Look at your own… That is what we want from students.

LA 6: I think we are really careful about this. We cannot know how much a student knows about other cultures but they know more or less about our culture as they live here. So what can trigger them to talk will come from our own culture. We will give the other one so that they can make comparisons. We definitely do this. Particularly in speaking and writing tasks.

The latest book the team wrote includes a very similar section to that described by the interviewees above, giving examples from different countries, where a character receives an e-mail from a foreign friend who describes their country and the country-monument matching tasks are followed by a task asking students to write an e-mail to a foreigner who is soon to visit them and describe their own country. This task aims to show students self and other cultures, compare their culture and country with others, and contribute to their ICC skills. However, the authors do not claim to have improving ICC as an overall rationale and objective, and the example above is the only section I could find within the book where students were asked to compare other cultures with their own, although the book included a unit specifically on culture.

4.7 Summary of the Main Findings for the Local Context

The present chapter aimed to map the findings in the local context regarding who an average textbook writer is, how they start writing, the phases in the production of TESOL materials, the constraints they confront, and the perspectives of textbook writers on topics discussed within TESOL material research.

In the local setting, writers are schoolteachers who are employed by the MoE and were invited to write textbooks as they were recommended by a member of the team. The authors write the textbooks upon request and in accordance with the guidelines provided by the ministry of education in a limited period of time, which is usually between six to eight months. The authorial team gather and allocate the roles, write drafts and give feedback to

each other, then revise and submit their textbooks to a panel of specialists hired by the MoE for evaluation. If the textbooks are approved, recommended changes are made and the textbook is published and distributed to schools across the country, as well as being available online on the MoE portal.

However, this process consisting of seven stages is not without flaws and includes some constraints that prevent the authors from producing ideal textbooks. The most significant constraints in this setting are lack of time, training, principled decision making and brief shelf life, interventions of the MoE and constraints associated with taboo topics.

Due to these constraints, authors cannot work freely on content by including more interesting and engaging topics. Nor can authors get enough feedback and improve their textbooks by piloting them, follow the literature and discussions on TESOL materials, or focus on details such as balancing the level and aspect of cultural representations in their textbooks, and make textbooks more flexible for adaptation and more successful in supporting development of learners' ICC. Although they feel responsible for what the students are exposed to, the authors need to partly share this responsibility with teachers who they think are aware of the cultural sensitivities in their context and should adapt the materials according to the values and sensitivities of their students, use the teachers' book as a guide for planning and while teaching and prepare and teach diligently, despite the fact that these teachers may have only limited pedagogical knowledge, content knowledge, and proficiency in English'.

The following chapter maps the findings in the global context, where textbooks are produced by global publishing houses with the purpose of marketing to multiple contexts and countries. For a better understanding of why textbooks are the way they are, the two contexts will be compared.

5   Results: Global Context

5.1 Introduction

Compared to the local context and market, international textbook publishing is a vast industry with various types of TESOL materials and ways in which textbooks are produced. The international industry of textbook production consists of publishers of different scale aiming at different levels and age groups (e.g., adult or young learners), markets (international, Asian, Latin American, European, Middle Eastern), and target groups with specific purposes (e.g., English for Academic Purposes or Business Purposes). For example, at one end of the spectrum, a person who produces their own materials and sells them on an online portal, and at the other end of the spectrum, global publishers such as Oxford University Press (OUP), Pearson, Macmillan or Cambridge University Press (CUP), who produce materials for specific contexts and purposes (an ESP textbook series for a particular country) as well as international materials that aim to be sold in as many countries as possible. These actors, large and small, all aim at and are part of the international market. Within this context, there also different types of positions and job titles for authors and editors such as in-house author, freelance author, consultant editor, and leading author, which have different terms and conditions determining the type of work they do, and the amount they are paid.

Since the international market and the industry consist of various different types of materials and actors as exemplified above, it is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate all types of materials and publishers. Instead, this thesis focuses on the international textbooks produced by global publishing houses such as OUP, CUP, Macmillan, Richmond, Express Publishing, National Geographic Publishing, and Pearson, aimed at young / secondary level learners such as *Headway, On Target,* or *English File*, written by in-house and freelance

authors and editors who work for these publishers. Therefore, I adopt the same approach as in the previous chapter, as I believe that textbooks are constructed at least partly as a result of the circumstances they are produced in (e.g., by whom, where, when and why) and the factors at play (e.g., working conditions, stakeholders, demands and needs). That is, instead of considering textbook publishing as a whole, I evaluate the circumstances surrounding the production of textbooks separately, arguing that this can result in a better understanding of why textbooks are the way they are. With this in mind, the results of the interviews are reported regarding the same five main themes as covered in the previous chapter, in order to understand why textbooks are the way they are. In so doing, this will offer an opportunity to compare and contrast these two contexts of production and understand their strengths and weaknesses. The five themes are:

(i) Textbook writing as an occupation

(ii) The current state of the industry in the global context

(iii) Textbook as a product

(iv) Writers' beliefs and expectations regarding user qualities and behaviours

(v) Research and the textbook

5.2 Textbook Writing as an Occupation

One of the most salient factors that shape the nature of materials is the circumstances under which they are produced. To gain an understanding of these circumstances in the global context, participants were asked to describe their educational and professional background, how they got involved in textbook writing, the way they work, and the terms and conditions associated with their work.

5.2.1 Getting Involved

Participants in the global setting, without exception, hold at least a BA degree related to English language. They have teaching experience varying from three years to over twenty years. However, once they started working as authors, they either kept working as part-time teachers or quit teaching, although most participants are still teaching at a secondary or higher education institute.

The authors in the global context reported that they were all firstly invited to revise or write a small amount of textbook content upon recommendation by a person they know. Most of the time, as authors and editors are usually former teachers, they know other teachers who they think capable of writing or would fit in the profession and would be capable of what it requires. For example, GA 5 was invited upon recommendation to revise a book, and her comments were received favourably by the editorial team. Later on, she was contacted with an offer to work as a content editor to organise the content and structure of a project, which was followed by another project in which she wrote extra practice material. Since then, she has been working for the same publisher as a writer and content editor with her role getting bigger each time. She summarises her story as follows:

> **GA 7**: I was invited to give my opinion and when [name of a textbook series] and when it was published, I was told that the organisation of the contents had been the one I had suggested. Then in [year], I was invited to write a sort of booklet which was extra practice material for a series which was [name of the series] written by another author. Well, after that, last year I was contacted again by [name of the publisher] people and now a new series that was launched. It is [name of the series], in which I had to prepare the content and organise all the units as well. I am the author of [name of the series] third edition teacher's book as well. And before that I was a content editor for [name of another series] which was another series by [name of the publisher] in [country]. That is my writing story.

As stated by GA 4, people who are contacted as potential authors or editors include people 'they know, people who can produce to deadline as that's the key thing'. In order to be able to become a trusted author and perhaps a leading author, one has to begin from the bottom with only very modest remuneration.

> **GA 4**: […] and then they will bring in people they know, friends, contacts, colleagues to write work sheets and to write exercises and then those who are doing sort of hack work at the bottom. If they do it reliably and quickly, then next time they might move up and do more. And eventually, they might be invited to be a lead author. And that's probably the ways in, you have to accept pretty poorly paid hack work, to get a foot on the ladder to start and then they create the draft unit.

Alternatively, it might also be a coincidence rather than former colleagues that can lead to involvement. For example, GA 9 coincidentally met another author while he was at a conference, they stayed in contact and he was recommended later as an author when another author had been taken ill.

> **GA 9**: It's a funny story how I got involved. I was at a conference, I was at the hotel and having breakfast, I was on my own. Somebody else came down and asked if they could share the table and they sat down. We got talking and we stayed in touch and at some point she was talking to somebody else who worked for a publisher, who was looking for somebody to actually jump into writing a coursebook because one of the writers had been taken ill. And so… Yes, she got in touch, we talked about the project and that's how I got into it. Sometimes you get out and put a lot of effort looking for a person but sometimes it comes with a chance meeting.

The recommendations by publishing insiders do not seem to be completely random. If a project is not completed on time, it results in financial loss for the publisher, which is the biggest risk for any organisation with financial concerns. The publishing insiders who recommend others know what it takes and what the desired profile is. A successful candidate needs to have teaching experience in ESOL, be collaborative, humble, open to criticism, responsible, flexible and able to compromise, work with a team and under the pressure of deadlines to be able to gain and keep a good reputation and climb the career ladder. Although résumés of some of the authors include previous education courses such as 'in-house editing and publishing courses', none of the participants reported having been through a training period specifically to learn how to author materials.

5.2.2 Terms and Conditions

As stated in Section 5.2, the global context includes different types of employment and it has been changing rapidly in the last few decades. There are different types of employment such as in-house and freelance, as well as different types of payments such as royalties or standard payment. According to the participants, the international textbook writing industry has changed in two main aspects: (i) payments, and (ii) authors' position in publishing. The following sections summarise these changes.

a) Payments

While most writers used to be paid in royalties in the past, participants agreed that it is very rare nowadays. As GA 1 states, authors used to make a lot of money out of a single textbook project and could become multimillionaires, (e.g., four million US Dollars per year from sales of a single textbook series in only one country) while authors today can be expected to write a textbook in exchange for a few thousand dollars.

> **GA 1**: […] people who came before me, like [names of three authors] and all of these people are multimillionaires. They make millions and millions of dollars off their textbooks. I think [name of an author], just from '[name of a textbook series]', just to Japan was making $4 million USD a year. It's incredible. And I think what happened was that the publishers looked at that money and said, "Oh we should keep more of that money". So, that's why they moved away from celebrity writers and moved to just hiring people just to write something according to a draft.

> **GA 1**: So, it was just a side series—listening and speaking books for primary schools and students. I wrote 6 small books, 36-48 pages each. The great thing was, they were used by every [country] student and every public school for 12 years and so it paid for my house. So, it was a great introduction to it.

In the royalty model, however, there is always the danger of wasting time and energy for a project if it does not sell. Although it is risky for publishers if the textbook is not successful, which is defined by the number of copies it sells, the risk is shared by the author. As GA 1 states in the following quotes, while in-house editors, designers and publishers get paid regardless of the result, authors are not paid unless the book sells, which pushes the author of

the book to promote the textbooks, give talks abroad, visit markets, attend conferences, etc. which is how I also met most of the participants.

> **GA 1**: When you write a textbook, everyone gets paid except you [laughs]. Your editor gets paid, the designers get paid, the publisher gets paid. Everyone has a day job; they have a pension and everything else. The only person who doesn't get paid if no book sells, is the textbook writer. This happened to me once. I wrote a textbook series, eight levels, for China for a publisher and it was the primary series. I didn't think it was a great idea when I did it. They had very poor illustration and it was on very cheap paper and they wanted to do it one colour and they thought it would sell because it was so cheap. But in fact, it never sold. I probably spent 6 months working on this 8-level series and it was never used. Never sold a single copy. So, you know that's the sort of thing you can do, you can spend a lot of time.

> **GA 1**: In my case I got paid because I promote the books, so they know that there is added value there. I will give talks, I will go to conferences, I will write articles and do everything else to help promote the book because, again, I don't get paid if it doesn't sell.

b) Authors' position in publishing

While writing a series of short books could pay for a house in the past, as stated by GA 1 above, publishers wanted a bigger share of the income and changed their approach to publishing. In the author-led model, authors would approach publishers with a book proposal, or a publisher would ask an author to write series of textbooks for a market and leave the rationale, content and structure of the book mostly to the author. In contrast, in the current publisher-led projects, authors are hired for particular projects which are completely defined by the publisher and are expected to write textbooks in a much shorter period.

> **GA 7**: And in the past, sometimes authors approached publishers but typically publishers would approach authors and say 'We need a book for this market, these are the requirements, go away and think about what you think would work and then we will start talking about the book'. In other words, it was quite author-led. And I am still working on quite author-led projects but I think increasingly, big international projects are publisher-led. A team of authors, maybe six or eight, is required to write a book that is completely defined by the publisher in a much shorter period of time than previously was the case.

The rise of this project-based model means that freelance authors nowadays are always looking for new projects and are trying to achieve and retain a good reputation in the publishing community. Otherwise, they face the danger of not being employed again.

> **GA 1**: […] So, I'm a freelancer, I'm not employed permanently. I'm always hungry, I'm looking for my next job and I always want to keep writing. In fact, I probably won't, I can probably retire but you're always looking for your next job so of course you're always trying to, you know, keep to the rules as much as possible. Plus, it's a very very small community. Editors go from one company to another and publisher… And if you have a bad name, they will never work with you again.

Although keeping a good reputation can be a source of motivation, the authors' enthusiasm for producing successful materials is also thought to have decreased with their share from the income. While authors working for a royalty tried to make the textbook as successful and profitable as possible, trying their best to solve any issues that would arise, authors who are paid a standard fee are thought to be less likely to have the same level of commitment, which could naturally impact the quality of materials.

> **GA 1**: […] what happens when you hire people who are just paid, you know 5000 dollars or something, just to write a book, they don't have a real commitment. They don't care, they're not going to promote it afterwards. They think if there is something wrong, it's not their problem.

According to the participants, in addition to payments and the position of authors as summarised above, the industry has also changed significantly, as described and exemplified in the following section.

5.3 Changes in the Industry

The present section summarises the changes in the industry regarding the content of textbook/material packages, the amount of piloting, commercial concerns overtaking concerns about prestige, and textbooks aiming at the global market, which are the most salient areas that summarise the current state of the industry as perceived by the authors.

(i)   Content and material packages

With the effect of technology, materials have become glossier, more attractive, colourful and engaging on the surface. With add-ons, apps, online materials, etc., publishers claim that they

offer learners 'everything they need', which is, as GA 3 claims, not true and not encouraging

learner autonomy.

> **GA 8**: I think the biggest single change has been packages. These days publishers are very very interested in having pretty large packages that go with their textbook. It's students' book, it's a teacher's book, maybe a supplementary reader, supplementary work book, and something online, online support of some kind or another. That has become much more of the case than it used to be.
> ─────────────────────
> **GA 3:** And the other weakness I've written down here is about independent autonomous learning. So I think there's a competitiveness, which means that each coursebook is getting more and more all-encompassing, it's not just the coursebook and the workbook, you've got the home study website, you've got the CD ROM, they don't do that anymore, but they've got, you know, all of these different resources saying that, basically the package says, "This is everything you need to learn English" and that's not true. And they don't really encourage autonomous learning to some, to a large extent. And I think that's a major weakness.

(ii)   Amount of piloting

Another major change in textbook production is the amount of piloting. While textbooks

before the 2000s used to be firstly produced in a pilot edition, and were then piloted and

revised according to feedback which was gathered in multiple ways, which made users an

important part of the production process, textbooks nowadays are produced with an approach

which is much less informed by user feedback and input, as explained in Section 5.5.1.

> **GA 8**: When textbooks were written in the...80s, 90s, and even in the early 2000s, the drafts of these textbooks would be produced in a pilot edition by the publishers and this would be sent to teachers to try out in the classroom. There would then be a questionnaire and teachers would complete the questionnaire in which they identified the strengths and weaknesses of the material. Then it would go back to the authors and the authors would be asked to make revisions to the textbooks on the basis of the piloting feedback.
> **AY**: And did that made a lot of difference?
> **GA 8**: It made a huge difference because when the books were released onto the market later, we could say as part of the blurb on the textbooks and they had been piloted in the context. And so teachers themselves were brought into the project.

(iii)   Commercial concerns overtaking concerns about prestige

One of the most significant changes in textbook production has taken place regarding the

publishers' approach. Formerly, producing English language teaching materials was less

about profits and more about associating the publisher with prestige; whereas attitudes later

shifted to a commercially-driven business-like approach after the 90s when British major publishers were bought by or merged with American and German companies. GA 4, who taught and produced materials during the period she refers to, describes this change in the following quote. She describes how, with the rise of the business-like model in the industry, publishers started to avoid risks and adopted a competitive approach focusing on market success.

> **GA 4**: […] In that golden period in the middle, writers working for major publishers, **in the 80s, 90s, writers could get massive royalties**. Books like Headway for example, they made a lot of money.
> **AY**: After that time, they decreased piloting. What happened in that time?
> **GA 4**: Yes. **Two things happened**. One: Publishing certainly in the UK was run by.. It's strange. It's very much a class thing. **It was run very much by upper-class, upper-middle class people** working for publishers and it was run on I should say... As this is confidential.. It was not run as a business as such. And you got universities like Oxford and Cambridge. For them **it was very much prestige**... It was very much publicity for the universities. They were not necessarily in it to make a lot of money. That was good in some ways.. **They took risks, they were innovative**. CUP was very innovative in the 70s as they wanted to get in the market and they took big risks…
> **AY**: Such as?
> **GA 4**: Well there, a lot of the really interesting new communicative materials were published by CUP in the 70s. A lot of the books were by OUP but CUP were also involved in this. In fact they have published a lot of task based materials, it wasn't called task based, they were called communication activities. So, they took risks but then things changed. It became a lot more competitive, as the market grew and there was more and more demand, therefore more and more money. It became **a lot more competitive and a lot more business like**. A lot of the British **publishers were taken over or amalgamated** with either American or German companies who had a **much more business-like approach.**

(iv)   *Textbooks aiming at multiple markets*

Another major factor at play in understanding the current state of the textbook production industry is that international textbooks produced by global publishers are produced for worldwide sales. The diversity and size of the market forces publishers to stick carefully to 'sensitivities and sensibilities of different cultures and different markets', and a sensitivity in one part of the world prevents authors from mentioning topics that would normally be appropriate inside classroom in other contexts as noted in the following quote.

GA 3: Well, we've talked about the market being market led and there's lots of sort of maintaining the status quo, not innovating, not responding to evidence-based practice. And I think it's clearly a weakness, if a coursebook is good for global market, then having to stick so carefully over sensitivities and sensibilities of different cultures and different markets, whether it's the Middle Eastern Market, or the Far Eastern market, Latin American market. You know, there are all sorts of things that we should see including in the coursebook for Brazilians, but we can't because of the market needs of Saudi Arabia. It makes very little, the only sense it makes is that it's cheaper and it makes more money, and that's the bottom line.

In sum, the above are the main conditions as the authors described them that summarises the current state of the industry when compared to how it was in the past. Having roughly mapped the territory, the following section summarises the accounts of authors regarding the production stages of textbooks and what the publishers, authors and other publisher insiders consider/do at these stages.

5.4 Textbook as a Product

Similar to the local setting described in chapter four, there is not a single way textbooks are produced in the global context, which is much bigger and richer than any local context and in this regard. This is because of the diversity of the types and scale of materials as well as publishers that range from a person who writes their own supplementary materials and sells them via an online portal with cultural or national sensitivities being less in focus, to those who aim to make the materials appropriate for everyone, to global publishers who publish materials that aim to sell hundreds of thousands of copies in as many countries as possible. The present section focuses on the production process and factors at play in the production of a typical international textbook for young learners aimed at multiple markets, or, in other words, the global textbook.

5.4.1 Production Process

In order to understand why the global textbook is the way it is, I believe that it is essential to understand what it is from the publishers' point of view and what it takes to publish an international textbook series. The authors generally think that people do not understand what goes into publishing a textbook. The following quote by GA 1 summarises quite well that a new series of international textbooks is a huge investment of time, effort and experience. He describes an example where 211 people worked on the same project, months of research were conducted to gather information from teachers and students, and the process cost millions of dollars.

> **GA 1**: Usually a textbook is done with intensive research to begin with. I can give you an example with the series that I'm working with right now. It's called [name of the series]. It's published from [name of the publisher]. It's a worldwide eight level four skills series for English as a second language. For this, they made months and months of research. They went around the world, they went to places like [countries, 1,2,3] they had conference calls with teachers, they had sessions with students. So, they do a lot of research, first of all, just to try to define what a new series should be like. Then they take all the documents and feed it into people who can think of publishing it into something, and put together a team. The team for this particular book was 211 people. 211. And so, when I'm giving a presentation, I talk about this and say even if we had only 20 years of experience each that's more than 4000 years. So, it's really a lot of experience that goes into it. What's the experience? Well, it's things like... well, we need video, we need audio recordings, we need to hire actors, we need directors and producers, music studios, there's all the design elements that goes in the book, all of the marketing sides of things, it just goes on and on and on. There are so many people involved. This particular one also has a new telephone app that goes with it. It is a massive project costing millions and millions of dollars.

Although it is not always the case, it was noted that publishers usually conduct months of research for a project of this scale (see Section 5.4.1.1.1 for types of research publishers conduct) and it takes millions of dollars of investment, thousands of hours of experience and expertise to produce the materials, additions, visuals, audios, design elements, and all other applications and content that are required to complete the package. The following sections summarise the planning, writing and post-production stages for the global textbook.

5.4.1.1 Planning

As for those producing materials for the local setting, participants in the global industry were asked to comment on the production chart I had created based on the literature. Most participants stated that the chart is accurate for most projects, which begin with research into gaps, and recruitment of lead authors and other writers. However, there were conflicting opinions with regard to whether some steps are generally followed. For instance, while all participants agreed that the initial stage takes place for 'substantial' series, other steps describing first, second and third drafts of materials may not take place at all as described in Section 5.4.1.2.

Market research and feedback

Initial Stage
-Research on new level – what is needed/gaps in market/weaknesses of other materials
-Meeting with co-authors to get to know each other and discuss and draft the basic rationale.
-Creation of draft units
-Meeting with the publisher and project manager

First Draft
-Send the first draft out to readers (out of classroom) and triallers (inside classroom) and feedback on the first draft
-Meeting with publishers, about content and philosophy of draft materials
-Feedback expected on big issues on content and design rather than details.

Second Draft
-Involves quite a lot of change – finding new texts, cutting out presentations, adding other activities, etc
-Sent to readers to review the materials
-briefing the person writing the Workbook and Teacher's Book
-Feedback expected on details from readers

Third Draft
-'Finished' units are copy-edited and sent back to writers
-Meetings with designers and editors.

Finalisation
-Follow-up production work in the area of design, cuts and rubrics

Piloting
-Written feedback on materials
-Final revision

Figure 8 Production stages of a textbook

AY: Do you think the chart accurately maps the production of a textbook?
GA 2: No, not at all. So, the initial stage, if it is a big, you know, substantial series or course book, I would say yes. That does happen.

GA 1: Yeah, I think it is quite similar. In the initial stage, yeah. It's research in a new level. Your meeting with marketing stuff, with editors, and with everybody else,

that's true. Co-authors if you have them, the draft, the big important thing is the schedule, yeah, so that has to be done. The publisher and the project manager.

At this first stage, the publisher conducts market research including investigation of the gaps and weaknesses of their own and competitors' materials, hires authors and introduces them to each other if there is more than one author, and expects them to produce draft materials that comply with a series of guidelines. The following sections summarise and exemplify the market research conducted and the guidelines provided by the publishers for the authors to adhere to.

5.4.1.1.1 Market Research by Publishers

Before starting a writing project, publishers conduct market research to identify the gaps in the market, the strengths and weaknesses of their own and their competitors' existing materials, and prepare their plan accordingly. I believe that the way publishers gather data on this purpose can be an indicator of the extent to which TESOL materials are research-based. Participants reported that although their findings are not published, publishers conduct a lot of research. For instance, GA 1 described her experience where she was asked to survey the materials of their competitors while preparing the content for their new series.

> **GA 1:** I know sometimes they spend a lot of time looking at other publishers' materials. When I was working at [large global textbook publisher], they were thinking of doing a new reading series and I was asked to get, I think I had like 11 reading books from competitors. And I drew up a list of, you know, what topics were used in every book and how many vocabulary, new vocabulary words per unit and everything. So, I surveyed 11 books of the competition, but I was never in a classroom asking people how many words, you know, teachers felt they wanted to teach every week. That was it, right? Is that market research?

While the strategy publishers mostly follow nowadays is to clone features of successful materials in the market, in cases where publishers conduct more detailed research, as GA 4 describes, the research conducted is never published, being kept in-house as it contains

commercially valuable information that publishers have no interest in sharing with

competitors.

