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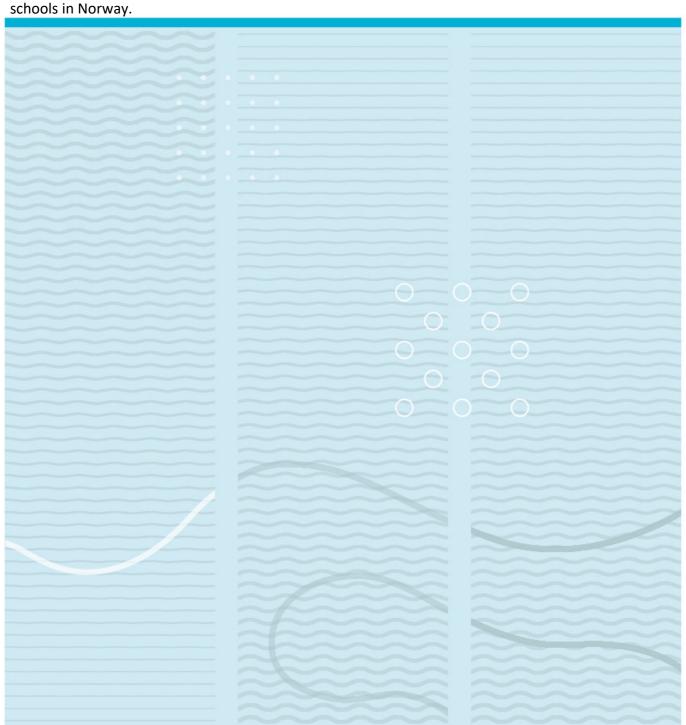
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Representation of BIPOC People in English

Textbooks

A qualitative study of visual representation of BIPOC people in four English textbooks for elementary schools in Norway.



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This thesis is worth 30 study points

Abstract

This master thesis has conducted a qualitative study of the visual representation of BIPOC people in English textbooks used in year 6 in Norwegian elementary schools. Four textbooks have been analyzed in this study from two different publishers based on the previous national curriculum (LK06) and the current national curriculum (LK20). As textbooks are essential tools in the classroom, it is vital to examine how they present BIPOC people. To answer this study's research question, critical visual literacy, visual semiotic analysis, and structural visual analysis have been conducted. Applying these methods allows the researcher to deconstruct the portrayals depicted in the textbooks.

The findings reveal that there have been noticed some improvements in the representations between the textbooks based on LK06 and LK20. In these representations, stereotypical and homogenous portrayals have been replaced with images that the students can relate to. However, the textbooks have also presented BIPOC as stereotypically and as a homogenous group that belongs to the past. Such representations of BIPOC reinforces misconception and prejudices. Therefore, the implication of this study suggests that teachers and students are critical of such representations in textbooks used in the classroom.

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Foreword

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As I am writing the last words of this thesis, I realize that this is the end of my five years as a

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I am happy and proud of my accomplishments so far, and I am excited to finally start a new chapter

as a teacher.

Oslo, May 2022

Ridwan Ali Mussa

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Being one of two students with a minority background in elementary school made me feel very different from my fellow students. I was both a Muslim and Somali, I also wore a headscarf, which emphasized the distinction between me and the other students to a greater extent. Fortunately, I was surrounded by good friends that made me feel included. However, sometimes, some students would tease me because of my background and how I dressed. At that time, I did not quite understand why some students would make fun of me and, therefore, did not think much of it.

As I got older, I learned more about my own culture in addition to various cultures worldwide, and I also became more mindful of stereotypes in certain societies. I noticed how different cultures were represented stereotypically, especially in media and literature. The representations were not accurate and were presented differently than "the normal world" as I knew it. Such representations contributed to constructing an "us" and "them" understanding between the majority and other minority cultures. Simultaneously, I started to think about why many minority students experience mocking and bullying in school. One explanation could be the various texts the students encounter in school or in their spare time that represents other cultures stereotypically. These representations contribute to create prejudices and discrimination towards people with minority backgrounds.

As a teacher- student, I was introduced to critical visual literacy that addressed the various ideas, values, and identities presented in images (Skovholt & Veum, 2020, p. 66). Through critical visual literacy, I became conscious of the images included in textbooks used in schools, which later made me interested in this topic. Additionally, I began to think about the textbooks I used in elementary school. Firstly, I remember that most of the characters I encountered were white and that I could not relate to the various characters as my fellow students were able to. Secondly, I remember that the few characters I could relate to, e.g., a Black person, had exotic characteristics or were placed in a negative or unusual context. These representations made me distant from the characters that resembled me as I associated them with something distinctive from the "normal world". This did not establish a better understanding of other cultures but rather represented different cultures as the

"other". Thus, being a teacher-student and being introduced to various books made me conscious of stereotypical representations of minority cultures.

1.2 Research question

The purpose of this study is to examine visual representations of BIPOC people in English textbooks. The acronym BIPOC stands for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. Therefore, my research question for this thesis is: How and to what degree are BIPOC people represented in English textbooks?

The textbooks analyzed in this study are developed for 6th grade, named *Explore 6* and *Quest 6*. Each textbook series is from the curriculum implemented in 2006 and 2020, which makes them four textbooks in total. The purpose of choosing textbooks from the previous and current curriculum is to compare them and to examine similarities and differences concerning the representations of BIPOC people in the various textbooks.

1.3 Why textbooks matter

In Norway, textbooks are essential tools for students in the classroom and are often used as their primary source for learning (Thomas, 2017, p. 2). A study from 2015 presents that about 70% of Norwegian students in elementary schools use textbooks when learning about new topics in the English subject (Gilje, 2015, p. 56). In most cases