> **GA 4**: What's happening now is they are cloning successful books. So, if you look at most books coming out now, they are very similar and that's deliberate. They actually sit down and analyse the best-selling books. It always used to be Headway, I was actually employed by a publisher to do a research project on 'Why is Headway so successful?' and then they copy those features…
> **AY**: Did you find out?
> **GA 4:** I did… But I was never allowed to publish it. See, this is one of the problems, there is a lot of research goes on in the publishing world but it's never published, It's always confidential because the reason for the research is to gain something on your competitor.

In another example, GA 4 was hired by another publisher where he distributed questionnaires

in over 10 different countries in an attempt to find out what teachers and learners wanted

from materials. The results indicated that teachers and learners wanted interesting texts.

However, as market representatives thought otherwise, believing that teachers wanted work

on grammar, the results were ignored and they ended up producing grammar-based materials

containing 'not many interesting texts'.

> **GA 4:** I was asked by one publisher what teachers and learners wanted from coursebooks and I did research in [10+] countries with questionnaires and the results were almost identical in each country and there were countries in [countries], all around the world, different cultures. What was very noticeable was what learners wanted most was interesting texts. That was the key thing. […] I passed on these findings, it was a lot more detailed, but the salespeople and the reps, they were convinced from travelling around talking to teachers that didn't really reflect what teachers wanted, that teachers wanted grammar. So, in fact this publisher published a book which had a lot of grammar and not many text, not many interesting texts. It's a question of who you listen to.

In summary, it can be stated that if TESOL materials are produced based on research, the

'research' here seems to refer to the existing materials on the market, and feedback from

market representatives based on their observations in the target market.

Based on the information they gather through market research, publishers prepare guidelines

for authors, as described in the following section.

5.4.1.1.2   Guidelines

Guidelines prepared by the publisher are provided to authors, editors, and designers according to their roles. That is, not all guidelines listed below are provided at once to all members of the production team. These guidelines include information on the following topics which are exemplified with an anonymised example from the content of the guidelines authors agreed to share for the purposes of the present study.

(i)   scope and sequence

Scope and sequence documents include structure, content and outline of the books unit by unit. Although in some cases authors themselves prepare the scope and sequence of units they are assigned to write, publishers nowadays tend to provide these pre-defined guidelines. Unit descriptions include information on number of pages and content for each page, language items to be taught, types of tasks and expected outcomes, and skills to be practised. For instance, an anonymised unit description is shown in Table 12 below.

Page and content	Function and description
Page 1 – Opening page	Introduction: Gives students an idea of what the unit is about
Page 2-4 - Content 1	Input: Includes a text about the theme of the unit that includes related vocabulary.
Page 5-6 - Content 2	Language in Context: Examples of language items used in context that familiarise students with language (phrases, verbs, grammar structures) in real life.
Page 7 - Content 3	Task: Includes tasks that aim to practise the four skills, make students use the language elements in presentations, role plays, writing, short film, etc.
Page 8 - Closing Page	My Learning: Includes self-assessment tools where students reflect on the theme, unit and learning

Table 10 Unit structure and content

In addition to identification of number of pages, units, and types of activities, some projects may also include more detailed unit plans or syllabuses including themes, topics, and

language elements prepared in advance. A sample syllabus of this type is as follows in Figure 9.

Content 1 - Unit opener

Include:
A 'why' or 'how' question that ties into the unit theme
An engaging photo to elicit language and introduce the unit topic
A video idea for the content

1	Big, age-appropriate, open-ended question. Example questions: 1 - 2
2	Intro questions that encourage sts to look at the photo and think about the topic Example questions: 1 - 2
3	Deeper questions tied to the unit topic existing English knowledge of students. Others related to the open question in 1. Example question: 1 - 2
4	Link to video A video clip about the unit topic and a high-level comprehension question activating prior knowledge of the topic. Example question 1 - 2

Content 2 - Reading text (600 words)

Include:
A pre-reading with a reading strategy.
A fiction text with clear examples of the target grammar in the unit.
Highlight key vocabulary.

1	'Warm-up activity - questions about the theme of the text
2	Reading strategy Example strategies: 1, 2, 3
3	Activity for using the strategy Examples: 1, 2
4	Look at the text, use the strategy
5	Reading text
6	Task with high-level questions

Content 3- Comprehension and Vocabulary

Include:
A task using the reading strategy in the pre-reading task.
Key vocabulary from the reading text.
At least two comprehension activities.
Listening and speaking activities.

1	Task 1
2	Read the text – focus on topic
3	Read the text – focus on details
4	Vocabulary Receptive activity 1 / Productive activity 1
5	Cognitively challenging activities to practice Practice vocabulary 1 / Practice vocabulary 2 Example activity types: 1, 2
6	Free vocabulary practice activity (listening and speaking)
7	Real life activity with 'why' and 'how' questions

Content 4 - Grammar and Speaking
Should:

Set the context of the target language.
Present the grammar point with clear examples
Activities for different skills (grammar, listening and speaking).

1	Grammar feature 1
2	Detailed feature Activity 1 Example:1, 2
3	Practice activity 1 focusing on form
4	Practice activity 2 (reading/writing)
5	Practice activity 3 (listening)
6	Practice activity 4 for practicing grammar and skills Example activities:1, 2

Content 5- Reading text (350 words)
See Content 2 for content and structure

Content 6 - Comprehension and Vocabulary
See Content 3 for content and structure

Content 7 - Grammar and Speaking
See Content 4 for content and structure

Content 8- Summary
Include:
Summarize the unit with tasks.
Project task about the unit theme
Final activity - students' share ideas on unit theme.

Figure 9 Sample syllabus

As the syllabus indicates, authors in this project were provided with detailed descriptions of content they were expected to write, including examples for types of questions, tasks, activities and what to include in the given pages.

(ii)   philosophy of teaching English

This document states the approach to be adopted in production of a given textbook series. For example, it informs the authors that the textbooks are to be written with a communicative approach, that the authors are expected to write content that stimulates critical thinking, autonomous learning, and improve learners' skills, such as global citizenship, digital literacy, leadership, problem solving, 21st century skills, etc.

(iii)   pedagogy

Author and editor briefs regarding the pedagogy to be employed in a given project include information on the pedagogical approach as part of the general vision of the publisher. For example, one of the projects is based on a blended learning model, and aimed at teaching learners how to learn, make learners reflect on their learning at all levels, build positive relationships, etc. With the help of a flipped content approach, authors are requested to prepare tasks that make learners prepare presentations, short videos, interviews and role plays which will provide language input for their peers as well as an opportunity for them to practise their speaking, listening and writing skills.

(iv)   rationale

Rationales for projects are generally about the vision and mission of the publisher, including components such as protecting and improving the brand value and quality standards by producing effective and profitable materials. The nature of materials production and the publisher's approach are summarised. For example, one of the publishers summarised the rationale for a project as follows: Producing effective TESOL materials for learners worldwide and increasing revenue and profit of the well-known [publisher's name] who have long been aiming to produce best practice in TESOL (paraphrased for anonymity). Statements such as these inform authors about the publisher's approach to materials.

(v)   target market and level

Target market can range from a single country to many countries in different parts of the world. For instance, one of the series aimed to include but not be limited to the following markets**:** Central Europe, Brazil, Korea, China, Japan, Mexico, Colombia, Spain, Italy, Poland, United Arab Emirates and Peru. The textbooks may also be aimed at students taking particular international tests or other potential assessment systems in the given contexts, such as IELTS, TOEFL, Michigan, Cambridge, Trinity, etc.

(vi)   components of the package

Authors are also informed about what components are included in the textbook package, such as students' book, workbook, teachers' book, presentation tools, DVD/CD-ROM, digital add-ons, online materials, etc.

(vii)   workflow, authors' role and schedule

Most authors, particularly freelance, are hired on a project basis and therefore know when their contracts end, which is also the end of the schedule. An example workflow is given in Table 13 in the next section (Section 5.4.1.3). The authors are also informed about what exactly is expected from them. For example, depending on the contract, the role of an author may include 10 to 15 learning content and related tasks along with their explanations and instructions where necessary for the teachers' book, suggestions for tasks and activities for learners to practise the language and the thematic content in the module.

(viii)   sensitivity guides

Sensitivity guides are the most detailed type of guideline providing authors with years of experience about the content and potential sensitivities in these contexts. As the present thesis set out to investigate why TESOL textbooks are culturally the way they are today, cultural sensitivity guides and lists of topics to avoid or use carefully are the most relevant and

interesting guidelines for me. In these documents, which may be context-based or topic-based, authors are informed about the cultural sensitivities in the target context. For example, in addition to PARSNIP (pork, alcohol, religion, sexuality, narcotics, -isms, politics) authors are advised to avoid references to or representations of dogs, donkeys, owls, smartphones, bare legs, birthday parties, tattoos, and eating with the left hand in textbooks written for markets which include the Middle Eastern market as one of the target audiences. For a detailed overview of the taboo topics, see Section 5.5.7.

As a result of these guidelines, authors are informed about target level and context, structure (length, and content structure for each unit) of the book, their role in the project (number of tasks and units required by their contract, workflow to be followed: see Section 5.4.1.2 for an example), and unit description (what type activities/tasks are expected to teach what language items and skills).

Once the editors, authors and other members of the production team such as designers are briefed and introduced to one another, roles are allocated and the authors share the workload, and authors start working on the first draft materials, which is summarised in the following section.

5.4.1.2 Writing Stage

Writing stage refers to the time and work included from when authors start off writing draft materials to completing the last revisions. Similar to the planning stage, not all textbooks are written by following the same steps. For instance, while some authors described the scenario as described below (in line with what is explicitly stated in guidelines about the writing process provided by one of the publishers), others noted that most of the stages do not

generally take place. Instead, they typically produce draft units, which go out to readers, who are teachers in the target market, and do a set of revisions and formatting according to the feedback.

(i)	Author creates a unit outline based on the guidelines
(ii)	Editor comments on outline
(iii)	Author writes the 1st draft of unit
(iv)	Editor Comments on 1st draft
(v)	Author revises the unit
(vi)	Editor comments on revised unit
(vii)	Author completes the final product

Table 11 Workflow in the first draft stage

During the first writing step, draft units and comments on the material are exchanged between the authors and editor(s). While awaiting the comments on the first draft of the first unit from their editor, an author starts writing the second unit, and while the second unit is being revised by the author, the editor comments on the second draft of the first unit. Once the seventh step is completed, the first draft of a book is ready to be sent out to readers, who are teachers or 'people publishers trust' in the target market as stated by GA 1.

> **GA 1**: I wrote a draft, I just did that this weekend for this new book that I'm writing and then I send that to the editor; it comes back-and-forth. They say, "We like this", "We don't like this" and then they send it out to a very small group. The small group is teachers that they trust, they're called the consultants. So, we send it out to the consultants, and they give us feedback on what they like and what they don't like […] And then we have to evaluate the feedback. So, sometimes we think "Yeah, this is good" or "This is not so good."

Authors evaluate the feedback from readers and make changes that they see fit, creating the second draft of the materials. However, not all changes recommended in the feedback are applied, as some of the feedback may be regarded as unhelpful or ill informed. (See Section 5.5.4 for a detailed overview of the usefulness of the feedback.)

The second draft is shaped as a result of a lot of changes, as this is the first time readers comment on the materials and recommend changes. However, at this stage, as experienced writers know what to expect from readers and are said to find the feedback 'stupid' most of

the time, as readers reportedly comment for the sake of commenting, some developed their

own strategies. As GA 1 exemplifies, authors are aware that readers need to comment on the

content, find mistakes and be critical to have achieved their goal as readers. GA 1 describes

how an experienced editor intentionally included three small mistakes on the page (e.g.,

spelling, rubrics, captions, etc.), knowing that readers would detect them, think they have

done their job, and send the materials back without having to comment on other aspects in the

content.

> **GA 1**: […] My editor said 'OK we have to send this out'. I said, 'Really?' He said, 'I
> know what they're going to do, they're all going to come back with stupid little
> comments, and they're going to be so critical and it's just going to, everyone has an
> opinion and it feels like they have to share their opinions.' He said, 'Oh don't worry,
> don't worry [GA 1], this is what I do' and he was so smart, he was the smartest editor
> I worked with. So, he said, 'What I do is, I put in three mistakes,' I said, 'What?' He
> said, 'Yes, I put in three mistakes: I put in a spelling mistake, I put a grammar
> mistake, and I make a mistake with a caption or with the rubric or something like
> that.' He said, 'They go through it, they find those three mistakes and they think
> they're heroes and they think they've done their job and they send it back.' And then,
> he was right. It was absolutely incredible; you can see the psychology, it's a big part
> of this.

In addition, although most textbooks are drafted at least a couple of times and substantial

changes may take place on the second draft as described above, there are also other scenarios

where these steps are more straightforward and faster, as described by GA 2. As authors are

given extremely detailed briefs, drafts are written using a much more controlled approach and

publishers feel free to skip some steps.

> **GA 2**: […] For the first draft, that doesn't get sent out to readers out of the classroom
> and triallers inside the classroom, no. Meeting with publishers about content and
> philosophy of draft materials, no. Your first draft goes into your editor who will say
> kind of yes or no, you know, change this or don't change this. But also, between the
> initial stage and first draft, these days we're given extremely detailed briefs about,
> you know, how many words your reading can have, where the pronunciation exercise
> has to fit and what not. So, that first draft is a lot more controlled, but no it doesn't get
> sent to readers or triallers.

As the feedback is also expected to be on topics that are highly controlled by publishers nowadays, materials tend not to be sent to readers and people who can try them inside the classroom. What's more, the quote by GA 2 below shows that even in cases where the materials *are* sent out for feedback, they are not sent to readers who are teachers and consultants, but to salespeople in the target market.

> **GA 2**: If the publisher is sending out units for feedback, they're generally sending them to their own salespeople who will comment on them. And sometimes the feedback you get from the salespeople is a bit weird.

Once the second draft is revised in accordance with the feedback received directly from the series editor, teachers and consultants in the target context, or market representatives, authors' role in the project ends and the post-production stage begins as perceived by the authors since they have no control over what happens after this point.

5.4.1.3 Post-Production

The post-production stage refers to where revisions of artwork, production work in the area of design, editing and final cuts and rubrics, etc. take place. The participants did not offer a detailed account of the steps and procedures at this stage as it is generally not in their job description and experience. However, as some participants also worked as consultant editors, they were able to describe this stage to some extent and it is understood that this stage can also involve changes in the content. For example, GA 2 recalls a case where he was consultant editor, and was asked to read and give feedback on the second or third draft of a book. As he noticed the book included vocabulary that was not academic although it was an ESP textbook, he decided that the work was 'sloppy', emailed the author, whom he knew, and asked the reason for the choice of vocabulary in the materials. It turned out that an editor had made changes to the vocabulary without informing the author.

> **GA 2**: It just, I don't know, it kind of seemed like sloppy work so I actually emailed the author and said, 'What were you thinking? How is 'so' an academic word?' She

was outraged because that was not the word she had chosen. So, she sent me an earlier draft and it was better, but some editor had gone in and changed it without sending the work to her.

Contrary to the chart I prepared based on the related literature (See Figure 8) where publishing insiders share their experience, the participants without exception stated that piloting does not take place in the post-production process, but that the first draft is occasionally sent out to readers and consultants to get an opinion from an informant in the target market. Instead of piloting, authors who work as teachers may try the units they write inside the classroom as noted by GA 2.

> **GA 2**: Occasionally, a unit or two will be sent to like a focus group of a few teachers who read it and give written comments, I think that's less common than it used to be but that still happens sometimes. But people actually trying it out in the classroom, no. That only happens from authors and that's if they are currently teaching. So there are authors who are currently teaching who might [try out materials] if they happen to be teaching the same level that they are writing for at the moment, they'll bring their own materials into class and try them out.

In cases where the materials are piloted, it takes place at a much earlier stage where the publisher shows readers 'what the textbooks are going to be like' before they are written as complete drafts. It would, GA 3 says, otherwise be an expensive mistake and costly decision to make changes later in the process as it takes one or more years of full-time work by several people to write those books. Therefore, instead of sending out the finalised version of textbooks with all design features, artwork, cuts and rubrics that are completed at later stages, initial drafts of textbooks are sent out to users for feedback.

> **GA 3:** The main piloting happens when, you know, with a sample, with a minimal viable product, which they can show to the markets and say "Look, this is what it's going to look like, what do you think?" and if lots of people don't like it that way then they'll make changes before we go to writing, to publishing. So, the piloting, I'm not really clear on it actually, I don't know at what point piloting happens and how it happens and what for. Because obviously, once you've written the book, there's no going back, you know, it's a massive production that takes a year of several people's lives full time, writers to editors to publishers. So, it would be an expensive mistake to make a book and then see if people like it. So, they do it more, the early stage, the piloting, or the reviews from markets and teachers comes earlier than the end.

Once the products are finalised, publishers distribute them to the target market in hard copies and/make them available for online sales in all relevant websites. However, the filters that a textbook is subject to are not limited to the ideas of the readers or users in the target market. In common with all commercial items, textbooks are also subject to customs inspection, as well as approval of the local MoE where they may be denied entry to the country or denied access to schools no matter how appropriate they were planned to be for the target context. GA 2 recalls a case where a series was denied entry to Brazil because of a 'woman in a swimsuit', which was deemed by the authorities to be inappropriate in a classroom in this context.

> **GA 2:** It's hard for authors, too. Because we think what is acceptable in a classroom but for textbooks that's not the only consideration. For textbooks, you got to get it in, you know, import export, you know, people at the border of the country. You've got to get sometimes Ministry of Education approval. Things that are possible in the classroom are not necessarily going to get in the country. I remember [name of a publisher] had this course book called [name of a series], I don't know if it's still in print, it might be. And one of the levels featured a woman on a diving board about to dive into a swimming pool. She had a bathing cap, a very modest one-piece suit but you could still see her legs. And thousands and thousands of copies were being sent to Brazil which is a major market and the customs people at the border stopped and would not let the book in because of that picture on the cover. And this is Brazil you know, there are all kinds of people who are wearing two seashells and a leaf. It would have been fine in class, but at the border it was stopped and can't go in. So, those are the kinds of things publishers have to be aware of.

5.4.1.4 Overview of the Process

In summary, a global textbook series is a big investment by publishers that takes years of efforts by hundreds of people, having thousands of years of experience in total between them and which costs millions of dollars to produce. Therefore, publishers prepare detailed guidelines regarding content, structure, rationale and aim of the project and the control of publishers of textbook content has been increasing (see Section 5.4.1.1.2 for a review of the types of guidelines). Based on these guidelines, authors, who are employed for the writing stage only, are expected to write to a pre-defined outline. While in the past, materials

production was less about profits for publishers and took years of planning and production work, and authors were permitted to exercise more agency when it came to creating textbook content, it has more recently become a commercial item which is produced in a much shorter time period than it used to be with a highly defined workflow and content but also a messy production process as stated by GA 1 and GA 3 in the following quotes.

> **GA 1**: It's very messy and it keeps going back-and-forth and back-and-forth. I've written whole units, they send it out and they say, 'You know what, they don't like this topic' and I say, 'Okay,' I just start all over again. It's not a very smooth process whatsoever; we get to the very very end, we decide something else, I write a unit, they say 'You know what this is...', they lay it out and they say 'We need an extra exercise, so can you write?' I say, 'Of course' and I need to do that really quickly. It's not very well planned, it's. I mean, it's well planned but it goes back-and-forth back-and-forth, back-and-forth. It's not a smooth progression like you finish this, hand it over. Not at all, it's not like that at all.

> _____

> **GA 3**: We've got two years to write seven books, plus the teachers and workbook, all the crucial parts, the online stuff, the video assets, all kind of all the rest of it that's all going to be published at the same time.

The textbook as a product is not prepared with certain smooth steps of production and the time allocated to planning and writing has significantly decreased in the last decade. The constraints including time are described in detail in Section 5.5. Although each step is not necessarily completed in the given stage or the progression in the writing process is not as smooth as a flow chart would describe, Figure 10 illustrates a generalised production process for the global textbook to offer an overview from the initial planning stage to sales and marketing.

Six months to two years

| Research into gaps | Preparation for project | Writing | Revision | Final revision | Sales and distribution |

- Research into gaps
  - Publisher conducts research into markets and existing materials
  - Publisher identifies the need
- Preparation for project
  - Publisher prepares guidelines
  - Hires lead authors, editors and other authors
  - Meetings and briefs
- Writing
  - Units are allocated
  - Authors write unit outlines
  - Editor comments
  - Authors write units
  - Editor comment
- Revision
  - Drafts sent out to readers
  - Feedback received
  - No actul piloting inside classroom
  - Changes made selectively
- Final revision
  - Editors revise content again
  - Artwork, visuals, cuts, rubrics
  - Changes may occur without informing the authors
- Sales and distribution
  - Textbooks are printed and distributed to target market or made available online
  - Further inspection by customs and MoE

Figure 10 Production of a global textbook

The global textbook is certainly easier described and criticised than written and produced. The publishers have not been able to make everyone happy so far, because the production process is not without flaws and there are numerous factors at play that are not clear to an outsider. The following section includes the accounts of the participants regarding the factors that prevent the global textbook from being ideal.

5.5 Constraints

There are constraints that cause compromises in textbook production which may or may not stem from the authors themselves. The present section summarises the nature of the constraints and their impact on global textbooks, according to my insiders. These are a commercially driven approach by publishers, time, the intervention of publishers regarding content, the quality of feedback received, diversity of the target audience, payment policies, and taboo topics that authors need to avoid while writing the textbooks.

5.5.1 Market-Led Approach

As stated in section 5.3, while formerly TESOL publishing was less about profits, it later reportedly became a lot more competitive as the market grew, which made the publishers a lot more competitive and a lot more business-like. Because of the growing market and potential of the industry, a lot of publishers were taken over or merged with either American or German companies who had a much more business-like approach. This resulted in the

production of much more defined, market-driven, cautious and anodyne materials, in contrast to when publishers were able to take risks in content and approach in the last decades before the millennium.

With this new business-like approach to TESOL textbook production, textbooks became more market-led rather than methodology-led. That is, publishers' first priority is to sell books, rather than trying to produce materials with the most up to date methodology, providing teachers with what they expect, need or feel that they need. As stated by GA 3 in the following quote, the fear of falling sales and not being able to capture markets are the main motivations behind decisions.

> **GA 3:** […] there are obviously areas of coursebook writing where there's a clash between the market needs and the so-called up to date methodology, and it seems to be a conflict often between those two things. So, I think, I suppose you could sum it up by saying that coursebooks are market-led generally, not methodology led. So, they're not trying to be the most up to date methodology, they're trying to sell books. And there's a lot of inertia about change in course books, and that stems from the fear of falling sales, trying to capture that market, and not wanting to give teachers what they expect, not necessarily what they need or what they feel they need.

The market-led approach can be considered the reason behind other constraints related to lack of time, feedback, payment policies, publisher intervention and taboo topics as they partly or mostly stem from this commercially-driven approach to textbook production. For example, as GA 1 states in the following quote, a publisher could aim to sell in a particular market and produce materials for that particular context only. This would enable production of more focused and culturally appropriate materials for the context. However, the publisher would not make any or much money out of this project. For this reason, GA 1 notes that she decided not to be involved in a project that would sell 20,000 copies and not make money, but when they shifted their focus from local to global, the material sold well and both she and the

publisher were happy although the material was written with the constraints the international approach brought.

> **GA 1**: I went into it at the beginning when they first asked me to work on the book and I said 'Well, where is it selling?' they said, 'Well, we just market in [country].' And I said, it's probably not worth it for me just to sell a book for marketing in [country]. What are you going to sell? You know, 20,000 copies? What's that to me? It's nothing. So, it's not going to pay my time to write it. So, anyways, so, they started working and now, now they're very… since that book, that's why they love me because we made a lot of money selling them all over the world.

As a result of the material production becoming more and more market-driven and business-like, although publishers might be aware of users' needs and demands, they focus on getting into the market rather than satisfying teachers' needs as exemplified by GA 2 below, describing a scenario where they were asked to remove references to dogs, which the authoring team wanted to resist. However, their editor told them that the priority is to satisfy the custom check-list rather than what teachers would prefer.

> **GA 2**: […] the editor said, 'Yeah, I don't care about the teacher in the classroom, what I care about is the import inspector who has a list and he's going to count how many banned topics you have and if you had too many that book is not going in'.

Although it is not clear which one led to the other, the market-driven approach is evident in the professional background of the people working at managerial level in major publishing companies. While the managerial staff working for the publishers used to be people with backgrounds related to education, language teaching, linguistics, etc., nowadays more and more people from marketing and sales occupy these positions, as GA 2 states in the quote below, which potentially leads to materials that look 'beautiful' but are not effective inside the classroom.

> **GA 2:** I don't know, especially as you get more people in the editorial jobs who come from marketing or sales or finance, something which is not education, teaching, linguistics they look at something and it looks beautiful but it doesn't work in the classroom.

The market-led approach is what motivates authors and publishers to produce materials. However, it is also what forces the publishers to adopt the international publishing approach which results in overly cautious and bland content produced by people who are paid less and therefore may be less committed and passionate about the product, which can be useful for everyone but without making anyone happy or excited. In addition, within the market-led approach, even rare instances where Applied Linguistics research manages to get into the practice of textbook writing, the feature can be used as a selling point and this approach may have negative consequences such as a 'washback effect' as GA 2 underlines below.

> **GA 2:** I think there's a sort of a washback in in materials as well. If you have two or three publishers, as we did, come out and say, 'Our reading book features 10 Academic Word List words in every reading', and they push this as a unique selling point. After a while you create a market of teachers who think that a good reading passage will be one that had 10 Academic Word List words in every reading.

The constraints described in the following sections can be considered to arise partly as a result of this market-led focus but will be reported separately for a more detailed account.

5.5.2 Time

Time is one of the biggest constraints in the production of a global textbook. All participants agreed that lack of time and short deadlines significantly influence the quality of materials as they prevent the authors from paying sufficiently close attention to the materials, following relevant discussions in the literature, discussing with the publisher the content they are writing, piloting the materials, and therefore producing better planned and more effective materials. As GA 3 states below, while a few decades ago a series of textbooks would be completed in around six years by allocating two years for each stage (planning, production, marketing), authors now need to complete all components of the series including online materials, teachers' book and workbook for all levels in the series within two years, which gives them less than six months for each book.

GA 3: I think there are time constraints now. In the past, 20-30 years ago, they brought out Headway Pre-Intermediate and then they brought out Headway Intermediate a year later and then another year later, the next level came out and after six years the whole course was there written by the same people, whereas now they want to do the whole course and publish at same time and so we've got two years to write seven books, plus the teachers' [book], workbook, all the crucial parts, the online stuff, the video assets, all kind of, all the rest of it, that's all going to be published at the same time. And so, how and where the piloting fits in there, I'm not sure. I think time constraints [are] perhaps a more of a, of a reason why piloting might not happen or might not happen some, so much.

According to some authors, as they are working under time pressure and with tight deadlines, authors and other publishing insiders are unable to follow Second Language Acquisition and TESOL material research although they would like to do so.

AY: One of the things I want to learn is how informed textbook writers are about the research on TESOL materials.
GA 4: Ideally, writers should have read this, should have thought about it and should be aware of it. It then comes down to one simple thing. Just as the research on second language acquisition. They haven't got time to find out.

In addition, due to the pressure of deadlines and schedules, writers hesitate to argue with editors and publishers in the project regarding the appropriacy of elements or representations within the books. For instance, GA 2 was asked to remove the word 'birthday party' from a textbook aimed at the Middle Eastern market because the editor thought it was inappropriate for the context as parties were not considered acceptable in Islam. Instead of resisting, the author decided to compromise to save time and just made the requested change.

GA 2: [*Describing a situation where the editor asked them to remove 'birthday party'*] You can be Muslim and have a birthday and the editor said, "Well, you could do that, birthday is OK, but the word *party* is not OK' and birthday goes with party, 'then that's not okay'. And, you know, you're under the time pressure of the schedule. It is easier to just take out the word birthday than it is to fight for it.

5.5.3   Publisher Intervention

According to the participants, there has been a movement from an author-led to a publisher-led model in textbook publishing, which has increased the intervention and control of publishers on textbook content. While formerly publishers would approach author(s) with a

proposal along with requirements and leave the outline and planning to authors, now authors are expected to write 'a book that is completely defined by the publisher in a much shorter period of time than previously was the case' as GA 7 states below. Instead of waiting for years for authors to complete the books, publishers hire more project-based writers (six to eight of them) with the purpose of minimising the writing period to as short as around six months.

> **GA 7**: And in the past, sometimes authors approached publishers but typically publishers would approach authors and say 'We need a book for this market, these are the requirements, go away and think about what you think would work and then we will start talking about the book'. In other words, it was quite author-led. And I am still working on quite author-led projects but I think increasingly, big international projects are publisher-led. A team of authors, maybe six or eight, is required to write a book that is completely defined by the publisher in a much shorter period of time than previously was the case. I am not entirely sure why the need to get to market has changed so much, why publishers, rather than sort of saying, 'OK, we need a book in six years, so let's take two years to plan it, and two years to write it and produce it, and then a year to sell it. Before people start using it'. Now people seem to have concertinaed into a very short period of time. For example, with the second edition of the course that I'm about to write, my co-author and I are kind of in charge, if you like, from an authorial point of view, but lots of other authors will be brought in as well to help write parts of it. Because they need it in six months' time. Whereas five years ago, we would probably have two years to produce this book and we would have than all the other work ourselves. So, it's becoming accelerated, sort of atomised, or…

The publisher-led model requires preparation of guidelines and results in highly defined materials. In addition to provision of detailed guidelines regarding the content, structure and aims of projects (as described in detail in Section 5.4.1.1), publishers keep control of the content while textbooks are being written at all times, as well. In addition to the rounds of comments and feedback from the editor and readers as described in Section 5.4.1.2, editors may request changes such as addition of new content or exclusion of some items during the very last steps of production as GA 1 states below, or 'some editor may go in and make changes without sending the work to authors' as GA 2 notes in Section 5.4.1.3.

> **GA 1**: […] We get to the very very end, we decide something else, I write a unit, they say 'You know what this is... they lay it out and they say 'we need an extra exercise, so can you write?' I say, 'Of course' and I need to do that really quickly.

5.5.4 Feedback

Authors also noted that the feedback they received on content may not always be useful due to whom publishers consult for feedback and the quality or usefulness of feedback authors receive. The following sections summarise the accounts of authors with regard to how useful they think feedback is, and where the feedback comes from.

5.5.4.1 Usefulness of Feedback

Although one would imagine that feedback can be very useful as authors may not be able to detect their own errors or mistakes, or would pinpoint problems with the materials that authors simply are not aware of, feedback received from editors, readers, consultants, teachers and market representatives in the target context tend to be considered as 'stupid comments that are made for the sake of making them and feeling that they have done their job' (GA 1). When participants were asked why they were of this opinion, they shared a number of interesting experiences and a whole textbook with reader comments to exemplify the sort of feedback they receive on content they write. For example, GA 1 describes a case where they received feedback from a reader and they were not happy with it as they noticed the feedback was written within a very short time after midnight.

> **GA 1**: So, for example, one time I sent out a book, I was working with an Australian publisher and we sent a book to this consultant in Taiwan and she was late late late giving the feedback and then she came and brought back all these feedbacks back. She used the google docs, wrote on a Word doc, all her comments on a Word doc and she had a lot of criticism, she had a lot of things that she didn't like. So, my publisher called me up and we started talking about it and I said, 'I don't buy any of it. I think she's an idiot,' and she said 'Why? Why did you say that?' I said, 'Look at the timestamps.' So, every time you put a new comment, it says what time you put it in. And I could tell she went through the whole chapter and all the other materials in half an hour and she did it at midnight [laughs]. It was 00:01, 00:06, it was like 00:30. That was it. She did after midnight because we were kept asking for it. So, she wasn't really thinking about it.

The quality of the feedback is also strongly linked to the qualities of the readers. Following this experience, GA 1 noted that publishers usually work with teachers at schools which they

hope will adopt their textbooks rather than qualified teachers who have expertise in material use and production.

> **GA 1**: you have to really consider where the expertise is coming from and weigh it and see if it's practical. So, but usually they work, like [a global publisher], they work with teachers that they really trust. They also tend to work with teachers who, that they think their institutions might adopt the programme, so that's a big part of it.

Another example is given in Section 5.4.1.3 where GA 2 gave feedback on materials, but the changes he requested were ignored. For similar reasons, authors believe that the expectation from readers and focus group feedback is that they are to give endorsements and approval of the approach and content of the materials rather than critical evaluation of what is on the page, as noted by GA 4 below, since publishing is a business and the investment they already made cannot be wasted by making changes.

> **GA 4**: They will have invested a hell of a lot of money and if the focus group says 'We really don't like your approach, what would work much better is if you did this', [laughs], so, really this is rather controversial but in my view the objective in most focus groups is to endorse what has been done. Maybe a few small changes. We've got to accept the publishing is a business.

To save space, I will not reproduce other experiences and anecdotes. However, to confirm the authors' statements, I closely read feedback given on a 131 page first draft of a textbook by a major publisher. Overall, the reader made 125 comments on the book content. However, approximately 120 of the comments were correction requests on very small details such as 'put group icon, blue bold, red bold, rubric font, pair icon, black, dot missing, too small, choose a brighter color'. In the remaining five comments, the reader—indicating that s/he was entitled or expected to comment on a larger scale—made other recommendations such as changing the title of a poem, asking for 'a more exciting design' for a text and a 'better layout' for a comparison exercise while elements that were on the sensitivity list for the project such as 'birthdays' were included in the book and there were numerous cultural

representations that could be considered stereotypical. In sum, then, based on this document, it did indeed seem that most of the feedback was on minor rather than major issues.

5.5.4.2   Source of Feedback

Participants also noted that the sources of feedback on their materials and the reasons behind decision making regarding textbook content are not principled enough. While the feedback on drafts is collected from teachers whose only qualification is working at a target school instead of experts, authors also consider the uninformed or ill-informed market feedback on content as a constraint in textbook production. This lack of principle affects authors in ways similar to the example GA 2 gives in the quote below, where the author team built the scope and sequence of their book as a storyline and needed to change the structure and flow of the whole book based on a comment of 'one sales representative' in one of the target markets who said the people in the target market 'did not like stories'. Due to the ill-informed feedback, the participant and his co-author wanted to quit the project but the publisher said they would need to hire another author to make the changes and subtract the cost from their royalties.

> **GA 2**: [*description of content is omitted for anonymity*] …the publisher said that the markets said that we couldn't have that story connecting the units because "[name of a region] do not like stories". I was like, 'What do you mean [target market] don't like stories?' And I kept asking and it turned out that this is a comment made by one sales representative in [country], that was it. And I asked if I could even talk to that person and explain how the book worked. 'No'. So, what they did, I mean that was a point where my co-author and I said 'OK, fine, we won't do the book'. I don't want to do a bad book. And they said if we didn't do the revisions, then they would hire someone else to do the revisions and pay that person and subtract that person's fees from our royalties and we wouldn't get to see any of the changes being made. So, I kind of felt like we had no choice so we wanted to be as involved as possible, but we could not keep the storyline in the book.

He noted that eventually they had to change the structure, but it was 'certainly not as good as the first edition'. Therefore, instead of making substantial changes on materials based on the idea of 'one guy who may have never taught', they would be happier to consider the changes if the feedback was based on opinions of '60 teachers who have been rigorously polled'.

> **GA 3**: I don't think it's good, it's certainly not as good as the first edition and I told him I wouldn't promote it. This idea of feedback, and they're saying "that's what the markets want" and they say the "markets" like it's sort of, you know, 60 teachers who have been rigorously polled, no it's just one dude in [country] who may have never taught in his life.

The participants reported many other examples such as a case in which another market representative asked the editorial team to remove all 'role-play' exercises in a textbook series that included Eastern Asia among target markets on the grounds that 'Chinese people did not like role-plays'. This overcautious approach that required major changes in textbooks constitutes a constraint for the authors as well as the content as the same series was aimed to be sold in diverse contexts ranging from Latin America to the Middle East. Diversity of the target markets that includes, for example, Colombia and Saudi Arabia constitutes another constraint, given the need to reconcile cultural sensitivities in both contexts in the same book, which is explained in further detail in the next section.

5.5.5   Diversity of the Audience

One of the most salient constraints in production of the global textbook is diversity of the target markets. First of all, as GA 3 states below, the same textbook is produced for all countries in Middle Eastern, Far Eastern, and Latin American markets. This makes the materials cheaper to produce, but significantly limits the topics and representations authors can include in textbooks, as items that would be acceptable for Brazilian people need to be excluded because of the market needs in Saudi Arabia and vice versa.

> **GA 3**: If a coursebook is good for global market, then having to stick so carefully over sensitivities and sensibilities of different cultures and different markets, whether it's Middle Eastern Market, or the Far Eastern market, Latin American market, you know, there are all sorts of things that we should be including in the coursebook for Brazilians, but we can't because of the market needs of Saudi Arabia. It makes very little, the only sense it makes is that it's cheaper and it makes more money, and that's the bottom line.

In the quote below, GA 2 describes his experience where his team were asked to write a unit on films for a series aimed at the international market. However, while writing the unit on films, they were not allowed to mention any film titles, types or actors because they were told that people in Saudi Arabia did not like movies. The most unacceptable point about this for the authors is that, even if Saudi Arabians do not actually like movies, this should not determine what students in Brazil, Mexico, Canada, France, China, Sweden and Thailand see in their textbooks.

> **GA 2**: One of the topics was film. So, they were going to, you know, write their unit on film. And they said, 'Oh, but you can't mention any titles of films, any kinds of films, any actors in films.' All these restrictions because they said, 'Saudi Arabia is against movies.' […] If that's true then I think what you ought to do is take out the film unit for Saudi Arabia and put it in a different unit. And that in the end is what happened. But it also means that you know, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, France, China, all those countries are not doing a unit on film because somebody thought Saudi Arabia wouldn't like it. And I, I'm not entirely comfortable with that. Saudi Arabia has the right to study or not study whatever they want to, but I don't know why that should also determine what people in in Sweden and Thailand study.

As it is commercially more effective to produce materials targeting a bigger market, instead of producing separate materials for all target markets, several global publishers are producing textbooks with an approach that will make them acceptable in as many countries and contexts as possible. Therefore, they expect authors to write neutral content so as not to offend anybody, or cause any controversy in any of the target markets. However, textbooks written with this approach tend to represent values which are quite general, which makes them bland, 'neutral and anodyne' as a consequence.

> **GA 8**: […] International publishers try to sell their textbooks in any country anywhere. Unless you know, there are several of these publishers in the UK and the

USA. They make a lot of money, they are big business, and they are interested in producing textbooks which can be sold on the market anywhere. Maybe in some cases with versions for a particular market but mostly they're interested in global impact in their textbooks. Of course, this means that they expect—this is a weakness in my view—they expect the writers to write a kind of neutral textbook which will not offend anybody, which will not provide any controversy in any of the contexts which they are going to sell it. So those textbooks often tend to represent values which are quite generalized about. Because they become kind of neutral and anodyne.

In summary, diversity of the markets makes materials that could be more exciting and engaging for learners in a particular context into dreary and boring materials that might be useful for everyone, but does not make anyone excited or happy due to market sensitivities in a completely different culture in another part of the world.

5.5.6 Payments

According to my participants, possibly the biggest change that has taken place in textbook production concerns payments. While in the past, authors received royalties, publishers now tend to hire authors for the duration of a project and pay them a standard fee for writing the textbooks. As for the rare cases in which authors are still paid in royalties, the share of authors' royalties has decreased significantly. As described earlier in Section 5.2.2, the industry moved from a point where 'celebrity authors' made millions of dollars from a single project, to a point where authors are paid as low as 5,000 dollars per for a textbook project. This has resulted in less qualified authors writing less effective materials with less commitment and enthusiasm as the success of the book (in terms of the number of sales) does not affect the author except for his/her reputation, as GA 1 notes in the following quote.

> **GA 1**: […] What happens when you hire people who are just paid, you know 5000 dollars or something, just to write a book, they don't have a real commitment. They don't care, they're not going to promote it afterwards. They think if there is something wrong, it's not their problem.

The participants stated that publishers wanted a bigger share of the money authors were making, and decreased the royalties and changed their way of working completely by hiring young and inexperienced authors who write according to a draft. However, saving money by

paying less to people who are the creators of materials has resulted in cruder and less effective materials that are not likely to work inside the classroom as well as they should and don't generate brand loyalty on the part of the teacher as the end user of the materials or repeat sales for the publisher.

> **GA 2**: Publishers are like 'Oh my God, we have to save money. Where is the only place we can cut? I know. Authors.' [Laughs] I don't think that's the smartest place to save money, we're people who are actually creating your materials. I think the results are that because I work as an editor as well as an author, I know that when publishers don't pay authors enough, what they get is very young inexperienced authors, who mean well, but who are less experienced and their materials are a lot rougher and what I get as an editor are materials that are harder to fix and you know if the teacher teaches out of a book and it doesn't work they won't buy it again.

In rare scenarios where authors are paid in royalties, the percentages of royalties have radically dropped although their role also includes promotion of the materials once they are completed. Even though the percentages are much lower, royalties still motivate authors to promote the books by attending conferences, giving talks, writing articles and doing what they can to make the materials as profitable as possible for themselves as well as the publisher.

> **GA 3:** I mean, obviously, 10 years ago if you were writing a coursebook you might expect 10% or more. Nowadays it's down to three 3%, if anything.
>
> **GA 1:** In my case I still got paid because I promote the books, so they know that there is added value there. I will give talks, I will go to conferences, I will write articles and do everything else to help promote the book because, again, I don't get paid if it doesn't sell. So, I'm trying to make sure it is essentially as profitable as possible for the publisher but mostly for me.

In summary, payments authors receive have significantly dropped and they are mostly offered a standard fee for writing instead of royalties, which has resulted in young and inexperienced authors writing less effective materials and being less committed to seeing the materials succeed.

5.5.7   Taboo Topics

As part of a global authoring team, authors and editors receive lists of cultural sensitivities and taboo topics that they are requested to pay attention to and avoid mentioning while writing textbooks. Publishers prepare and keep updating these lists on the basis of their experience from previous projects, information gathered from sales and marketing staff as well as from teachers in target markets or analysis of competitors' materials. The lists of taboos and sensitivities are generally provided to authors as part of project guidelines at the beginning.

5.5.7.1 PARSNIP Taboo Topics

The acronym PARSNIP stands for pork, alcohol, religion, sexuality, narcotics, -isms, and politics which are generally avoided in TESOL textbooks (Gray, 2010). When the participants were asked to comment on a prompt card that listed the PARSNIP topics and widely accepted taboos (also including crime, death, violence, wars, etc.), they agreed that they are well known topics that they are requested to avoid although they think some of them need to change and at least some of the supposedly taboo topics should in fact be included in materials (see Section 5.5.7.4 for their reasons).

While taboos that might affect learners psychologically negatively such as narcotics, alcohol, death, violence, guns, etc. are described as 'big no's' for both authors and publishers, other taboos that are based on religion and culture are avoided as part of market sensitivity even though they do not reflect authors' perspectives on these topics. For instance, while GA 1 describes alcohol, narcotics, violence, representing wars, threatening domestic violence or guns as big no's, he claims his authoring team will mention crime as long as they are careful

about the message and if it is presented in a way that learners will not associate the content with their own lives.

> **GA 1**: […] Alcohol, narcotics, violence, representing wars, threatening, domestic violence or guns. These are all big no's.
>
> **GA 1**: Crime and death… We talk about crime all the time. You have to be careful though. […] You have to be sensitive about things like murder, suicide, robbery, bombing. If it affects the students personally, yeah, you really don't want to deal with it. So, it has to be pretty abstract or removed from them so that they don't have to think about it in their own contexts.

On the other hand, as explained in more detail in 5.5.7.4, some authors think that taboos such as pork, politics, religion and -isms need to be used in materials as they believe these are what learners need to learn and talk about, and that these topics can be useful and engaging in the TESOL classroom.

5.5.7.2 Other Taboos

Participants were asked to share any documents that are about cultural sensitivities and taboo topics that need to be avoided in textbooks. While some of the authors shared a document exclusively about sensitivities (Document 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22) and one author read out the guidelines during the interview, others reported their experience based on cases they could recall.

The guidelines regarding cultural briefs and sensitivity guides are generally categorised in terms of context and topic; however, the contexts are all included in target markets for a global textbook. For instance, although the documents give sensitivities in China and the Middle East separately, they are all required to be avoided in an international textbook series. For the sake of anonymity, the taboo topic lists from different publishers are put together and

categorised based on topics in Table 15. As the table indicates, taboo topics to avoid, or use very carefully 'only within the structure of the syllabus' include items about animals, the human body, relationships, religion, food and drink, activities, politics, family, gestures, etc. that might be considered inappropriate or offensive in different parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East, Latin America and China, which are described as 'very sensitive' markets.

While most topics are listed under the title of 'avoid' or 'delete', the documents also include notes regarding why some of the topics need to be avoided or how they can be used, if there are different options or circumstances. For instance, it informs authors that the expression 'third world' is considered Eurocentric and derogatory, originating in the Cold War, and that representing dogs is acceptable as guard dogs but not indoors in homes as members of the family.

As Table 15 indicates, the taboo/sensitive topics authors are required to avoid or use very carefully consist of items from different parts of the world and apply to the international textbook that may be sold in markets ranging from Indonesia, China, the Middle East, and Brazil at the same time. While owls could be appropriate for a classroom in Latin America, they are excluded because they are inappropriate in the Middle East; and learners in Taiwan cannot have fish as food in their glocal textbook because 'Bantu people in South Africa do not consume fish'. This constitutes a big constraint for authors who are trying to write exciting and engaging materials.

In addition to the topics listed in the guidelines, participants reported that they receive written and verbal feedback on content they write and are requested to remove/delete items or representations. Although this feedback does not refer to subject matter seen as taboo for all

global textbooks, it exemplifies the over cautious approach to textbook content. For instance, 'hamburger' is avoided because it includes the word 'ham' in it, the use of a halo is avoided as it is considered a religious symbol, and celebrities are avoided on the grounds that they 'age the books' as indicated in Table 14 below.

Content	Editor's comment
Brand names	'California public schools don't take textbooks that mention brand names. So, you could say cell phone, but you can't say iPhone'
The word 'cross'	'We can't mention the word cross because of Islam even if it's not a religious word'
Hamburger	'It includes the word 'ham' although there is no ham in it. Replace with beefburger.'
Role play activities	'Asians don't like role-plays. We need to take all of the role plays out of the book'
Smartphones	'The word smart implies that the phone can think. And that's against Islam'
Poverty	'The only time you see a poor person was if they start poor and get wealthy'
Different ages	'You can't have teenagers or kids or old people [reason not explained to author]. So, if you look the vast majority of photos of people, and stories about people, they're all people in their 20s'
Characters touching each other	[*A task aiming to teach parts of the body*] 'We don't want to suggest having students touch one another'
Halo	Considered a religious symbol.
Iranian/Israeli Names	'Marzia too Iranian, could upset Saudis', 'David is too Israeli'
Disney	References deleted [reason not explained to author]
Celebrities	'They age books really quickly' since they may die, get involved in crime or scandals. Mark Zuckerberg: Used to be a role model until the Facebook personal information scandal. Oscar Pistorius: 'Amazing running career, murdered his girlfriend.'

Table 12 Taboo topics from editor's comments

Theme	Item
Animals	██
Human Body	███
	██
Relationships	███
	██████████████████████████
Religion	███
	██
	███
	████████████████████████████████
Food and drink	██
	██████████████████████
Activities	██
	███
Politics	███
	███
	████████████████████████████████
	█████████████████████████████████
Family	███
	████████████
Colours / Flags	██
	███████████████████████
	██
People	██
	███
Gestures	███
	██
	███
	██
	███████████████████████
Other	██
	██
	███
	███
	██████████████████████████████████████

Table 13 Taboo topics from guidelines

5.5.7.3 Source of Taboos

The reason these taboo lists exist and how topics get into the lists are both worth investigating as they surely tell us something about the rationale and approach to material production. The source of taboo topics can be categorised into two: experience from previous projects, and information gathered from market/sales representatives. To begin with, it is worth mentioning that some sensitivity guidelines start with examples where mistakes of this nature caused serious financial loss for companies as their product was banned or did not sell and needed to be withdrawn from the market. For instance, one of the documents includes several examples such as the following:

> 'When colouring in 800,000 pixels on a map of India, Microsoft coloured eight of them a different shade of green to represent the disputed Kashmiri territory. The difference in greens meant Kashmir was shown as non-Indian, and the product was promptly banned in India. Microsoft was left to recall all 200,000 copies of the offending Windows 95 operating system software to try and heal the diplomatic wounds. It cost them millions of dollars.'

This example is by no means exceptional. As GA 1 states in the following quote, a publisher marketed materials in China and after it was noticed that it included a small detail about the Dalai Lama, the Chinese government reacted harshly. As a result of this mistake, a lot of people lost their jobs and the publisher had to not only withdraw their products and apologise, but also pay compensation for the mistake.

> **GA 1**: […] There was one, with a publisher and one publisher was uh…They sold the book in China and it had, it sold and was distributed to schools and everything else. Then, a teacher was looking at it and said there was a picture of Dalai Lama on it. And it's just a little half paragraph thing about different people around the world but of course the Dalai Lama in China is *not* allowed. It's like there's no way to put him into high school textbook so the Chinese government went insane and a lot of people lost their jobs. And the publisher had to pay huge amounts of money for their mistake and everything else and apologise. It was such a mess, but it was one small detail.

With understandable concerns about incidents like the above examples, publishers try their best to avoid any content that might be offensive and cause controversy. With this in mind, they prepare tables that highlight issues that have arisen over time in various contexts and

expect all their authors/editors/staff/contractors to apply these. Even though they may not agree with all the topics that are requested to be avoided, or the way the information regarding these topics are gathered, they eventually need to apply the requested changes. However dangerous taboo topics might be for the publishers, some participants stated that the way the information is gathered regarding taboo topics is not principled enough and they, as creators of the content, need to have a bigger say in decision making on what to include, and the information should be gathered from teachers instead of 'one or two market/sales representatives' as stated by GA 2 in the following quote.

> **GA 2:** I would say sometimes they are half informed, I mean the sales reps certainly have a lot of valuable knowledge and they should be the people who are talking to teachers, listening to what teachers want but I just wish we had, you know, access to more than one person giving sort of sweeping answers.

5.5.7.4 Use of Taboos

Some authors also believe that some taboo topics can be useful inside the classroom and avoiding culturally inappropriate taboo topics does not make sense because they believe that these topics might be what learners actually need to learn about. For instance, pork is avoided in textbooks on the grounds that it is prohibited in Islam and Judaism. However, as GA 2 states in the following quote, this is actually what Muslim people need to confront as they will need to express that they do not consume pork products and will need to learn to ask if a product includes pork as an ingredient. Instead of avoiding the topics, GA 2 believes that materials should provide learners with language to deal with their sensitivities in a way that is appropriate.

> **GA 2**: If something is culturally or ideologically inappropriate, I can't promise that students will never encounter that. But I would hope that they would have the tools to talk about it or to avoid a conversation about it. […] If we remove the word alcohol from the conversations, well, then how are you going to go to a party and avoid alcohol if you don't know if a drink is alcoholic or not? How are you going to avoid pork, if you don't know the word 'ham'? If you don't know that a sausage has pork in it, then you can't avoid it. So, you have to know the word sausage. If you're a Muslim, you got to know what not to eat. So, I think it's not so much at those content,

that content can't exist, it's that you have to be given the language to deal with it in a way that's appropriate for you.

In addition to the needs of some learners, authors also think that taboos and controversial topics can be stimulating as long as they are handled appropriately by the teacher, as exemplified by GA 1 below, who thinks that instead of asking students their favourite meal, discussing pros and cons of communism and capitalism would stimulate discussion and be more interesting for learners.

> **GA 1**: "Oh, what's your favourite meal?" "Really, again?" It's so boring but if you want to have debate, you say "Ok. What's better: communism or capitalism? Why?" You know, that's interesting and say, "What are the pros and cons of these?" So, it's a real sort of thing, it's realistic because it's the real world.

Lastly, it seems that the taboo topics do not necessarily reflect the opinions of authors and they need to adhere to the guidelines and priorities of publishers, who need to comply with the market sensitivities if they want to sell books. For example, as GA 1 states below, although they have LGBT friends and acquaintances, they cannot represent them in the textbooks because conservative markets such as Latin America (90% Catholic) and the Muslim world will not buy the books.

> **GA 1**: We, everybody thinks that we want to be more open to society and embrace gender and everything else. But a publisher is very conservative because many schools are very conservative. So, if you have LGBT characters, for example, in it, then you may not sell any copies because certain places, they'll just look at it and say "We can't sell this." […] I would love to put more of it in there because it would reflect the world, or people I know, my friends. But you can't do that, it's just not going to happen. Too many markets are too conservative. When you think about Latin America, 90% Catholic. No, they're not going to buy it.

5.6 Opinions and Beliefs

As stated in Section 4.6.1, who authors write for is an important factor in understanding why the materials are the way they are. Their assumptions about and typification of users are factors that influence their approach to writing materials. The present section reports the

findings on the participants' opinions and attitudes regarding (i) teachers' qualities and behaviours to understand their characterisation of users, and (ii) topics that are discussed in TESOL material research such as balancing the level and aspect of cultural content, enhancement of adaptability and stimulation of ICC.

5.6.1 Expectations of Teachers

While preparing materials, authors are informed about where the books are to be used and by whom, and they make assumptions about the qualities of users. For instance, GA 3 explained that early coursebooks such as *Headway* were written with the assumption that they were going to be used in multilingual language learning classes in Oxford, although they gained success in the international market.

> **GA 3**: the early coursebooks like Headway… Ironically the coursebook that has sold most abroad consistently for decades, is the one that was really written for students in studying in Oxford in multilingual classes.

Later on, noticing the potential of the international market, publishers changed their focus and prioritised the sensitivities, demands and needs of the users, schools and governments in different contexts in order to be able to sell their books in those markets. As a result, their focus shifted, particularly regarding cultural sensitivities, and the qualities of the users in the target context gained significance in the preparation of textbooks. The following sections include the participants' perceptions and assumptions as to who they are writing for.

5.6.1.1 Teacher Qualities

Authors' expectations of teachers can be categorised under the themes of awareness of local cultural values and sensitivities, proficiency in English and teaching, and flexibility in using and adapting content.

i) *Awareness of local cultural values and sensitivities*

Authors think that teachers are and need to be knowledgeable about the local cultural values

and sensitivities in the country that they're teaching. In this way, teachers can protect

students from exposure to inappropriate content and any controversies that may arise from

the content of materials, as stated by GA 7 and GA 8 in the following quotes.

> **GA 7:** Everybody who uses books I produce will be teaching and living in the country
> that they are teaching in, so I think whether they're native speakers of English and foreign
> in the country that they're teaching or local teachers, yeah, they would definitely be
> highly knowledgeable about local and national cultural values.

> **GA 8:** There are always the parents in the background. Especially in the schools
> situation. When a student goes home and says 'We talked about sex in the English class
> today', the parents are not going to be happy. And… In the [Middle Eastern Country]
> context, it would cause a storm. So, I think the teachers just have to be sensitive to that.

ii) *Proficiency*

Experienced authors in particular who are former teachers and have been to different parts of

the world to teach and for other reasons reported their experiences and memories indicating

that the standards regarding English proficiency around the world are quite low, even for

English teachers. The following situation GA 1 recalls is a not uncommon anecdote that helps

explain why authors assume that teachers around the world lack training and a good level of

proficiency in English.

> **GA 1**: So, I worked a few years ago with a publisher, I went to talk about a primary
> series. I went to this classroom in [country], where there were headphones on every
> table. I said, 'What are these headphones for?' and they said 'Oh those are for
> teachers,' and I said 'But, why?' They said 'It's like a telephone booth that's in the
> back of the classroom, they're going to translate your speech.' I said, 'I'm going to
> speak in English with English teachers, why do they need translation?' [laughs]. She
> said, 'Their English is very poor.' How could these people be English teachers? It's
> just crazy. These are the things that I had to adapt to with the realization that many of
> the teachers we work with are under trained and so the textbook provides an
> enormous amount of guidance for their programmes.

iii) *Flexibility*

Another important quality authors think teachers do or should have is flexibility in using and

adapting materials. As former teachers themselves, authors generally base their assumptions

on their own experience such as the following quote indicates, where GA 7 states that she

would expect teachers to have their own ideas about and evaluations of the material and to omit or supplement some parts of the materials accordingly.

> **GA 7:** I would expect them to take materials as I do but leave bits out, add bits in, of your own style, of your own ideas, and use them with quite free mind, whatever you're using. Every class I teach I add stuff in or leave stuff out. The more I look at materials I'm about to teach with the more I think 'God! This is weird, this is awful! Why did I decide to do this?', and then I have to kind of… you know. I think when you're about to teach it really puts you on the spot in terms of thinking very critically about the material that's in front of you.

5.6.1.2 Teacher Behaviours

Authors believe that, with their knowledge of local cultural values and sensitivities, teachers can judge if the content is appropriate for their learners and deal with the inconsistencies between themselves, their students, and the textbooks by changing, adding, removing, and adapting textbook content to best meet the needs and cater to the sensitivities of their students. GA 1 exemplifies this by referring to content that they wrote for a textbook marketed to Latin American countries. They had a module that included the topic of babysitters. However, they later noticed that babysitting is very uncommon in these countries and not a part of their culture. GA 1 explained that, as it was too late to change the material in the book, they would expect the teacher to adapt the material by relating it to their context and to other contexts for discussion with 'why' and 'how' questions.

> **GA 1**: If they've already gotten the book, if they buy the book, what happens is that she'll have to adapt that. She would say, "OK, well I know you don't have babysitters here. It's not a big job but do you know, why do you think they have babysitters in North America?" Or give similar questions. So, they always have to deal with the inconsistencies between themselves, their students, and the textbooks.

Without exception, authors believed that adapting materials is a main part of teaching and all teachers do/should adapt their materials in accordance with their needs. This is because local teachers rather than the textbook writers are the actors who know their students, the sensitivities of the local community and parents best. Furthermore, adaptation is inevitable, given that every teacher and student is different, as GA 5 explains below.

> **GA 5:** There are no two teachers who are exactly alike and there are no two students exactly alike and we have to generate that in classroom exchange in which everybody wants to participate, wants to be part of it. In that sense, we have to adapt the material. I have never taught the same unit in the same way twice. It's boring, isn't it?

In summary, while writing textbooks, authors write for teachers who may not be proficient in grammar but are highly knowledgeable about local cultural values and sensitivities, the needs of their students and their parents, and flexible and creative enough to adapt the materials accordingly. The following section includes the accounts of authors on the extent to which they are aware of the discussions in TESOL material research and what they do in response, if anything.

5.6.2 Research and the Textbook

The present thesis aimed to investigate the extent to which TESOL material research and findings are known and considered by authors and publishers. To connect the practice with research and inquire their awareness and practices, the main themes of cultural representations, ICC, and adaptability are used. For a comparison with the local context, similar to the previous chapter, the present section includes accounts of textbook authors on (i) whether they think they are responsible for protecting students from culturally or ideologically inappropriate content, (ii) the strategies, if any, they employ to improve materials in aspects about which they have been criticised including balancing the level and aspect of cultural representations, enhancing adaptability, and development of ICC skills.

5.6.2.1 Responsibility Concerning Content

The participants without exception agreed that authors are responsible for the content of textbooks. They believe that they write carefully to protect learners from exposure to any culturally or ideologically inappropriate content as textbooks are not plays, songs, or paintings but educational materials and products. Nevertheless, teachers have the choice of skipping particular content and define the limits of any discussion or any exploitation of materials as GA 1 and GA 8 make clear in the following quotes:

GA 1: [*Reads prompt card: Its writers' responsibility to protect students from inappropriate content*] It's true. It's not a play, it's not a song, it's not a painting. It's a product. And the product is specifically for certain group of students.

GA 8: I think the teacher has a choice. Could either skip that particular exercise or text or whatever it is, or could be open about it and say: 'Look, we could discuss this a little bit, but there are limits'. So, it may be that the teacher would have to define the limits of any discussion or any exploitation of that material. Or the teacher could supplement that part of the units with something more appropriate, something that they bring in.

5.6.2.2 Awareness of Discussions and Strategies Employed

The following sections include authors' accounts of the strategies they employ for balancing the level and aspect of cultural elements, enhancing adaptability of textbooks and development of ICC skills while writing textbooks.

5.6.2.2.1 Balancing the cultural content

There have been numerous studies analysing textbook content and asserting that the level and aspect of cultural representations need to be balanced (e.g., Eslami and Chen, 2011; Murayama, 2000; Shin, Pashmforoosh and Babai, 2015; Yuen, 2011). Aspect of culture refers to which cultural elements are represented in textbooks. It is argued that the number of representations of the cultures of the inner circle (the UK, the US, Australia, etc.), outer circle (India, Singapore, etc.) and expanding circle (all other countries) (Kachru and Nelson, 1996) need to be balanced as English language no longer belongs to inner circle countries. Level of culture, on the other hand, refers to the depth of these cultural representations and it is argued that representations of persons and products dominate TESOL textbooks; while cultural practices and perspectives, which are thought to have more potential in leading to understanding of other cultures, are represented much less frequently, as explained in detail in Section 2.2.3. The present section reports the findings regarding the awareness of authors

of the discussions on this topic and what strategies, if any, they employ to provide this balance in their textbooks.

5.6.2.2.1.1   Aspect of Culture

Although none of the participants claimed that they can name a textbook of theirs or written by somebody else that is written with balancing the aspect of cultural content in mind, they think that awareness about English as a Lingua Franca has been increasing. Rather than balancing the amount of representations from inner, expanding and outer circles, they noted that they attempt to make materials 'as international as possible' to make them more engaging for learners from around the world. GA 3 noted that textbooks have been improving in this regard in the last decade, and in their last project, they managed to agree with the publisher that non-native speakers should feature in 70% of the textbook content, which is a huge achievement considering the proportion of native and non-native speakers of English in the world. However, they accepted that no existing materials could claim to be balanced.

> **GA 3**: Coursebooks in the last decade have a lot of, lot more publicity for the first-time, non-native speakers of English in listening and things like that. So, kind of opening out the idea of what good English is, including people who are communicatively competent from other places in the world. So, that's been developing and pretty much every book I do now, expects the non-native speakers. For this course, we asked, we've managed to, well, the publishers are talking about having 70% of the voices in the book, non-native speakers and 30% native speakers, which I think is fairly close to the kind of the demographics of who speaks English these days, it's not quite as extreme. I think there's something like 17% of English speakers and native speakers and the rest but I think 30% native only is amazing, is quite an achievement.

5.6.2.2.1.2   Level of Culture

None of the participants had heard about the level of culture such as products, practices, persons and perspectives and they think it 'does not seem odd' that textbooks are dominated by products and persons as these are the topics that our world is surrounded by and our lives

are dominated by. As key elements of everyday life, these are what learners need to know about to communicate, although this focus can be stereotypical, especially in photographs.

> **GA 1**: Yeah, I guess, really our lives are dominated by products and persons. Yeah, it's difficult. It's also, when you're learning a language it's not like you're trying to, you know we're not the United Nations, we're not. So, you teach a language to people to talk about their everyday experiences, so you think what's within everyone's everyday experiences. Getting with other people, talking with other people, using products I mean, it doesn't seem to me as an odd thing.
> In terms of being stereotypical, yeah, I can see that particularly in photographs, that's often a problem. When you get stereotypical of people who are aging, for example, women's roles, things like that, yeah.

> **GA 7**: I think that's an interesting way of looking at materials. I don't think I've ever looked at materials from that perspective.
> **AY**: So, I assume it is not considered usually by textbook writers while writing the books, you know, balancing the level of cultures, products…
> **GA7**: I don't think explicitly, although, as I said, I think perhaps what I try to do with materials is actually this, but I haven't, you know, thought of that in these terms.

In addition, GA 2 states in the quote below that reading texts cannot be longer than 200 words in the textbooks he is producing. Therefore, textbook content cannot be too specific and is dominated by discussions or expressions about food, travel, literature and music.

> **GA 2**: When I want to speak French with somebody, it's because I'm trying to understand, or discuss or express my opinions or ask about food, travel, literature and music, those are the things that, that interest me. I might have some more specific interests, I wouldn't expect the textbook to give it to me, I'd seek it out on my own […] I think there's bound to be a certain amount of superficiality when you have a reading text that can't be longer than 200 words.

5.6.2.2.2 Enhancing Adaptability

As mentioned in Section 5.6.1.2, authors expect teachers to constantly adapt materials. In this regard, authors were asked what strategies they employ to improve adaptability of materials, if any. Although most authors were unable to recall content written with this rationale, some of them described what they did to ensure materials are adaptable. Participants claimed that they provide learners with an idea of what to expect in unit openings, and give information and guidance to teachers in teachers' notes regarding how they can use the book.

a) Questions for learners

GA 9 stated that teachers need to choose from the materials by judging what is appropriate or suitable for the classroom with the help of the warm-up activities during which students discuss the topic at a personal level. Teachers should choose which sections to use or avoid accordingly.

> **GA 9:** We cannot possibly know all of the learners. So, the teacher is the one who has to choose from the materials. But we have in every units, the first section of the units is a very general kind of warm-up to the overall topic. And we often have questions for the students to discuss that are quite personal. So, they would say whether they are interested, or which aspect interests them, or 'If you look at this photo what does it remind you of?' So, there is an opportunity and at the start of every unit for the teacher to gather ideas, opinions or whatever to help them to decide which of the sections in the unit will be interesting or less interesting.

b) Teachers' notes

Another strategy authors employ for enhancing adaptability of materials is including cultural notes to teachers and giving them ideas of how to teach things and deal with different kinds of students in the teachers' book.

> **GA 1**: Absolutely, absolutely. I do it all the time. I'm always building in things. First of all, I have teacher notes. Once again, when you buy the book, you don't see the teachers' notes. It takes me a long time, another month to write the teacher notes. And publisher has to put them together, everything else, edit them. So, it's kind of a big thing but the teachers' notes will have cultural notes and ideas on how to teach things and to deal with different kinds of students, all that sort of stuff is in there so that's important.

> **GA 2**: Sometimes when I do a teacher's guide I like to put in extra or different steps if you have, you know, low level class or high-level class or they're struggling with this or they're struggling with that, or this seems too easy, what can you do to extend it? So, we put in, you know, tips for specific exercises and materials for how to adapt it, but then also, in general, you know, teaching tips for, what can you do when you're presenting a dialogue, what can you do when you're, you know, working with vocabulary?

Although it is not an approach that any current textbook authored by any of my participants employs, one of the authors suggested an alternative approach to textbook production, where

publishers have an online bank of materials that enables teachers to choose from multiple

options and create their own textbooks by choosing appropriate content only.

> **GA 4**: One solution could be… Where the publisher has a bank of materials available on the web to people who subscribe. And they can make their own selection. So, you might have four texts on the same topic and one of them might be considered unsuitable in some cultures. Then the teacher can have a look at it and decide and select another one.

However, as GA 7 explains below, particularly teachers who have limited experience find

comfort in the traditional structure of materials, and requiring more from them even by

presenting different elements in a different sequence would not be realistic.

> **GA 7**: I think often teachers whose English isn't very good or teachers who haven't been teaching for a very long time often find comfort in materials that are extremely scaffolded and kind of obvious in the way they work—they always work in exactly the same way. You know, the teachers are surprised by a presentation of vocabulary or grammar or something occurring in a different place or a different sequence.

5.6.2.2.3 Development of ICC

It has long been discussed that language teaching textbooks lack the required depth in

representation of culture and facilitation of intercultural communicative competence through

ELT materials (e.g., Byram, 2009; Yuen, 2011). The authors' accounts on whether they are

aware of the discussions regarding the development of ICC skills varied. While none of the

participants claimed that they know the discussions in the literature, some authors described

strategies they adopted to promote ICC skills while others, such as GA 4 in the following

quote, stated that it is not considered at all as it is not a selling point for textbooks.

> **AY**: The next sentence on the prompt card states that it is a responsibility of the textbook writers to help learners improve the intercultural communicative skills?
> **GA 4**: Yes, definitely. Because the main reason why people learn English is not to communicate with native speakers but to communicate with anyone from anywhere in the world. English is an international language. Like it or not, it is.
> **AY**: To what extent is this a priority in production of TESOL materials?
> **GA 4**: I don't think it is, unfortunately. No, I don't think it is, because it is not something that helps sell a book.

Selection of topics and tasks

Participants described two main strategies they employ for development of ICC skills, which are topic selection and questions that require personalisation of topics and comparison of different cultures. GA 2 claims that it is common practice while writing textbooks to include situations, conversations and dialogues where people from different backgrounds come together and learn about each other's cultures.

> **GA 2**: Yeah, I think sometimes it's in topic selection. I mean, there's a lot of topic selection of, you know, different countries and you have also sort of situations and conversations and dialogues and whatnot where somebody from one country is meeting somebody from another country and that will come out and in the dialogue. There are all kinds of, you know, culture shock simulation tasks and pair work and reading passages and sometimes you'll see a whole unit on some aspect of intercultural communication like you know understanding of time or collectivist versus individualistic societies and so you can get it as a straight information. But yeah, I think those are pretty common topics for textbooks.

Asking questions about cultural topics covered in texts is another useful strategy for developing ICC skills. As GA 8 and GA 1 note below, texts that stimulate discussion can be useful, and ICC skills can be developed with questions such as 'Do you agree or disagree? Why?' or 'How do you relate to this?'.

> **GA 8:** […] By asking questions which are not only about comprehension, but about beliefs and attitudes. So, if a text stimulates discussion, it shouldn't be used only for comprehension purposes. It should be used in order to raise these intercultural issues and to promote and provoke discussions in the classroom, for the class to engage in discussion. In any judgement, 'Do you agree or disagree? And why?' and so on. And the questions which are asked in textbook can then help the teacher to run through these discussions in the class and to promote ICC.
>
> _____
>
> **GA 1:** […] But also, I always have things like localizing and personalizing and say like 'How do you relate to this?, How is this done in your country or city?, What would you do in this situation?', things like that. You can see tons and tons of questions like that.

Content Examples

GA 3 exemplified the type of content his team wrote with the purpose of promoting ICC skills. In the module, a number of people from different countries around the world, therefore different cultures, are put together and have to live with each other for several months. During this test, problems occur and people need to criticise each other without causing offence. By means of this activity, the authors aimed to promote ICC skills as learners will need to see and compare different cultures. However, the author also noted that although he has created scenarios and activities that give learners the opportunity to be exposed to different cultures and compare them, it may not be feasible to devote one page of every unit to improve a skill other than language itself.

> **GA 3**: So, this is about hedging, softening the message. We start with a pretend expedition to [destination] where lots of people got locked in a [means of transportation], or the car park in [city] for several months. They were testing the ability of people to live together and the psychological issues that might ensue on a similar scenario. [During the test, people from different cultures had to criticise each other without causing offence]. So, this is the kind of cultural intercultural communicative competence, but the question is whether we can afford one page in every unit about this which isn't about teaching language, it's about teaching intercultural communicative competence through advice and people talking.

Although the example is from an adult textbook produced for a European country where they were allowed to mention religion, GA 9 describes a case where they wrote content in which they brought two cultures together with a party scenario and promoted dialogue and comparison between cultures through questions.

> **GA 9**: In the unit that I mentioned before, wrote before, there is a family made up of a Christian and a Jewish person. The story is that they have sort of combined their celebrations of their festivals. Uhm, and they invite people to this party they called [combined name] [laughs] and they invite people to celebrate it with them and we have a dialogue where somebody has got the invitation to the party and is saying 'What is this?' you know, 'It sounds intriguing. Can you tell me about it and how do you do it?' and things like that. And then there is a communicative activity where students ask each other what their favourite traditions are and what they do and what their similarities are.

One of the authors shared two units (Document 14 and 15) that he claimed were written with the purpose of developing ICC skills. Anonymised descriptions of the content and tasks in the units are below in Table 16.

Unit 1: Festivals and Celebrations
Task 1 / Vocabulary: Find words related to festivals. Complete the sentences below with the words.
Sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 2 / Grammar:
Change the orders of the words to make correct sentences
Sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 3 / Grammar: Choose the correct use of the verbs
Sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 4 / Grammar: Complete the text using [tense]
50-word text
Task 5 / Vocabulary: Write adverbial forms of adjectives
Adjectives: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 6 / Grammar: Match sentences with correct tenses
Tense 1,2 : Sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 7 / Reading: Read and choose one of the two destinations for holiday
Texts describing two festivals in two different countries: 1,2
Task 8 / Comprehension: Read again and complete sentences
Sentences with blanks about information stated in the text: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 9 / Comprehension: True or False
Sentences about the festivals in the two countries: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 10 / Speaking: Order the dialogue between X and Y and practice in pairs.
Dialogue sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 11 / Writing: Write a letter and complete with appropriate forms of verbs.
50-word text with blanks for 5 verbs
Task 12 / Writing: Invent a celebration and invite your classmates.
Write an invitation letter to an imaginary celebration you organise.
Extra Task / Writing and Speaking: Write down activities you will never do and answer:
Questions: 1- How many activities?, 2- Why will you never do them?

Table 14 Anonymised unit outline

As the anonymised unit outline indicates, although the unit includes two texts about two festivals in two contexts, the tasks do not require any higher-level thinking and there are no questions that require students to compare the two cultures with their own and discuss the content of the texts. Instead, they are asked to match / re-order / complete sentences with information stated explicitly within the text. The only 'why' question is in the extra task, which has nothing to do with the cultural content in the unit.

The second sample unit is designed with a different approach where grammar structures and vocabulary are practised implicitly within activities about cultures and customs in different countries in the world. Due to my need to ensure anonymity, I cannot reproduce the eight-page unit, but an anonymised outline of sample content and tasks from the unit can be seen below in Table 17:

Unit 8: Customs Around the World
Unit Opener: Look at the images, What are they doing? Why? Images showing people greeting each other in five different ways: 1,2,3,4,5
Warm-up activity: Questions: 1,2,3 Example: How do you greet each other in your country?
Task 8 / Reading:
Text including short information on about behaviours from 10 different countries
Example information: People in [Middle Eastern country] never go into their homes with their shoes on.
Task 8a: True or False
Sentences about customs given in the text: 1,2,3,4,5
Task 8b: Writing
List five customs from your own culture.
Task 12 / Grammar - Vocabulary
Complete the sentences with the correct modal verbs
Sentences: 1,2,3,4,5
Example: In Japan, remember that you (should) bend when you meet someone.
Project Task: Choose a country in the world and make a short presentation about their customs.

Table 15 Anonymised outline of sample content

Within the unit, grammar structures and vocabulary are practised within tasks that give information about customs and cultural norms from around the world. Although there is only one task that asks students to compare and contrast the cultures with their own, and no other 'why' or 'how' questions appear through the unit except the one in the opening page, it is clear that the second unit is written with a much more cultural focus when compared to the first example. However, it is also worth noting that giving information on practices and perspectives from other cultures always has the potential to be stereotypical. For instance, the content described above included sentences such as '[Nation] judge people based on their outfit', but the content was softened by hedging the sentences such as 'People in [region] may occasionally find it rude to ….' throughout the unit as a strategy, apparently to avoid stereotypical presentations.

Overall, it appears that textbook authors have many other concerns and preoccupations they need to address due to time, space, and content limitations as well as several other constraints that prevent them from representing cultural elements fairly and equally, consider cultural and ideological appropriacy and adaptability, and also aim at facilitating ICC skills, given that they also have grammar points, learning objectives, and numerous other sensitivities and priorities to consider.

5.7 Summary of the Main Findings for the Global Context

The present section aimed to map the main findings regarding who produces the global textbook, under what circumstances and what constraints apply to the setting as well as to what extent the industry is informed and driven by research and what strategies they employ, if any, to make materials more suitable for the needs of users as discussed in the literature. In the global context, authors are former and current teachers of English with at least a BA degree in a relevant field, who get involved in writing at the request of someone they know

and work in an increasingly controlled production process driven by the commercial concerns of international publishers. Authors in the global context think that the global textbook cannot make everyone happy due to constraints such as publishers' market-led approach to textbooks, time, diversity of audience, and questionable feedback and decision-making regarding taboo topics that very sensitive and conservative markets (customers) force publishers to be overly cautious about.

As a consequence of the commercially oriented approach to textbook production, which is at least partly the source of the constraints listed above, the global textbook is based on market research and success is measured by the number of copies sold in this competitive market environment. The publishing industry is highly responsive to market sensitivities while no explicit strategies have been developed regarding the main topics discussed within TESOL materials research such as balancing the level and aspect of culture, enhancing adaptability and development of ICC skills.

The following chapter includes a comparative discussion around the local and global textbook, their strengths and weaknesses, and why the local and global textbooks are culturally the way they are.

6 Comparison and Discussion
6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the main findings from the local and global settings and answers the research questions as well as discussing the findings in relation to the existing literature. Firstly, for a comprehensive understanding of the circumstances in the local and global contexts, the main findings for the local and global contexts are summarised for comparison. This is followed by brief answers to the given research questions for each context, and discussion of the main findings in relation to the existing literature. The chapter closes with an overall evaluation of the findings from a wider social and economic perspective.

6.2 Summary of the Main Findings
6.2.1 Comparison of Contexts

For a better understanding of differences and similarities in local and global contexts, the main findings are summarised for each context under the main themes of the process of production, and the constraints and circumstances that I argue are significant factors at play in why materials are the way they are.

6.2.1.1 The Process of Production

The differences in processes of production in the two settings mainly stem from factors such as time, approach to publishing, and amount of financial and professional investment allocated for textbook projects. While textbooks in the local setting are written by schoolteachers who have no training in writing textbooks but generally have a good understanding of the sensitivities and the user profile in the context that the textbooks are to be used, the global textbook is produced with the help of hundreds of people, for instance regarding a lot of market research and expertise, as well as sometimes millions of dollars of

investment that enables integration of technology and design features in addition to marketing input provided by multiple sources. Although each setting has its own constraints as summarised in the next section, it is hard to make a comparison between local and global textbooks in terms of the scale and processes of production. While local textbook authors have the advantage of knowing the learners and have teaching experience in the markets their books are written for, which may also be very limited and which may feature learners from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, the global textbook benefits from technological integration, experience and expertise from several sources and departments such as sales, in-house and freelance authors, designers, researchers, market representatives, etc. Although the settings show fundamental differences, they are both associated with constraints that lead to compromises in each setting. These constraints are summarised in the following section, with a particular focus on cultural elements.

6.2.1.2 Circumstances and Constraints

As noted earlier, both global and local textbooks have been criticised in the literature, particularly with regard to cultural representations. The present section summarises why, as perceived by authors working in these contexts, textbooks produced in both settings the way they are through the factors that constitute the circumstances for each setting. Each setting and the constraints are listed in Table 18 and summarised below.

6.2.1.2.1   The Local Context

In the local setting, textbooks are written by schoolteachers who are recruited upon recommendation by current or former authors under the supervision and control of the Ministry of Education. Based on the curriculum and existing materials, specialists working for the MoE prepare detailed specifications stating the scope and sequence for each series

that determine the number of pages and units, unit titles, values and learning objectives and types of activities that are to be used for teaching these. Following intragroup feedback and revisions, drafts are sent out to panels that evaluate and give feedback on content according to pedagogical and cultural appropriacy. The feedback and changes required by the panel are not negotiable. After further revision, hard copies of books are distributed to schools and made available on an official online portal.

Although the authors are schoolteachers who have prior experience in the context and the ministry designs their own list of topics, units, and learning objectives, authors do not believe that the cultural content of the local textbooks is carefully designed bearing the needs of the learners in mind. What's more, as also reflected by content analysis of their earlier textbooks, authors reported that they are not informed of the current discussions in TESOL material research with regard to culture and intercultural communicative competence, and therefore the textbooks they write do not reflect the relevant findings. Although they believe that they are responsible for the cultural and ideological appropriacy of the materials they produce, they leave the main responsibility to teachers who they think are and need to be aware of cultural sensitivities of the context in which they work, flexible and capable enough to make adaptations regarding content—despite the fact that the authors claim most teachers in the local context are not linguistically proficient and trained. As to why textbooks in this setting are the way they are, authors mentioned lack of time, lack of training, lack of permanence, and a principled approach to material production, diversity of audience, and interventions of the MoE.

The process, which begins with recruitment of authors and ends with final revisions, takes place within a period of six to eight months, and authors believe that it this not sufficient to

produce textbooks. They believe that materials produced under these circumstances are constrained as they are written under extremely tight deadlines by authors who receive no training. Furthermore, authors highlighted the fact that books are quickly replaced at regular intervals and, given the tight deadlines, a principled approach to material production is lacking in the local context. In addition, interventions by the MoE regarding authorized content limits the authors' freedom and creativity to produce more effective and engaging materials.

6.2.1.2.2 Global Context

The global textbook is written by authors who are current or former EFL/ESL teachers and are paid in royalties or—more commonly nowadays—project-based with a standard fee. Publishers conduct market-research on existing materials and publications of their competitors, demands and sensitivities of different markets, and gather information on features of 'successful' textbooks on the market. In accordance with this market research, they prepare guidelines where authors are introduced to the rationale and pedagogical approach, scope and sequence, target market and level, number of pages, units, learning objectives, methodology and types of tasks, as well as topics to avoid while writing textbooks. Authors are expected to write draft sections and units according to the given guidelines, which are read by the series editor and revised at least twice before they are sent out to readers for feedback. Following the final revision and completion of design elements such as rubrics and small details, books are distributed to target markets and made available online.

Although one may expect the global textbook to be effective and useful for everyone as it is produced as a project that costs millions of dollars and with the expertise and experience of hundreds of people from different areas and disciplines, based on extensive market research,

authors generally agreed that it is not without problems and it has also received a lot of criticism from users and researchers. When asked why, my participants pointed to constraints such as the commercially-driven approach to textbook production, lack of time, interventions of the publisher, quality of feedback and current working conditions for authors or editors. The authors in the global context generally think that the dominant market-led approach has exacerbated the constraints which they believe are chiefly responsible for explaining why textbooks are the way they are.

The participants noted that the production process that begins with recruitment of authors and ends with final revisions takes place within a period of around two years, leaving six months for each book in a series. Within this time, authors who are almost always hired project-based for a standard fee are expected to write to a formula that determines the units, themes and topics, types of tasks and activities, which are decided with an overly cautious approach aiming not to offend anyone in any part of the world. The global textbook is written within a limited time and to tight deadlines, by less experienced and/or motivated authors working for lower fees than they would previously have enjoyed, within an industry managed increasingly by business-minded individuals rather than people with an educational background. Under these circumstances, authors tend to believe that the content of textbooks are not their products, as they are designed in almost all ways by the publisher. Although most of the participants still generally feel responsible for what is in their textbooks, they think that teachers are responsible for adapting the materials in accordance with the local sensitivities in their context as they believe that not all sensitivities can be addressed in a textbook.

Under these circumstances, neither global nor local authors seem to be following discussions in TESOL material research. Although they generally agreed that ensuring textbooks contain appropriate cultural material and develop ICC skills are important points to consider, they were unable to name any books that achieve this, except one author who noted that they aim to ensure a 30%-70% coverage of native speaker/non-native speaker in a project they are currently working on. Rather than relevant research and scholarly discussion, their awareness of and sensitivity towards topics that are discussed in TESOL material research such as balancing cultural representations and inclusivity are informed and motivated by their social environment and awareness. A summary of findings comparing and contrasting local and global textbooks is found in Table 18 below.

		Local	Global
Production process	Planning	• MoE specialists assess the existing materials and curriculum, and prepare the scope and sequence • MoE contacts schoolteachers they previously worked with • MoE provides guidelines on scope and sequence, values and objectives, and project deadline	• Publisher conducts market research (existing materials, competitors' materials, information from market representatives) • Publisher hires project-based authors/editors that they know, worked with before or were recommended • Publisher provides detailed guidelines on scope and sequence, project approach and rationale, workflow, content and structure
	Writing stage	• Roles are allocated among authors • Each author writes a section • Team meet and give feedback to each other • Drafts sent to panel for evaluation and feedback • Changes requested are made	• Roles are allocated among authors • Each author writes a section • Three draft versions are written for each section and editor gives feedback • Drafts are sent out to readers who recommend changes that are made where authors and editors see fit
	Post-production	• Final revisions • Books distributed to schools • Used for up to five years	• Content is subject to further change by editors according to information from market representatives • Books are distributed to markets, made available online • Books are subject to custom inspection and may get rejected
Constraints	Time	• Six to eight months for production • Limited time makes research, planning and trialling impossible	• Two years per project, less than six months per book • Limited time makes research, planning and trialling impossible
	Intervention	• MoE provides detailed guidelines that that limit the freedom of authors • MoEs act as a control mechanism regarding the appropriacy of content	• Shifted from an author-led to a publisher-led model • Content completely defined by the publisher • Changes may be requested in later stages of production
	Market sensitivity	• Political sensitivities of the era result in a politically-led approach	• Textbooks became more market-led rather than methodology-led • Further increase in the constraints related to lack of time, feedback, payment policies, publisher intervention and taboo topics • People from marketing and sales occupy managerial roles

			• Overly cautious and bland content
	Diversity of audience	• Same textbooks distributed to all parts of the country with different socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, levels of proficiency, and time allocated for English classes	• Same textbook sold to diverse markets from all around the world from the Middle East to Latin America • Neutral content not to offend anybody and be useful for everyone
	Taboo topics	• Alcohol, sex, narcotics, and pork are certain taboos while politics, religion and -isms can be used as long as the message is positive • MoE is intolerant of culturally and ideologically inappropriate content, regardless of what authors think	• PARSNIP taboos are avoided at all costs, although some authors think they may be useful for teaching • Long and very detailed lists of taboos categorised regionally and topically are provided by publishers • Authors also receive written and verbal feedback and may be asked to remove some content
	Payments	• Authors receive no extra payment for authoring in addition to standard teachers' wage although they think writing is much more labour-intensive.	• Authors are still paid in royalties only rarely. Even where royalties are still paid, their share of royalties has decreased significantly • Most authors are hired on a project basis • This has resulted in less qualified authors writing less effective materials with less commitment and enthusiasm
	Lack of principle	• No shared or pre-defined approach or rationale for projects • Political situation defines the content	• Ill-informed feedback from market representatives is given priority by publishers, despite authors' objections' • Market sensitivities trump methodological considerations
	Other issues in the context	• Textbooks have brief shelf life of up to five years • Frequent changes in curriculum make textbooks quickly obsolete • Authors receive no training	• Most feedback tends to be ill-informed and/or not useful • Textbooks are less informed by user feedback than they used to be • Publisher-led and lower-paid projects result in ineffective materials written by less enthusiastic authors
Strengths		• Textbooks are produced by teachers who are members of the local culture and have classroom experience in the context	• Textbooks are produced with a big financial investment with better integrated technology and by much larger teams with a more planned approach and rationale
Weaknesses		• Lack of technological integration • Ill-planned pedagogical approach	• Overly commercially driven industry producing neutral content that is aimed to be useful for everyone

Expectations		• Authors think they know the context and write materials accordingly • Teachers in the local context are expected to be aware of cultural sensitivities of the learners and adapt materials accordingly although they lack proficiency and proper training	• Authors think that teachers are and need to be knowledgeable about the local cultural values and sensitivities • Teachers lack proficiency but need to be flexible and adapt content according to their needs
Research and the textbook	Types of research in the context	• MoE specialists analyse existing materials, curriculum, and the need at schools within the country • Authors occasionally read global textbooks for reference	• Publishers analyse their competitors' materials, collect information about needs and demands of target markets through confidential research, questionnaires, and feedback from market representatives. • Some authors attend academic conferences but mostly for promotion of products
	Knowledge of TESOL material research	• Authors reported no knowledge of the literature and no strategies employed accordingly on ICC, adaptability, or balancing cultural elements	• Apart from one author, authors claimed that they were unaware of the discussions on culture and write accordingly • Awareness of the need for inclusivity and balancing textbook content is socially informed, but not from research and TESOL literature • Although some authors noted that they think cultural elements and ICC are important, they have not written any textbooks with these in mind.

Table 16 Comparison of local and international contexts of textbook production

6.3 Answers to Research Questions
6.3.1   Why are TESOL materials culturally the way they are?
6.3.1.1 To what extent is the content determined by authors?

I attempted to answer this question by focusing on how materials are produced in global vs. local contexts. I believe that the processes of production, recruitment of authors and who they are, and the priorities and concerns of the publishing world are strong indicators of how materials are shaped into their final form as evident in accounts of publishing insiders (Bell and Gower, 2011; Mares, 2003; Prowse, 2011).

Although studies on culture tend to criticise textbook authors as the responsible actors as to why materials are the way they are (e.g., Keles and Yazan, 2020), the responsibility does not seem to fall on authors, but rather on the rationale and approach to publishing by global publishers and MoE that minimise the role of authors in decision making. While authors in the past were expected to prepare the scope and sequence of the materials they wrote and therefore have a grasp of the overall content, structure, rationale and approach of the textbooks, authors nowadays are usually expected to write a section or unit within a given time and therefore lack the understanding and rationale of the full series, what is included or excluded in different sections or levels of the series. Therefore, rather than being the choices or preferences of authors or editors, as perceived by authors and reflected by their accounts in the present study, textbooks in local and global contexts are culturally the way they are because of the constraints stemming from the concerns and circumstances each setting has. Strengths, weaknesses and constraints of both global and local settings are summarised in Table 19. The constraints listed in the table directly impact why textbooks in these contexts are the way they are as they are why authors have to compromise and/or are demotivated or prevented from producing better materials.

6.3.1.2 What are reasons for compromise in textbook production in local and global settings?

Both global and local contexts have their advantages and disadvantages. As perceived by publishing insiders, due to the reasons and constraints listed so far, global and local textbooks are both far from ideal, particularly with regard to cultural appropriacy and development of ICC skills. Although locally-produced materials and localisation of global materials are suggested as potential solutions for achieving culturally-appropriate and effective materials (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017:28), locally-produced materials under the guidance of the MoE are associated with their own constraints and even authors in the local contexts agree that they cannot address cultural sensitivities in all sub-contexts where their textbooks are used.

The constraints are listed in Table 19. According to the participants, while locally produced materials are compromised due to constraints regarding time, lack of underlying guiding principles, lack of permanence, lack of author training, interventions by the MoE and diversity of the audience that textbooks are aimed for, the global textbook is associated with both similar and different constraints which seem to mainly stem from the commercially-oriented approach to textbook production that has dominated the industry, particularly in the last decades, resulting in the occurrence or worsening of the constraints of time, diversity of audience, payments, lack of underlying guiding principles and publisher intervention.

Context	Constraints and results
Local	**Lack of time**: 6-8 months to write a series leaves authors with no time for research, improvement of skills, trialling materials, and planning better content
	Lack of permanence: Books withdrawn when curriculum changes, brief shelf life demotivates authors

Lack of training: Authors receive no training on textbook writing

Diversity of audience: The same textbooks are used by learners from different socio-cultural backgrounds and sensitivities

Lack of underlying guiding principles: No principled approach to production and decision making demotivates authors. Political context defines the content

Interventions by MoE: Guidelines, panel feedback, and taboo topics limit the creativity of authors and require exclusion of engaging content

Payment: Authors do not receive any extra payment for the additional labour of writing

Market-led approach: Textbooks are written with commercial concerns rather than pedagogical concerns in mind where success is measured by the number of sales

Lack of time: Time allocated for a project decreased from six to two years, which decreases quality of content and makes trialling much harder

Publisher intervention: Shift from author-led approach to publisher-led approach has resulted in detailed guidelines, editorial feedback and lists of taboos that stymie the creativity of authors and require exclusion of engaging content

Global **Feedback quality:** Most feedback from readers is not useful, wasting time and effort without adding anything for improvement

Lack of principle: Ill-informed feedback from market representatives is prioritised as part of the overall rationale requiring an overly cautious approach

Diversity of audience: Same textbooks are sold in very different markets ranging from Brazil and Japan to Saudi Arabia, requiring extreme caution as to textbook content

Payments: Shift from royalty model to standard fee has resulted in less experienced, committed and motivated authors writing less effective materials

Table 17 Constraints and results in local and global contexts

Local textbooks are constrained because materials are produced by schoolteachers who receive no training and who are offered no extra income, being obliged to work to very short and strict deadlines on textbooks that are distributed to learners from diverse backgrounds and the production is heavily controlled by the MoE and influenced by the political context. The global textbook is produced in an increasingly controlled environment by authors who

are paid much less than they used to be with a market-focused approach which leads to production of clones of successful materials that sell. On the one hand, the local authors explicitly stated that if they were given the necessary time and training, they believe that the textbooks they wrote could have been much more efficient, engaging, culturally sensitive and better designed. Authors working for global publishers, on the other hand, note that even though they are given relatively more time, they only write to a formula of production and they follow pre-defined steps and instructions which minimises author input and creativity. In short, it can be concluded that authors believe that textbook content is not solely their product, therefore, the reason for lack of quality that has been criticised about textbooks is not the authors and the textbooks they write, but the system in which materials are produced that dictates its own structure, content and design based on market or political sensitivities.

6.3.2   Research and the Textbook
6.3.2.1 How aware is the TESOL publishing industry of scholarly research on textbooks?

In both contexts, none of the participants claimed that they actively follow the discussions and the existing literature on TESOL materials. Although they agreed that representations of cultures and balancing these representations are important, this was in response to what they read on the prompt cards I provided for their interviews. It seemed that they had never come across the arguments made by the prompt card statements, which underlined their disconnectedness from the debates which are ongoing in the literature. For example, the local authorial team members stated that they had never had an opportunity to read and follow the relevant literature, while they agreed that textbooks tend to represent cultures with a tourist perspective and this perspective needs to be balanced by deeper cultural coverage.

6.3.2.2 To what extent is this research taken into account when producing textbooks? Why?

As the authors themselves explained and content analysis of their textbooks confirmed, textbooks do not seem to rely on relevant research findings and therefore it can be stated that not much has changed in the last decades with regard to the representations of cultures, adaptability of content and stimulation of ICC skills. Although authors believe that materials need to be based on SLA, Applied Linguistics and TESOL material research, and publishers may be aware of relevant discussions, the priority has been to produce materials that sell, or satisfy the demands of MoE or publishers who have different priorities. Except for a very recent and rare textbook example with a different approach to native speakerism, as stated by one of my participants, Applied Linguistics and TESOL material research do not seem to have impacted the practice of TESOL material production. None of the participants were able to claim that they or publishers they have worked for have a particular approach, rationale or plan that prioritises research findings, or techniques, checklists, or methods for making materials more adaptable, balanced in terms of cultural representations, or develops students' intercultural communicative competence. Similar to other shortcomings of textbooks and materials production, the reason for the gap between TESOL material research and the publishing industry is, according to the participants, the lack of time, training, and principles; the prevailing market-driven/politically-led approach has shifted the orientation of production from pedagogy to sales as managerial positions in publishing companies are increasingly occupied by business people instead of TESOL professionals and educationists as was formerly the case.

6.4 Discussion

As explained in detail in Section 3.2.3, numerous studies have analysed textbook content from different perspectives including approaches such as English as a Lingua Franca and

World Englishes, whose main contention is that the English language no longer belongs to the 'inner circle' countries, and that English needs to be taught as an international language and therefore the curriculum and materials need to include cultural representations and language features (e.g., non-native speakers in listening activities) from different parts of the world to develop students' appreciation of a much wider range of foreign cultures instead of a touristic perspective (Yuen, 2011). In addition, although the amount of relevant work is very limited, reflections of current and former publishing insiders and research studies focusing on how materials are written have shed light on the dynamics of the industry with regard to issues such as the process of writing (e.g., Prowse, 2011), the nature of materials writing and reasons for compromise (e.g., Mares, 2003), piloting (e.g., Amrani, 1998; 2011), and guidelines provided by publishers including taboo topics (e.g., Gray, 2010). What's more, reflections of publishing insiders have also pointed out the issues faced in local contexts where governments build local teams to write their own materials (e.g., Mahboob, 2015) or governments collaborate with global publishers to produce context-specific materials (e.g., Timmis, 2014).

In contrast with the amount of work focusing on the issues, there has been surprisingly little research on if and to what extent the findings of this research have influenced the practice of textbook writing, what the pros and cons of the aforementioned approaches are and how experience from different contexts can feed into the development of a theory of writing global and local textbooks of superior quality. Although it is argued that there has been improvements in textbooks published since the 1970s in issues such as sexism and gender (e.g., Forman, 2014), the debate on the appropriacy of the content of ELT textbooks, how they can and need to cater to the needs of the audience from different backgrounds is still ongoing (Gray 2013:7). The present study duly aimed to address the need for further research

for understanding where the industry is headed and how, if any, the circumstances have changed over the last decades. Findings of the present study are discussed with regard to the main themes of the process of writing, piloting, guidelines and taboo topics, research and the textbook, and where we are on the way to establishing a theory of material production.

6.4.1 Changes in the Last Decades

First and the foremost, the findings of the present study indicate that there has been a change in the ownership and management of the global publishing houses as a result of the growth of the industry that has resulted in a more commercially-driven approach to textbook publishing which has brought its own constraints or worsened the existing reasons for compromise rather than striving to achieve a methodology-led and prestige-oriented production of language teaching materials. The market-led approach can be considered the principal reason behind other constraints related to lack of time, feedback, payment policies, publisher intervention and taboo topics as these constraints partly or mostly stem from this commercially-driven approach to textbook production. That is, the new approach seems to have led to new norms in the amount of time and financial investment allocated for a textbook project, as well as to how and to what extent the publisher intervenes in the process and content. The findings in the present study contrast with some of the previous accounts with regard to recruitment of authors and editors, time allocated for production of a textbook series, stages of production, amount of piloting, market research, marketisation of the industry, and change in approach to publishing (i.e., from author-led to publisher-led) which seem to have stemmed from the commercially driven approach to publishing. Each of the factors listed above is discussed in detail in the following sections.

6.4.1.1 The Process of Production

The process of production for the global textbook begins with market research and recruitment of authors. It has been noted in previous work that authors may be selected based on their educational qualifications such as holding an MA degree in a relevant field (Timmis, 2011). However, participants in the present study, in both local and global contexts, reported that no such qualification such as a postgraduate degree, previous writing experience, or knowledge of the target context is required. Instead, the recruitment is based on being known and recommended by a former or current author or editor affiliated with the publisher based on qualities such as trustworthiness with regard to their potential for being able to work to deadlines, adapt to the team and circumstances under stressful working conditions and employment terms which may not sound promising.

Findings of the present study broadly support other accounts and studies on textbook production which describe planning, writing and post-production stages of production (Prowse, 2011). This is mainly because of the publisher-led approach that assigns authors and editors certain roles in a highly formulaic description of what is expected with regard to content and authors or editors are only expected to complete bits of work instead of having to plan the book themselves and have a full picture of what the final product is to look like. The literature includes accounts from 'unmediated' writing projects (Timmis, 2014) where authors were not informed of various constraints at the beginning but later received feedback regarding the publisher's demands such as the number of grammar points required for each section. Timmis points out that the principles were not robust, and he regrets that the team were not informed first (p. 252), given the wasted time this delay resulted in which is very valuable in textbook production as it is one of the biggest reasons for compromise. In contrast, the current commercially driven approach adopted in the global context seems to be

designed not to cause any delays stemming from misunderstandings by providing highly detailed author briefs on rationale, approach, pedagogy, scope and sequence, as well as sensitivity guides for authors to adhere to. This seems to be because the time allocated for production of a complete series of textbooks with all components has decreased to around two years whereas some time ago, Prowse (2011:156) notes that it took three to five years 'from initial idea to copies in the classroom'. My findings resonate with Amrani's (2011: 273) statement that ELT publishing is now a 'much more tightly controlled and planned environment' where it was once more open to contributions from outside and receiving proposals and materials from independent authors. In this highly controlled process, taboo topics and cultural sensitivities that limit the topics that can be included in textbooks are laid down based on theme and region and are much more detailed than the previous studies and accounts have reported (Gray, 2010, 2013; Timmis, 2014).

6.4.1.2 Constraints

In addition, while the most emphasized constraints have been argued to be the interventions of publishers and ministries on content, space and time constraints, particularly in projects led by local ministries (Bell and Gower, 2011; Singapore Wala, 2003), the present study revealed other constraints that affect the production of textbooks in both local and global contexts, as listed in Table 20 below. As the table indicates, most constraints are shared in both contexts. However, except for the market-led approach in the global setting, this is not to say that the constraints that are shown under only one context are not an issue in other settings, or that the constraints are equally powerful in both contexts. For instance, while the global authors did not report having received any training, they did not mention lack of training as a significant constraint in textbook writing. Also, lack of time in the global context refers to each book in a series needing to be written in around six months, while the local authorial team is

responsible for writing five or six books within six months. Regardless of how they are experienced, though, both contexts seem to share the same constraints.

Local	Global
Lack of time	Lack of time
MoE intervention	Publisher intervention
Lack of principle	Lack of principle
Diversity of audience	Diversity of audience
Payments	Payments
Lack of training	Market-led approach
Lack of permanence	Feedback quality

Table 18 Constraints in local and global contexts

While the global textbook is constrained by the market-led approach and the interventions by publisher, the local setting includes the MoE and the review panel. Both parties can lead to compromises as they play a supervisory role that controls the content and the decision making is clearly led by the political sensitivities of the era. These findings are in line with previous studies that have found that the content of locally produced textbooks was influenced by national values and ideologies (Mahboob, 2015; Mukundan, 2008; Timmis, 2014).

6.4.1.3 Piloting

There are similarities between the findings in this study and the claims made by Harwood (2014:24), who notes that thorough piloting seems to have become a thing of the past in the TESOL publishing industry and even the old methods of material evaluation are not applied as commonly as they were back in the 1990s. While Donovan (1998) talks of black and white unfinished copies of materials that are distributed to pilotees, with major changes made to the materials in response to feedback, this description was updated by Amrani, who stated that

materials are now produced in 'shorter development cycles' (2011: 273) and therefore the

amount of piloting had decreased since. In addition, with regard to piloting, the most striking

finding is that while even the accounts in the last decade (Bell and Gower, 2011) mention

piloting of the finished product, it was found that no piloting of textbooks takes place today.

The participants reported that this is because making any changes at later stages is costly.

However, textbooks are not piloted in the earlier stages either, since publishers are content to

send first drafts out to readers, who are 'people they trust' rather than actual teachers working

in the target context and who reportedly give useless feedback that does not add any quality

to the content. In sum, these findings are consistent with what other authors and editors report

in the literature (Harwood, 2010, 2014; Tomlinson, 1998, 2003, 2011; Tomlinson and

Masuhara, 2017) and in conference talks (e.g., Zemach, 2018), stating that piloting and

feedback stages are usually impoverished or non-existent in today's publishing world. With

regard to the local context, these results corroborate previous accounts by publishing insiders

regarding locally produced materials where ministries of education fail to provide authors

with adequate time for trialling in textbook production (Lee and Park, 2008; Singapore Wala,

2003).

6.4.1.4 Taboo Topics

It has long been known that publishers provide authors with guidelines for inclusive language

and inappropriate topics. These include representing both sexes equally and avoiding some

topics that might 'offend the sensibilities of potential buyers,' which is one of the most

important concerns for ELT publishers (Gray, 2010:112; Timmis, 2011). The guidelines also

encourage authors to ensure that individuals from different groups of age, class, ethnic origin

and disability should be fairly represented (Sunderland, 1994, as cited in Gray, 2010:113). In

addition to fair representation and inclusivity, publishers also provide authors with lists of

taboo topics to avoid, which are most commonly known by the acronym PARSNIP (pork, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms and politics), as well as advice regarding 'cultural sensitivities' that are taken into consideration in deciding what to include in content (Gray, 2010:122). Findings in this study match those observed in earlier studies and indicate that guidelines provided by publishers for taboo topics and cultural sensitivities to consider are much wider and more detailed nowadays.

My findings also resonate with the account of Bell and Gower (2011) who note that although they had initially planned otherwise, they needed to fight shy of taboo topics. Participants in this study noted that taboo topics and cultural sensitivities that may not make sense to authors are not negotiable although the market representatives who inform publishers about sensitivities of the markets may be less than fully informed about the appropriacy or inappropriacy of including various topics in the local setting. Authors consider it a big constraint in textbook writing in today's industry that information provided by a market representative, who relies on someone in the target market for his/her information that potentially will not reflect public opinion as it usually depends on a single incident, is considered more important and reliable than that of the authors. This is, as confirmed by my participants, because 'the bottom line….is that we want our course to be bought' (Gray, 2010:124). It is clear from the overall discussion so far that global textbook publishers are primarily and increasingly more concerned with the attitudes of their potential buyers and therefore their sales figures and this is reflected in their approaches and practices.

In the local scenario where the concern for selling materials is not in play to the same degree and the authors are assumed to be knowledgeable as to local cultural sensitivities, authors are not provided with sensitivity lists or taboo topics, but still are constrained with interventions by the MoE who may request topics to be avoided from textbooks with a half-informed

approach similar to that of the global publishers. Although one would not expect the local scenario to have the 'diversity of audience' as a constraint that leads to taboo topics or cultural sensitivity concerns, findings indicated that there are still no-go areas and that authors can still experience censorship or their materials still may not be able to address the demands and sensitivities of some learners even when the authors are former EFL learners from the target context and current teachers who have teaching experience at schools textbooks are aimed at.

6.4.1.5 Research and the textbook

Another important line of discussion in TESOL material research has been the gap between research and practice regarding TESOL material production. It was noted that this gap and poor communication between academia and the publishing world results in potentially useful findings from research often destined to 'linger in journals' instead of making it into the classroom (Gilmore, 2007:112). Although this observation was based on practices as long ago as the 1990s, today's publishing industry does not seem to have been changed in this regard according to the findings. Although discussions such as those listed below have been going on for at least the last three to four decades, the gap between relevant research and scholarly discussions and the publishing industry does not seem to have been filled at all with regard to:

(i)   the plurality of World Englishes and ELF, which mutually propose tolerance for diverse English varieties, a 'pluricentric view of English' (McKay, 2010: 9),

(ii)   significance of communicative effectiveness and one's local cultural identity (Kachru and Nelson, 2006);

(iii) materials need to fairly represent cultures from different parts of the world to develop students' appreciation of a much wider range of foreign cultures instead of a touristic perspective (Yuen, 2011);

(iv) language teaching materials have a responsibility to facilitate ICC skills of learners and prepare learners for interaction with people of other cultural backgrounds, teaching them skills and attitudes as well as knowledge (Byram, 2009; Byram and Wagner, 2018); and

(v) that teachers always need to adapt materials in some way (McDonough and Shaw, 1993; Islam and Mares, 2014).

As Mishan (2021:1) puts it, the last time 'that applied linguistics substantially influenced a language teaching approach, or at least, one that had such global reach and enduring influence' was in the 70s, when our understanding of language learning developed with the communicative approach thanks to theorists such as Hymes (e.g., 1972) and Halliday (e.g., 1975). The gap between research and TESOL material publishing, which is referred to as the 'uneasy symbiosis between the ELT publishing industry and SLA and applied linguistics research' (Mishan, 2021:12) seems to remain the same as none of the participants reported any awareness of relevant research or any strategy they employed for balancing cultural representations, facilitating ICC skills, or making materials more adaptable.

While the reason for this gap in the local context might simply be the lack of time, knowledge and therefore awareness, the case of the global textbook seems to be more complicated and multi-faceted. As for the reason why the gap remains the same, if not bigger, today than it was formerly, one of the most important factors may be the source of information that publishers rely on. That is, what kind of market research they conduct, who

their informants are, and to what extent the conclusions of the research reflect the experiences, attitudes and demands of the learners and teachers who are the end users of materials. Based on the idea that the primary aim of a textbook is to provide the users with materials that will address their needs, which can only be determined by means of research and experience of the target audience (Mares, 2003), I believe that it is natural to expect materials to be produced based on reliable information collected from the right source and a with a well-informed approach.

Although previous accounts and studies state that extensive market research, including classroom observation, focus group discussions with students and teachers, methodologists, and teacher trainers in the market takes place at all stages of production (Amrani, 2011; Prowse, 2011:167), the findings in the present study indicate that publishers rely rather on analysis of what sells based on the features of their competitors' materials and rely on information market representatives provide, taking an overly cautious approach. What's more, the rationale behind the decisions with regard to structure and content, particularly with regard to taboos and cultural sensitivities, is not explained to authors, unless authors attempt to resist. The participants in the present study argued that it was a constraint that publishers rely on (i) ill-informed feedback from market representatives, (ii) readers who are not actual users from the target audience but people publishers trust, and (iii) what has successfully sold rather than the experience and opinions of teachers and authors. This appears to be mainly due to the market-driven approach that prioritizes not offending any users as it may cause financial loss. These findings are in line with previous literature that notes that money is the 'bottom line' in materials production as they are commercial artefacts and publishers are more concerned with what their rivals publish rather than the content of their own textbooks (e.g., Young, 1990) as they design and market textbooks as commodities in the same manner

as any product offered to a consumerist society (Gray, 2010:139). This is particularly striking considering that the size of the investment that is allocated for a single textbook project nowadays is described as 'millions of dollars,' while Donovan noted that it was a few hundred thousand in the 90s (Donovan, 1998).

Publishers invest huge amounts of money and hundreds of people work on a single project, and publishers are therefore 'very very market driven' (Gray, 2010:123). However, there are areas where this market-driven approach and textbooks being considered more of a commercial commodity particularly and directly affect the quality of materials. In addition to causing constraints such as lack of time, lack of principle, and diversity of audience, cutting royalties and hiring authors on project-based contracts results in less qualified authors writing less effective materials with reportedly less commitment and enthusiasm for the project. In addition to leaving no time for trialling and user feedback, an overly cautious approach and working only with trusted people also significantly decreases the quality and usefulness of feedback, which is the only remaining source where user experience can feed into the publishing. Within this highly controlled environment, in both global and local context, authors work as agents writing to a formula due to the very same constraints. Although authors still feel responsible for what learners are exposed to, they tend to rely on teachers to protect learners from exposure to any culturally or ideologically inappropriate content. This is because the audience is too diverse for authors to have enough time, space, and flexibility to consider all sensitivities and reflect what they want on the page.

6.5 A Wider Perspective

Another line of discussion within TESOL material research that evaluates the practice of textbook production within wider communities and markets focuses on the 'washback effect' of materials. That is, 'teachers and curriculum developers tend to imitate the approaches of

best-selling coursebooks on the assumption that this must be what learners and teachers want'
(Tomlinson 2003a: 7). Due to this effect, publishers tend to imitate what is successful on the
market and this tendency leads to a vicious circle of misinformation and therefore potentially
unsuccessful language learning. This idea is also underlined by Bell and Gower (2011:137),
who state that 'publishers now regard the global coursebook as an international 'brand', and
produce endless 'new editions', which makes it harder than ever to get anything different
published.' However, as similar accounts typically lack information about the extent to which
decision making in material production is based on market demands or what other concerns
and factors are (e.g., Amrani, 2011; Prowse, 2011), these issues still need further
investigation. Findings in this research are in accord with previous studies indicating the
existence of the washback effect. In addition to casting the industry in a poor light, it also has
the potential to negatively affect the language learning experience of pupils from all around
the world. A decade of publishers and representatives saying, 'This is a good reading book
because it has got 10 words from the Academic Word List in every reading' creates the
demand for the materials publishers have produced. However, it has been over two decades
since Averil Coxhead compiled the AWL for her master's thesis and there have been wider,
more focused and sophisticated word lists produced based on much bigger corpora since
then. The fact that the AWL is still a selling point indicates how slow the textbook publishing
industry is in reacting to the developments and discussions within SLA and TESOL material
research.

Were textbooks to be based more closely on research and on research findings, the washback
effect of such a shift could be a force for change. Publishers could inform the market that
their materials are research based, which entails demand from the market being materials that
are research based, and consequently create a market that expects materials that are driven by

relevant research findings. This would then have the potential to fill the gap between research and textbooks, as well as facilitating the way for research findings to make it into the classroom. However, the predominantly commercial-oriented market considers textbooks as mainly commercial commodities that are marketed in as many markets as possible to a wide range of customers. Local textbooks may be produced with much more limited know-how and experience, while the global publishers have the capability of investing millions of dollars and hiring hundreds of people for a single textbook project. In contrast with the evidence that content and cultural representations in language teaching materials may affect the motivation of learners (e.g., Magogwe, 2009), the issues underlined in the relevant AL studies (listed in Section 6.4.1.5) have not still been addressed as they have not been focus of interest or selling points for publishers, so far.

In his unpublished PhD thesis that also inspired the present thesis, Littlejohn (1992) attempted to explain why materials are the way they are, attributing this to the following four factors:

(i)   there was a mismatch between the emphasis in the scholarly discussions at the time and the material content,

(ii) authors were mainly concerned with the cognitive capacities of learners and aimed to minimise potential issues by structuring the lesson and this was evident within their materials,

(iii) authors were positioned as agents who work in accordance with the demands and guidance provided by publishers, who are driven by the profitability of materials, and

(iv) materials reflected the features of the capitalist society at the time with regard to the 'social, political and economic processes of commodification, deskilling, standardization and centralization of control' (p. 256)

Almost three decades later, the present study focusing on textbook production from a similar perspective yielded very similar results. There are some differences, such as that authors in my study seem to have the opinion that the teachers who will be using their books are more competent than in Littlejohn's study, who found that the writers were catering to the lowest

common denominator, not assuming teachers would have the skill to be able to manipulate

the materials skilfully. Although authors in my study stated that they believe that the vast

majority of English language teachers lack the necessary training and proficiency in English,

and seemed to cast doubts on the extent of their pedagogical knowledge, they also expect

teachers to be flexible enough and capable of understanding the needs and sensitivities of

their context and learners, and adapt their materials accordingly. Nevertheless, the similarities

between my findings and Littlejohn's remain striking. Overall, I can summarise the findings

of this study in relation to Littlejohn's four main conclusions as follows:

(i) there still is a mismatch between the emphasis in scholarly discussions and material content as well as publishers' priorities, in addition to a more dominant commercially-driven approach as managerial positions are increasingly occupied by business people rather than educationists as was the case in the past;

(ii) authors are mainly concerned with the qualities and sensitivities of teachers and learners in contrast with the qualities they expect them to have but they do not seem to have developed any plan or strategy aimed to minimise potential issues by structuring the content accordingly;

(iii) authors are positioned as agents who work in accordance with the demands and guidance provided by publishers of the MoE, who are driven by the profitability of materials or influenced by the political context; and

(iv) rather than being research-led, materials seem to reflect the features of other successful textbook series at the time and address any social and political sensitivities only if they are accepted widely enough as a result of the washback effect.

These findings appear to be mainly due to materials being produced as commercial

commodities for which conditions of production and marketing are always in play requiring

maximisation of sales, satisfying stakeholders, and achieving corporate goals. These

conditions directly influence the design of materials, 'quite distinct from their pedagogic

intent' (Littlejohn, 2012:286). Within this increasingly commercially driven environment,

regardless of the worldviews of authors, the global textbook is produced not to offend any

potential markets by means of an overly cautious approach as doing so would potentially cause a big financial loss.

Similar to any commercial product, manufacturers of the global textbook aim to decrease costs, eliminate threats, increase sales and preserve the brand value. However, while doing this, they limit time that can be spent planning, developing, and piloting materials, the creativity of authors, topics or themes that can be used in their materials, and also seek to reduce authors' salary costs, all of which inevitably results in a decrease in product quality. The local textbook, on the other hand, is also not without flaws and constraints in terms of representation of cultures both with regard to the discussions in AL research and with regard to addressing local sensitivities, as the authors are not informed of the relevant discussions or sensitivities in all regions of their context. It is therefore essential to understand the processes, constraints and circumstances that are significant in theorising the ideal scenario for textbook production or proposing solutions for issues in different settings.

6.6 Towards a Theory of Textbook Writing

Textbooks, particularly the global textbook, have been criticised with reference to several aspects in which they have been unable to satisfy the needs, sensitivities and demands of users. Even in very recent studies, the imbalance of cultural representations tend to be framed as if it is the 'authors' choice or decision' that makes textbooks the way they are (Keles and Yazan, 2020:10). In these studies, cultural elements and the way they are represented are regarded as 'someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture' (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991:4, as cited in Gray, 2013:5). The word 'someone' tends to refer to authors since they are at the front line, in that their names are on the cover of the textbooks, and therefore the face of the publishing industry. Due to the lack of understanding of the structure, processes and stages, dynamics, priorities and constraints within the industry,

on issues such as lack of balance and representation and communication between textbook publishing and research, researchers analysing textbook content propose solutions such as that 'teachers should take a proactive role in evaluating textbooks and give continuous feedback to publishers' (Yuen, 2011:465) or that locally produced materials are a solution for cultural inappropriacy and lack of adaptability of their global equivalents (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017). However, such recommendations and conclusions from studies on materials do not seem compatible with the realities of the publishing industry and the circumstances surrounding textbook production in global or local settings.

Similar to the argument that research findings 'linger in journals' (Gilmore, 2007:112), implying that research does not inform textbook publishing, the publishing industry does not inform research, either. Researchers most commonly conduct textbook content studies and more rarely examine textbooks in use. Most rarely of all are studies of textbook production undertaken involving accounts by publishing insiders which provide insights regarding industry norms and propose changes and improvements to the industry. Currently, mainly due to commercial concerns and confidentiality, publishers do not disclose or disseminate their findings from the research they conduct and the industry remains largely hidden to material researchers. However, both research and practice should inform each other if we are to arrive at a widely accepted theory of textbooks that is informed through ethnographic studies investigating the processes, stages, constraints, structures, strategies and factors at play within the industry.

At this point, there seems to be many conflicts of opinions and interests in the publishing world and writers are required to satisfy all the conflicting demands. Ultimately, rather than being the authors' fault, the reason why most coursebooks are not very satisfactory is because of the conflicts and constraints their authors need to deal with. As Harwood suggests

(2010:18), in order to be able to build a valid theory of textbooks, we need to extend our knowledge about textbooks both in terms of use and production. The present thesis aimed to address the call for further research by TESOL researchers focusing on the conditions in which materials and textbooks are produced (cf. Harwood, 2010, 2014; Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017) to understand what publishers' priorities are, and therefore simply why ELT materials are the way they are. I attempted to at least partly reveal the pressures editors and materials writers operate under. With similar further research, we can hopefully understand, interrogate and critique the standard practices and assumptions of the industry, and perhaps to suggest where SLA and Applied Linguistics research can inform or facilitate material production and propose alternatives where possible (Harwood, 2010:18).

I attempted to highlight our lack of knowledge about the textbook publishing industry such as recruitment criteria for textbook authors, to what extent authors receive training and guidance on material writing, what factors are at play in decision making about the content, structure and design of textbooks and how important authors say relevant research is, and to shed light on other factors and priorities. While we still seem far from fully understanding the dynamics of material production and therefore finding solutions to concerns raised in the literature regarding the quality and role of materials in the language learning classroom, I attempted to investigate and offer insights into the dynamics of the industry as a response to calls for further research (Harwood, 2010, 2014; Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017) due to a lack of related information presented in accounts of publishing insiders (e.g., Bell and Gower, 2011; Prowse, 2011). I hope that my findings can establish a base where a follow-up study could make further progress towards establishing a valid and widely accepted theory of ELT textbooks.

7   Conclusions and Implications

7.1 Summary

In the present study, I aimed to investigate how textbooks are shaped into publication in two different settings, namely global and local, which have different priorities and concerns. With the purpose of understanding how the global textbook and a local textbook series is produced, what factors are at play and what the priorities and concerns in the production of these materials are, I interviewed textbook writers working for a local ministry of education and global publishers focusing on the differences in processes of production, working conditions, strengths and weaknesses, priorities, concerns and constraints. In addition to the interviews, the guidelines provided by publishers or the ministry for the authors to adhere to were analysed as well as textbook content previously written by the participants.

It was found that the local and global textbooks are produced under similar pressures, concerns and constraints that are experienced in different forms to different degrees. While the publishing processes in both settings are constrained by factors such as lack of time, piloting, diversity of audience, payments, interventions by the publisher or the MoE, and a lack of principled approach to publishing, the amount of financial and professional investment that goes into a textbook writing project in the two contexts differs dramatically. On the one hand, the local textbook is produced within around six months by local teachers who have teaching experience in the target context and are knowledgeable about the local culture and sensitivities in accordance with strict guidelines and under the supervision of a ministry and a panel of specialists. On the other hand, production of a global textbook series takes around two years, involving the efforts and experience of a few hundred people working under strict guidelines of the publishers who have a market-led approach to publishing that exacerbates constraints such as lack of ample time for production, payments, piloting, diversity of audience, quality of feedback, and a commercially-driven understanding

to textbook production that prioritises feedback from market representatives over opinions of authors, pedagogy and research findings. Due to similar factors and reasons for compromise, as the publisher or the ministry play a supervisory role that controls the content and the decision making is clearly led by the political sensitivities of the era or commercial concerns, textbooks authored in both contexts seem to have failed to produce research-informed and theory-led materials that prioritises the needs of teachers and learners.

While the TESOL material research have been calling for materials that fairly represent the level and aspect of culture, the plurality of World Englishes and ELF, that facilitate ICC skills and are prepared to be adaptable, it is evident in the statements of participants, the guidelines provided by the publishers or the MoE, and the content of textbooks written by the participants that the gap between research and TESOL material publishing, which is referred to as the 'uneasy symbiosis between the ELT publishing industry and SLA and applied linguistics research' (Mishan, 2021:12), seems to have remained the same since Littlejohn's (1992) investigation. Instead, the global publishing industry is getting bigger and more market-led, which may eventually require a shift as currently less experienced writers are hired to write lower quality textbooks to a formula that can be seen as an ill-advised overly commercially-driven approach and teachers may need to resist what is being offered to them as they do not address the learner needs. As for the local context, although localisation tends to be considered as a solution to culturally or ideologically inappropriate content, constraints are quite similar to those experienced by global textbook authors, with a politically-led approach that corresponds to the market-led approach in the global context. Overall, we seem to be far from any solution to the issues and reasons for compromise unless the publishers and authorities that produce textbooks decide to change the kind of market research they conduct, who they rely on as informants, and revise their decision-making mechanism to one

which is based on relevant research and theory that reflects the experiences, attitudes and demands of the learners and teachers who are the end users of materials.

7.2 Significance of the Study

Language teaching textbooks have been criticised in many ways and it is generally argued that they have failed to address the needs and sensitivities in different parts of the world such as with regard to cultural representations (e.g., Keles and Yazan, 2020; Pashmforoosh and Babai, 2015; Risager, 2018; Yuen, 2011). Textbooks have also been found wanting in their treatment of topics such as the pluricentric view of English (McKay, 2010: 9), fostering communicative effectiveness and providing learners the space to explore and have a critical awareness of their local cultural identity as well as others (Kachru and Nelson, 2006). These criticisms have been based on the widely accepted idea that the ideal situation in the production of materials is when the theory and practice of material production inform each other in order to facilitate successful language learning and address actual learner needs (Tomlinson, 2001:66). However, it has also been known for some time that there is a big gap between the ELT publishing industry and SLA and applied linguistics research (Mishan, 2021:12). Due to this gap, Applied Linguistics research has not significantly influenced the practice of material production in the last three or four decades (Mishan, 2021:1) and the "[p]oor communication between researchers and teachers means that potentially useful findings from research often 'linger in journals' instead of making it into the classroom" Gilmore (2007:112). Although this state of affairs was underlined as long ago as the 1990s, it does not seem to have been satisfactorily addressed yet. In order to do so, one way of addressing the gap and one of the first steps would be to identify the situation and concerns on the side of the publishers, and understand how textbooks are shaped in publication, what pressures the industry operates under and what the sources behind the reasons for

compromise are. As it has been the most neglected line of inquiry within TESOL material research (Harwood, 2014; Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017), which is one of the most neglected areas within TESOL, data collected as a textbook is being planned, designed, and produced and therefore the very first point where theory turns into practice and the life of any material begins, would certainly be promising for TESOL material research. Calls for production research that emphasize the need for 'production studies of locally produced materials' (Harwood, 2021:182) and how all sorts of materials are shaped into what they are have been repeatedly made (Tomlinson and Masuhara, 2017: 145) in recent years but have remained unaddressed. The present study contributes to TESOL material research by asking the 'how' and 'why' questions to the publishing insiders about issues identified within the literature which is mostly based on analysis of content that does not customarily provide data from two of the main stakeholders associated with textbooks, namely the authors and publishers.

As material production is the first point where theory turns into practice, it is important to understand the concerns, constraints and priorities of the producers of materials that have been criticised from several perspectives over the last few decades. The findings and insights into the publishing world resulting from research of this kind could hopefully then be considered by researchers and practitioners, who could only then be able to understand and communicate their own concerns and all parties could inform each other. These interactions would enable researchers to begin to formulate a theory of successful material production, which will satisfy the needs of as many stakeholders as possible to the largest extent the circumstances allow. The present study duly offered two snapshots on how textbooks are produced from local and global contexts. To partly fill the gap in the literature regarding how the global textbook and local textbooks are shaped into publication, what conditions and

constraints publishing insiders are operating under and if and in what ways the textbook publishing industry has changed over the last decades, I attempted to understand aspects such as what publishers' priorities are, the current state of the industry, the processes of production, to what extent authors decide what is included in the textbook content and the extent to which the decisions in textbook production are based on relevant research findings, and therefore simply why ELT materials are the way they are.

7.3 Implications

Implications drawn from the research findings are numerous and include implications for (i) publishers, and (ii) TESOL teacher training and development as well as for teachers themselves.

7.3.1   For Publishers

The most obvious implication for any publisher, ministry or any sort of organisation that produces language teaching materials would be to aim at minimising the effects of the constraints that have been underlined in the present thesis for production of more principled, well-informed and effective materials. For publishers producing the 'one size fits all' global textbooks that are sold to as many markets as possible around the world and also the local ministries or organisations that produce materials that are aimed at the local market, textbooks would potentially be more effective and the quality of textbooks could be improved by means of the five ways explained below.

Firstly, one of the most significant reasons for compromises appear to be lack of time in both contexts although the local authors are expected to write a complete series of textbooks within six months while the same amount of time is found insufficient by global authors for writing one textbook with the contributions of hundreds of professionals. Regardless of the context and how powerful the constraint is felt for each setting, it seems vital to allow more

time for production of materials. Extending the time allocated for production of a series can have various benefits, from providing authors with more time to write materials and produce better content to enabling trialling the materials in context, which will automatically increase the quality.

Addressing the needs of the authors and improving working conditions could also contribute to enhancing the quality of materials. Increasingly lower payments, lack of training and project-based recruitment for a low standard fee are considered important constraints by authors that demotivate them. Accordingly, paying authors, editors and any publishing insiders in royalties or an amount closer to what they think they deserve may increase their motivation to produce better materials by increasing their work and life satisfaction. In addition, authors in neither context receive occupational training they think they need on how to plan and write materials, what exactly to expect from the occupation and a writing project, what they can/should or cannot/should not do. Providing authors with substantial training on aspects of the writing process they consider themselves weak in and addressing their expectations can therefore potentially increase the quality of materials produced in both contexts.

With the market-led approach, publishers switched to a publisher-led and formulaic textbook means of production that significantly decreases author autonomy and creativity. Authors are provided with strict guidelines that are prepared with an overly cautious approach in accordance with market research, which refers to analysis of competitors' materials and information gathered from market representatives. Shifting to an author-led model that enables authors to plan the scope and sequence and content of materials, will encourage them to feel ownership of their output in a way the project-based model cannot.

The source and type of market research that publishers rely on constitute important sources of constraints for the global context. Instead of the requirements, experience and attitudes of learners, teachers and any other stakeholders at the 'consumer' end of the spectrum, publishers seem to rely on information from desk research on competitors' materials and the market, and unconfirmed information provided by market representatives who tend to share what they hear from a single individual whose statement may not reflect the needs, demands or sensitivities of a context and can be misleading. Therefore, adopting a more principled approach to market research and decision-making regarding what is to be included and excluded, thereby preparing research-based and better-informed guidance for projects, would very likely significantly enhance the quality of materials. This could be achieved by including teachers' and learners' input by, for example, thoroughly piloting the materials in the target context rather than the dubious and commercially driven feedback from market representatives or unhelpful comments from readers, who are described as people publishers know and trust rather than teachers and learners.

Last but not least, investing in more regional projects that do not require authors to consider taboos in another part of the world with a completely different culture would likely benefit all parties. To achieve this for both local and global textbooks, different versions could be offered through an online bank of materials for teachers to choose from according to the learner needs and sensitivities. We are in a digital age and on the verge of a print-on-demand model that should make it a lot easier to tailor a well-designed curriculum and then adapt it for local markets with a more focused and much smaller audience.

7.3.2 For Teachers and Teacher Development

Considering that authors of global or local materials do not claim that they can address the needs and sensitivities of learners from different backgrounds, textbook authors expect

teachers to be aware of the needs and sensitivities of their students and context, be able to adapt their materials accordingly and be flexible enough to make changes to the content where necessary. It can be suggested that the responsibility for protecting learners from exposure to culturally or ideologically inappropriate content cannot be undertaken by producers of materials. In addition, materials are currently not produced with the objective of facilitation of intercultural (communicative) competence skills. Therefore, as also proposed by Byram and Wagner (2017:147), language teachers need to plan their teaching to help their students acquire linguistic and intercultural competence rather than focusing exclusively on linguistic knowledge and skills. Authors in both contexts, but particularly those authors writing global textbooks, are writing for an extremely wide and diverse audience that makes it simply impossible for them to know what the audience's requirements and sensitivities are. Therefore, the responsibility of knowing the learners and their sensitivities, and what may offend them as well as the need to use textbook content for facilitating ICC skills, falls upon teachers. With this in mind, teachers should help learners ask critical questions about the content and evaluate their own position in relation to what is presented to them in the content (Kramsch, 2011: 360).

The understanding and vision of the relationship between language and culture in teacher training programmes also needs to change to be in line with the expectations of publishing insiders, which require teachers to acquire awareness and skills to evaluate materials according to cultural and ideological appropriacy and the skills to adapt materials in accordance with the needs and sensitivities of learners. Teacher training or development programmes constitute a great opportunity for teachers to gain sensitivity to the multiplicity of materials, and selection, evaluation and adaptation decisions that follow. A stronger and more comprehensive materials evaluation and development component in teacher training

programmes is essential to help equip teacher to provide learners with appropriate content in accordance with their needs and sensitivities.

Lastly, considering the current state of the industry, the concerns, constraints and priorities in both local and global contexts of textbook production, I agree with Byram and Wagner who propose that language teachers need to step out of their comfort zone, reexamine their view of language education and its goals, and critically examine their own professional identity and views of language and culture (2017:148). Although it is less realistic than expecting publishers to produce materials accordingly and teaching training programmes to include relevant components, I wish to suggest at this point that teachers, who are regarded as individuals who are regarded in some cases as lacking even the basic professional and linguistic competence, should:

    (i)   follow and improve themselves by becoming familiar with discussions within the relevant literature,

    (ii)   gain knowledge and awareness of the requirements and sensitivities of the context and learners they teach,

    (iii)   equip themselves with the skills and capabilities to adapt materials in accordance with the needs and sensitivities of their students, and

    (iv)   plan their teaching to help students develop intercultural communicative competence by using the knowledge and skills they acquire in their relationships with others in their 'immediate environment, national community, or at the international level, applying what they learn in the classroom to the here and now' (Byram and Wagner, 2017:147).

7.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The present study aimed to investigate how language teaching textbooks are shaped into publication in two different settings, namely local and global, which have different concerns, priorities and reasons for production compromises. To answer the research questions, data was collected from multiple sources including semi-structured interviews with authors and editors, guidelines provided by publishers and the local MoE, as well as textbook content written by the participants. However, there were several limitations in this study and a number of restrictions that are also discussed in chapter 3. To overcome these limitations, I took the steps shown in section 3.2.8 to enhance the trustworthiness of the present study.

In addition to the limitations discussed earlier, there may be other aspects that can be considered as limitations for the present study. For instance, culture is a highly complex concept without a widely accepted definition and different perceptions coexist regarding its relationship with language. Due to its complex nature, not all authors necessarily have their own understanding of what it is and how it relates to language and the way language is taught. What's more, 'appropriacy' is a completely subjective phenomenon that may differ from person to person even within very small communities. As the authors are predominantly white Western middle-class individuals, they may not have been exposed to any culturally or ideologically inappropriate content in educational materials as perceived by themselves, or may not understand why different content is considered inappropriate or why it matters. In short, they may simply have never thought about the topics that we mentioned before, and therefore asking them questions on such topics may have resulted in them answering questions in the way that they thought I would be happy or interested to hear. I attempted to overcome these limitations by collecting data from multiple sources, but seeing that I also relied on personal statements of the participants, this may still have affected my findings.

In order to ensure anonymity of participants, I needed to anonymise their statements, content of the guidelines and textbooks as well as avoiding detailed descriptions of people or any content that may have led to identification of any of my participants. The findings and discussions could have been clearer and more comprehensive by reproducing the content of guidelines and textbooks and sharing the accounts of participants in detail. For the local context, for example, inclusion of demographic information about the learners and the country, types of schools and national curriculum, existing materials and their content could have enriched the findings and discussion of the present study. However, as I promised complete anonymity to my participants, I even had to anonymise some of their suggestions for improvements in the publishing process as some of my participants had previous publications, talks, blog posts or interviews where they shared their ideas and repeating them could potentially be a clue to their identity.

Because of concerns about confidentiality, participants hesitated to share other documents such as cultural sensitivity guides for different contexts, recruitment contracts that include terms and conditions that they work under, editorial notes about the content they wrote, and textbook content that was excluded from previous projects for different reasons. Several other types of documents and information that participants could have shared would certainly have enriched the findings and contributed to our comprehension of how textbooks are written and what factors and constraints are at play in both local and global settings.

Another important limitation is my lack of experience of the industry as I am not a publishing insider and do not have previous experience in material writing. Prior to start of this research study, I did not even know a single person who had been involved in any publishing-related position. The findings and discussions within the previous literature on TESOL material production is generally shaped by accounts of previous publishing insiders such as Francis

Amrani, Philip Prowse, Brian Tomlinson, Rod Bolitho, etc. or scholars with previous experience in writing or personal contacts within the industry such as Andrew Littlejohn, John Gray, Ivor Timmis, etc. As a complete outsider and a novice researcher, I based my understanding, methods of inquiry and investigation mostly on what they had previously shared and discussed. Therefore, I may have missed more recent and important topics or developments within the industry, or, for example, the participants, questions, ways of collecting data and sources of data in general, and the evaluation and discussion of data could potentially be enriched by a more knowledgeable and experienced researcher perspective or with an insider point of view.

Lastly, another limitation of the present study can be the small number of publishing insiders participating in this project. However, as emphasised in Section 3.2.2, I employed a predominately interpretivist approach for this study. Qualitative research explores social phenomena in their natural setting to make sense of them with regard to the 'meanings people bring to them' (Stein et al., 2012: 146) and creates new knowledge by exploring a small number of in-depth cases (Patton, 2002). With this in mind, I aimed to investigate the nature and causes of their behaviours, decisions, preferences, reasons for their behaviours with regard to the way they write textbooks and how textbooks are produced in their context as perceived by themselves and the social world in general by contacting as many participants as possible and kept collecting data from any available source of data until I decided that I had reached the data saturation point and stopped collecting data (Charmaz, 2006). I do not claim that I have investigated all types of materials and publishers within the two settings and therefore the findings for both local and global context are not necessarily generalisable beyond its scope.

7.5 Recommendations for Further Research

As a very neglected area, many gaps can be pointed out for further research focusing on TESOL material production including holistic and ethnographic studies focusing on the production, content and consumption moments within the life cycle of textbooks. Such future studies that bring together data from the two main stakeholders, producers and consumers, as well as analysis of content can help us understand the strengths and weaknesses of textbook production and their immediate effects on the user end of the spectrum. Such research could thereby potentially inform and contribute to the construction of a widely accepted theory of textbook production. This approach and methodology would enable us to answer research questions such as 'To what extent does the expected curriculum in the minds of textbook writers/editors become the enacted curriculum?' and help us understand the shortcomings and mismatches between what is planned and what actually takes place inside the classroom and the reasons behind them. In addition to the holistic approach, more specific and focused inquiries on different stages of the production process would develop and complement the present study. Such projects could include a closer look at the rationale of authors, publishers and editors with regard to textbook content; and why and how decisions regarding changes to content and methods of production are made, such as the amount and type of trialling, how the guidelines are prepared, to what extent sensitive topics are negotiable, etc.

Recruitment and roles of different stakeholders within the production moment such as visual designers, freelance and in-house editors, readers, market representatives, etc. are other areas in need of investigation for us to be able to fully comprehend the dynamics of the industry and the production moment. While the decisions made regarding the global textbook are generally attributed to publishers and market representatives and readers, we do not know who exactly 'publisher' refers to. Is this publisher a person? The CEO of the publishing companies? A managerial team? Who is the ultimate decision maker associated with the

production moment, taking the final decisions on company policies, rationale and approach to publishing? As for the market representatives and readers, we do not know how exactly they are recruited, their relationship with schools, parents, teachers and learners in—hopefully— the target contexts and the way they work, the type and source of information they gather and deliver to the publishers. In short, the industry is partly known to us from the accounts and perspectives of authors and editors and further research is needed to fully comprehend different roles and factors included in the production moment, which is essential to understand for us as it is the first point where theory (should) turn into practice.

Similar to the publisher in the global context, the control and guidance mechanism in the local context is awaiting investigation. For us to be able to understand this, future research focusing on the accounts of members, structures and priorities of ministry specialists and panels; how guidance and scope and sequence are prepared; how needs analysis and decisions regarding content are made; what their roles are, how exactly and in what ways the political conditions influence textbook content can be investigated.

From a methodological point of view, different methods can be adopted for a deeper understanding of the processes and dynamics included in textbook production. For instance, think-alouds or stimulated recall interviews as proposed by Harwood (2014:30), interviewing authors about their writing practices as they write (e.g., Atkinson, 2020) and researchers becoming authors and sharing their experience as much as the confidentiality of the industry allows sound at least as promising as interviewing authors and other publishing insiders on their practices and attitudes. Getting involved in the writing and publishing process as a member or observer would enable the researcher a closer look and better insights into the 'why and how' of publishing at different levels such as decision-making processes, concerns,

priorities, issues and solutions, reasons for compromises and conflict within the production moment.

7.6 Closing Remarks

I conducted this research as an EFL learner who was exposed to numerous 'exotic' content in globally and locally produced ELT textbooks and wondered why textbooks are the way they are, particularly with regard to cultural elements and culture as manifested in textbooks. I believed that as a main part of the curriculum and means of instruction that every student in especially state schools is inevitably exposed to, the unrealistic and inauthentic content in language teaching textbooks alienated learners from the English language as it is the language of people who frequently travel abroad, live in coastal towns, have adventurous holidays and go on safari, visit touristic places, have pen friends, etc. In contrast, this language did not match up with the realities of the lives of most learners, particularly in rural areas. I initially planned to compare and contrast the intentions of authors and publishers and the realities of learners and language teaching classrooms. However, I needed to amend my research questions and methods and focused on investigation of how materials are produced in local and global contexts; the concerns, constraints, priorities and factors at play in production of textbooks in different settings and under different circumstances. This study attempted to document two snapshots from two different settings of textbook production while examining particularities that are of local and global concern with a particular interest in cultural representations. To understand if and to what extent the discussions within TESOL material research are known and considered by publishers and authors in the two contexts of educational publishing who represent the first point where theory turns into practice, participants were interviewed on their practices and attitudes on fair representation of level and aspect of culture, facilitation of ICC skills and adaptability of materials. Similar

investigations demonstrating how the production moment operates for textbooks in different settings can hopefully contribute to our understanding of the life story of textbooks by bringing together data from the materials and the participants at each moment, their concerns, priorities and the pressures they operate under to build a widely accepted theory of textbooks.

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ARE YOU A TEXTBOOK WRITER/EDITOR?

If yes, please read this.

You are invited to take part in a research project. You will be interviewed once only, and I envisage the interview lasting between 60-75 mins. In addition to a content analysis of your textbook(s) with a particular focus on culture and cultural elements, you will be asked to talk about:

-The process of textbook writing
-Textbook writers' expectations from users with regard to enactment of the book
-Textbook writing as an occupation

This project was ethically reviewed by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee. The interviews will be completely anonymous. The data in this project will be used exclusively for the PhD thesis and publications. Once the thesis and publications are complete, any copies of the data will be deleted.

If you would like to take part, or wish to get further information, please contact me.

Abdullah Yildiz
Jessop West
1 Hanover Street
Sheffield S3 7RA
Mobile: [anonymised]
E-mail: ayildiz1@sheffield.ac.uk

Appendix 2 Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

1.   Research Project Title: *The Why and How of TESOL Materials: Accounts by Textbook Writers and Publishing Insiders*

2.   Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

3.   What is the project's purpose?

The project aims to explore the process of textbook production, perspectives of writers and publishing insiders on textbook content, users, and the future of TESOL materials.

4.   Why have I been chosen?

You are chosen because you are either a textbook writer, editor, or a publishing insider.

5.   Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way. You do not have to give a reason if you decide to withdraw.

6.   Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?

The interviews will be audio recorded.

The audio recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations and publications. If you are a teacher, I may reproduce parts of the audio recordings of your lessons. And I may reproduce parts of our interview conversations if you are a textbook publisher, writer, or editor. However, if I do so, your identities will be disguised and I will use false names to refer to you. No other use will be made of these recordings without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

7.   What will happen to me if I take part?

The duration of the research is 12 months in total. Your participation and responsibility in scope of the research ends when the interviews are completed. You will be interviewed once only, and I envisage the interview lasting between 60-75 mins.

8.   What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no risks or disadvantages in this study. Your information will not be shared with any third parties and your identity will be anonymized. Should you be uncomfortable with any of my questions about the classes and about your textbook, you can decline to answer and we will move on to the next part of the interview.

9.   What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will enable you to reflect upon the way languages and taught and learned, and about your own experiences as writer or publishing insider.

10. **What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?**

You will receive detailed information in advance about any cancellation or delay.

11. **What if something goes wrong?**

If anything goes wrong about the research and you wish to complain, you can contact my supervisor in the first instance. His email is provided below. Should you wish to escalate your complaint, you may contact the head of the School of English at the University of Sheffield, Prof Joe Bray (j.bray@sheffield.ac.uk).

12. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. My audio recordings will be stored on my password-protected computers. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications as your name will be changed and your identity disguised.

13. **What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The project aims to explore the perspectives of textbook writers on TESOL materials and users (teachers and students), textbook content, the process of production, and the current state of textbook writing industry. To this end, you will be asked about your thoughts on the content of textbooks, the process of textbook writing, cultural content in textbooks, and the future of TESOL materials.

14. **What will happen to the results of the research project?**

The results of the project will be published as a PhD thesis and as follow-up publications, such as journal articles and book chapters. You can obtain a copy of the published results upon request. You will not be identified in any report or publication. The data in this project will be used exclusively for the PhD thesis and publications. Once the thesis and publications are complete, any copies of the data will be deleted.

15. **Who is organising and funding the research?**

The sponsor of this research is [anonymised]

16. **Who has ethically reviewed the project?**

This project was ethically reviewed by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee.

17. **Contact for further information**

If you wish to contact us for further information or details, you can do so by using the following information.

Lead Researcher	**Supervisor**
Abdullah Yildiz	Dr Nigel Harwood
[anonymised]	Jessop West
[anonymised]	1 Hanover Street
e-mail: ayildiz1@sheffield.ac.uk	Sheffield S3 7RA
	email: n.harwood@sheffield.ac.uk

You will be given a copy of the information sheet and, if appropriate, a signed consent

form to keep.

Thank you considering taking part in my research!

Appendix 3 Participant Consent Form

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Title: Why and How of TESOL Materials: *Accounts by Textbook Writers and Publishing Insiders*

Consent Form for Participants

Thank you for reading the information sheet about the interview sub-study. If you are happy to participate then please complete and sign the form below. Please initial the boxes below to confirm that you agree with each statement:

Please Initial box:

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated [….../….../…...] and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions at interview, I am free to decline.

☐

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

☐

I agree for our interviews to be tape-recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis and that extracts from the interview, from which I would not be personally identified, may be used in any conference presentation, report or journal article developed as a result of the research, as well as in my PhD thesis. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission, and that no one outside the research team will be allowed access to the original recording.

☐

I agree that my anonymised data will be kept for future research purposes such as publications related to this study after the completion of the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this interview.

☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Principal Investigator   Date   Signature

Appendix 4 Interview Questions for Publishing Insiders before the pilot study

Q1: Can you please tell me about your background in textbook publishing?

FUQ1: How long have you been working in the industry?

FUQ2. Do you have teaching experience?

FUQ3: What exactly was your role in the production of this textbook and what did you do?

Q2: Could you share your thoughts on the current state of the textbook production industry?

FUQ1: Can you tell me 5 strengths and 5 weaknesses in the textbook production industry, please?

Q3: Does the diagram below correctly map the production chain of your textbook? (Prompt Card 1)

FUQ1: Is this similar to / different from the production of this textbook series? What do you think needs to be added or removed?

FUQ2: What would you change about the production chain of a textbook, if anything?

Q4: Where there any rules or guidance that you followed during the design and production?

E.g., PARSNIP: no politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, -isms or pork

FUQ1: Is there an internally circulated document which is sent to the textbook writers?

FUQ2: Are there any checks that the writers have adhered to the guidelines once the book is drafted?

FUQ3: Can I see a copy of these guidelines?

Q5: How did you decide whether to include or exclude content in your book? What were your criteria?

FUQ1: Would you include/exclude the following examples? Why?

Biased content (from other publishers)	Neutral content (from other publishers)	Biased content (from other publishers)

Q6: (referring to a textbook excerpt) Now I would like to ask you a couple of questions about this content from your book.

1-What do you think the students will think and do when they turn this page?

2-What do you think the teachers will think and do when they turn this page?

FUQ1: What potential topics do you think the content will/might lead them to think about?

Q7: What do you think about this content in cultural terms? (text, image, or the task as a whole). (Excerpts 4 and 5)

FUQ1: Can you comment on the teachers' comments about this textbook material on the prompt cards? Which one do you agree with? (Prompt Card 2)

Q8: Now, I would like to ask you about your role as a writer\publisher. Can you please comment on the following quotes? (Prompt Card 3)

Q9: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Why? (Prompt Card 4)

Q10: Please comment on the quote and chart below about how teachers adapt textbooks. Did you design your book to be adaptable by teachers? Why/Why not? (Prompt Card 5)

Q11: Do you have an image of an ideal teacher?

FUQ1: Can you comment on the statements on prompt card 6?

Q12: Which one of the following do you imagine using the textbook/ produce the book for? (Prompt Card 7)

Q13: Please comment on the statements on prompt card 8.

Q14: Finally, is there anything else you'd like to tell me about the textbook publishing industry?

FUQ1: Is there anything else I should have been asking about?

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule used for the local authors

First, I would like to ask a few background questions…

Q1: Can you please tell me about your background in textbook publishing?

FUQ1: How long have you been working in the industry?

FUQ2. Do you have teaching experience?

FUQ3: What exactly was your role in the production of this textbook and what did you do?

Now, I would like to ask a few questions about the textbook publishing industry and how it works.

Q2: Could you share your thoughts on the current state of the textbook production industry?

FUQ1: Can you tell me 5 strengths and 5 weaknesses in the textbook production industry, please?

Q3: Does the diagram **Prompt Card 1** correctly map the production chain of your textbook?

FUQ1: Is this similar to / different from the production of this textbook series? What do you think needs to be added or removed?

FUQ2: Looking back at your experience of producing [name of the textbook series], now that everything is finished, what would you change about the way it was produced, if anything?

Thank you. Now, I would like to ask a few questions about the guidelines provided…

Q4: Were there any rules or guidance you gave to the textbook writers about suitable topics for the book? Exemplified in **Prompt Card 2.**

FUQ1: Is there an internally circulated document which is sent to the textbook writers?

FUQ2: Are there any checks that the writers have adhered to the guidelines once the book is drafted?

FUQ3: Can I see a copy of these guidelines?

Thank you! I will now ask you to look at some textbook content and comment on them.

Q5: Would you include/exclude the following excerpts in your book? Why?/Why not?

(Excerpts 1 to 8)

Q6: Now I would like to ask you a couple of questions about this content from your book.

1-What do you think the students will think and do when they turn this page?

2-What do you think the teachers will think and do when they turn this page?

Excerpts

FUQ1: What potential topics do you think the content will/might lead them to think or talk about?

Q7: What do you think about this content in cultural terms? (text, image, or the task as a whole).

Excerpts

FUQ1: Can you comment on the teachers' comments about this textbook material on the **Prompt Card 3**? Which one do you agree with?

Q8: Now, I would like to ask you about your role as a writer/publisher. Can you please comment on the quotes on **Prompt Card 4**?

Q9: Do you agree or disagree with the statements on **Prompt Card** 5? Why?

Q10: Please comment on the quote and chart on **Prompt Card 6** about how teachers adapt textbooks.

FUQ1: Did you design your book to be adaptable by teachers? Why/Why not?

Q11: Do you have an image of an ideal teacher?

FUQ1: Can you comment on the statements on **Prompt Card 7**?

Q12: Which one of the given types of teacher do you imagine using the textbook/ do you produce the book for? (**Prompt Card 8**)

Q13: Please comment on the statements on **Prompt Card 9**.

Q14: Finally, is there anything else you'd like to tell me about the textbook publishing industry?

FUQ1: Is there anything else I should have been asking about?

Appendix 6 Interview Schedule for the global authors

Q1: Can you please tell me about your background in textbook publishing?

FUQ1: How did you start?
FUQ2: When you were recruited as a writer/editor, what qualities did the company require?
FUQ3: How long have you been working in the industry?
FUQ4. Do you have teaching experience?
FUQ5: If yes, to what extent has your teaching experience influenced your textbook writing?

Q2: I want to also ask you what it is like to be a textbook writer/editor?

FUQ1: What are the pros and cons of being a textbook writer/editor?
FUQ1: Would you recommend being a textbook writer as an occupation?

Q3: Now I would like to ask you about your thoughts on the current state of the textbook production industry.

FUQ1: Can you tell me 5 strengths and 5 weaknesses in the textbook production industry, please?

Q4: Does the diagram **Prompt Card 1** correctly map the production chain of your textbook?

FUQ1: Is this similar to / different from the production of this textbook (series)?
FUQ2: What do you think needs to be added or removed?
FUQ3: Is there anything else you wish to add about how your books are produced?

Q5: Were there any rules or guidance given to the textbook writers about suitable topics for the book? Exemplified in **Prompt Card 2.**

FUQ1: Is there an internally circulated document which is sent to the textbook writers?
FUQ2: Are there any checks that the writers have adhered to the guidelines once the book is drafted?
FUQ3: Can I see a copy of these guidelines?
FUQ5: Have you ever written any draft materials that were rejected because they violated the company's guidelines about suitable topics, and you can share with me?

Q6: Now, I would like to ask you about your role as a writer/publisher. Can you please

comment on the quotes on **Prompt Card 3**?

Q7: Do you agree or disagree with the statements on **Prompt Card 4**?

Q8: Do you think it is a responsibility of textbook writers and editors to help learners improve their intercultural communication skills? **Prompt Card 5.**

FUQ1: To what extent are these a priority?
FUQ1: What do you do in textbooks to support/enhance ICC skills?
FUQ1: Could you please exemplify this by showing me some materials from your textbook?

Q9: Please comment on the quote in **Prompt Card 6** about how teachers adapt textbooks.

FUQ1: How do you enhance adaptability?
FUQ2: If a teacher finds content culturally controversial, what would you expect them to do?

Q10: Do you have an image of an ideal teacher?

FUQ1: Can you comment on the statements on **Prompt Card 7**?
FUQ2: With regard to these, do you have an image of the ideal language learner?

Q11: Which one of the given types of teacher do you imagine using the textbook/ do you produce the book for? (**Prompt Card 8**)

Q12: Please comment on the statements on **Prompt Card 9**.

FUQ1: What do you do to increase the motivation of students while writing textbooks, if anything?
FUQ2: What do you do to increase the motivation of teachers while writing textbooks, if anything?

Q13: Please comment on the following statement:
It is important for the textbook tasks and activities to be selected from topics that are familiar to teachers and students.

FUQ1: Would you include the content in excerpt one in a book you write?
(EXCERPT 1)

Q14: Please comment on the statements on **Prompt Card 10.**
FUQ1: Do you think balancing these actually matter in representations of culture?
FUQ2: Do you consider and try to balance these in your textbooks?

Q15: Prompt Card 11 gives a brief summary of material research on culture. Are these known and considered in production of ELT materials?
FUQ1: How can this be reflected in textbooks?

Q16: Please comment on the statement on **Prompt Card 12**
FUQ1: Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
FUQ2: How is this reflected in textbooks?

Q17: What do you expect from the future of ELT materials?
FUQ1: Please comment on **Prompt Card 13.**
FUQ2: Do you think all materials will be digitalised?
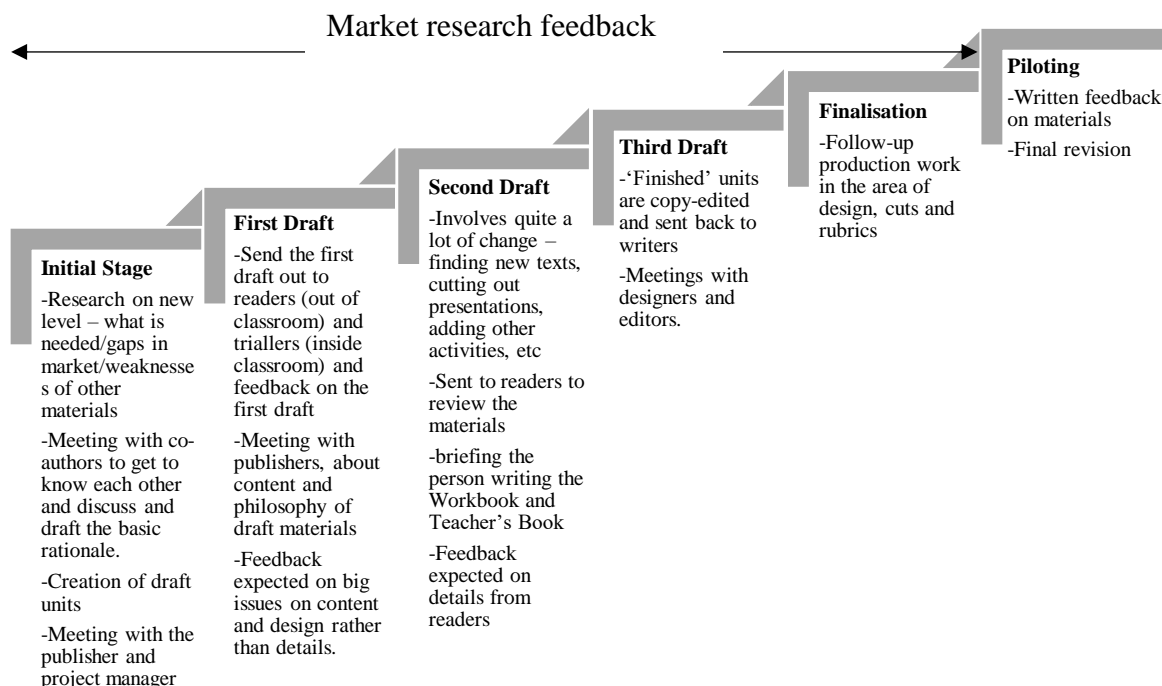FUQ3: What do you think is changing or will change about textbook production?

Q17: Finally, is there anything else you'd like to tell me about the textbook publishing industry?
FUQ1: Is there anything else I should have been asking about?

Question 4

Prompt Card 1

Production of a textbook

Market research feedback

Initial Stage

-Research on new level – what is needed/gaps in market/weaknesses of other materials

-Meeting with co-authors to get to know each other and discuss and draft the basic rationale.

-Creation of draft units

-Meeting with the publisher and project manager

First Draft

-Send the first draft out to readers (out of classroom) and triallers (inside classroom) and feedback on the first draft

-Meeting with publishers, about content and philosophy of draft materials

-Feedback expected on big issues on content and design rather than details.

Second Draft

-Involves quite a lot of change – finding new texts, cutting out presentations, adding other activities, etc

-Sent to readers to review the materials

-briefing the person writing the Workbook and Teacher's Book

-Feedback expected on details from readers

Third Draft

-'Finished' units are copy-edited and sent back to writers

-Meetings with designers and editors.

Finalisation

-Follow-up production work in the area of design, cuts and rubrics

Piloting

-Written feedback on materials

-Final revision

Question 5

Prompt Card 2

Here are some examples of topics regarded as sensitive in some contexts... (Gray, 2010)
Were there any rules or guidance you were given about suitable topics for the book?

-Isms and Politics: Refers to inclusion of current political parties, figures, discussions, or ideologies such as socialism, communism, etc.
Narcotics and Alcohol: Refers to content including references to any alcoholic beverage, drugs or tobacco
Religion: Refers to representation of the concept of religion or any religious icons, practices or beliefs
Sex: Refers to content representing sex and sexuality
Pork: Refers to content representing pork and consumption of pork meat.
Crime and Death: Refers to content on death, murder, or suicide, robbery, bombing, etc.
Violence: Refers to content representing wars, threatening, domestic violence, or guns.

Question 6

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Prompt Card 3

George: As a writer/publisher, it is my responsibility to protect students from exposure to any culturally/ideologically inappropriate content.

Emily: As a writer/publisher, it is not my responsibility to protect students from exposure to culturally/ideologically inappropriate content. Teachers should adapt the textbook according to the needs and sensitivities of teachers and students.

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Question 7

Prompt Card 4

Chris: Publishers need to be aware of the diverse contexts a textbook is used in, and try to make everyone happy.

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Olivia: Marketing teams and distributors want to make sure their products get into as many schools as possible, no matter how suitable they are for the context. (Bell and Gower, 2011:136)

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Oscar: Materials are becoming less informed by material research and user experience as publishers attend research conferences less often and the amount of piloting has significantly

</div>

decreased. Publishers are too busy with commercial concerns to do piloting. They overlook the attitudes of users, which matters a lot.

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Prompt Card 5 (Byram, 1998; Risager, 2007)

Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) is defined as 'the ability to understand cultures, including your own, and use this understanding to communicate with people from other cultures successfully'.

Steps of ICC:

1-Knowledge of self and other cultures

2-Ability to understand another culture, gaining skills of interpretation

3-Curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and also ask questions about your own culture

4-Ability to reflect critically on other cultures, gaining critical awareness

5-Ability to acquire new knowledge through discovery and interaction

Prompt Card 6 (Islam and Mares, 2014)

Isaac: Even when the classroom teacher selects the book, knows every student in the class well and is using materials designed specifically for the context they are in, she will still have to adapt the materials either consciously or subconsciously.

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Prompt Card 7

Katie: An ideal teacher is one who "can motivate the students, is confident and knowledgeable" about the language and fluent in the target language.

Emma: An ideal language teacher is aware of and knowledgeable about culture and norms in her/his teaching context.

Gabriel: Along with the target language, an ideal language teacher needs to be capable of educating pupils morally.

Prompt Card 8
Which one of the given types of teacher do you imagine using the textbook/ do you produce the book for?

A teacher who is…

1.Highly knowledgeable about local/national cultural values

2.Somewhat knowledgeable about local/national cultural values

3. Not knowledgeable about local/national cultural values

A teacher who…

4. Believes wholeheartedly s/he has a responsibility to include moral/cultural values and controversial content in his/her English class
5. Believes somewhat s/he has a responsibility to include moral/cultural values and to sometimes include controversial content in his/her English class
6. Doesn't believe s/he has a responsibility to include moral/cultural values and controversial content in his/her English class

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Question 12

Prompt Card 9

Content and cultural representations in language teaching materials may affect motivation of

learners.

Question 14 (Yuen, 2011)

Prompt Card 10

ELT textbooks often represent cultures by taking a 'tourist's perspective', that is, focusing on topics such as 'Food' and 'Transport'.

In addition, cultural representations in textbooks include:

Persons (e.g., celebrities, historical characters)

Products (e.g., monuments, paintings, a law)

Practices (e.g., what people do, when and where)

Perspectives (e.g., attitudes, beliefs, values)

Among these aspects, textbook content is conventionally dominated by products and persons, which offers a superficial and stereotypical reflection of cultures.

Question 15 (Adapted from Risager, 2018)

Prompt Card 11

Material research on culture mainly focuses on the following points regarding the representation of culture, society and the world:

• **What cultural identities are represented, and how?** (dealt with, or

just mentioned) (class, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, religion, education, language, etc.)

• **What social identities are represented, and how?** (dealt with, or just mentioned)

(celebrities, refugees, business people, engineers, school children, homeless, journalists, etc.)

Prompt Card 12 (Adapted from Mishan and Timmis, 2015, chapter 3)

Since English is used as an international language, the cultural content of ELT materials should not be limited to native English-speaking cultures.

Strongly agree
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

Question 16
Prompt Card 13

With the improvements in technology and interpersonal communication tools, we might not need classroom instruction, language teaching textbooks, or even teachers in the future.

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Excerpt 1

[Removed for anonymity]

Appendix 8 Interview transcript example

A: Thank you. So, you learned things by doing it rather than being trained?

GA 1: Yeah. You really learn things by doing and publishers again they don't give you a huge major project to work on, they give you a small project to work on. Yeah, step-by-step.

A: The first prompt card. Do you think it correctly maps the production stages of your textbooks?

GA 1: Yeah, I think it is quite similar. In the initial stage, yeah. It's research in a new level. Your meeting with marketing staff, with editors, and with everybody else, that's true. Co-authors if you have them, the draft, the big important thing is the schedule, yeah so that has to be done. The publisher and the project manager. So, again it's driven from the publishers. It's very very seldom that, "I have an idea" "I think I'm a genius" "I have many many ideas for textbooks that I take them to the publisher all the time and say, 'Oh yeah, very interesting. We'll think about this.'" They're not thinking about it. They really do their market research and get a lot of feedback from teachers and from the people in the market and that's how they decide what to write. They decide to write a year in advance or two years in advance. So, people who say "Oh yeah, I have a really great idea. We should publish this right away," it's not going to happen. It has to fit into the research system they have, the editors and everything else in the budget. So, it's a big deal, so it always starts with the publisher. Yeah, the first draft what we do is we always write a scope and sequence. That's what I always do, again just roughly, what are the topics we're going to cover, and then I do things depending on what kind of book it is.
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.
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A: Anything else you would like to add to the PARSNIP topic?

GA 1: I think that pretty much covers most of it. I can't really think of anything else. But sex and sexuality should change; it would be better if it was changed. But it's just my textbook publisher won't go for it because they're too conservative.

A: OK, thank you. Now the prompt card 3. If you could have a look it, it is about your role as a textbook writer or publisher. Can you please comment on the statements on prompt card 3?

GA 1: OK. [reads first one on prompt card 3: it's writers' responsibility to protect students from inappropriate content]… It's true. It's not a play, it's not a song, it's not a painting. It's a product. And the product is specifically for certain group of students, and the publishers are never wrong. I argue with publishers all the time, but I always accept what they say. So, I will make my argument in the other direction and say, "I will accept what you say but I just want you to be aware of something that maybe wrong. So, let's just think about this for a second."

Appendix 9 Final version of the complete code book

	Node
Theme 1	**Research and the industry**
1.1	Expectations
1.1.1	Teacher behaviour
1.1.1.1	Adaptation
1.1.1.2	Resistance
1.2	Teacher qualities
1.2.1	Awareness of local culture
1.2.2	Proficiency and fluency
1.3	Research and production
1.3.1	Awareness of discussions
1.3.2	Responsibility for inappropriate content
1.4	Strategies
1.4.1	Balancing the aspect of culture
1.4.2	Balancing the level of culture
1.4.3	Enhancing adaptability
1.4.4	Facilitating ICC
Theme 2	**State of the industry**
2.1	Strengths
2.2	Weaknesses
2.3	What has changed for the better
2.4	What has changed for the worse
Theme 3	**Textbook as a product**
3.1	Constraints
3.1.1	Diverse audience
3.1.2	Lack of permanence
3.1.3	Lack of principle
3.1.4	Lack of training
3.1.5	MoE intervention
3.1.6	Market-led approach
3.1.7	Publisher intervention
3.1.8	Time
3.1.9	Taboo topics
3.1.9.1	Importance of the message

	Node	
3.1.9.2	Source of taboos	
3.1.9.3	Use of taboos	
3.2	Production process	
3.2.1	Planning	
3.2.1.1	Allocation of roles	
3.2.1.2	Guidelines provided	
3.2.2	Production	
3.2.2.1	Writing process	
3.2.2.3	Source of topics	
3.2.3	Post-production	
3.2.3.1	Trialling	
3.2.3.2	Feedback	
3.2.3.3	Piloting	
3.2.3.4	Usefulness of feedback	
Theme 4	**Textbook writing as an occupation**	
4.1	Author profiles	
4.1.1	Level of education	
4.1.2	Other qualifications	
4.1.3	Teaching experience	
4.1.4	Years of experience in writing	
4.1.5	Previous occupation	
4.2	Working conditions	
4.2.1	Cons of being an author	
4.2.2	Pros of being an author	
4.2.3	How they got involved	
4.2.4	Desired profile	
4.2.5	How the team was formed	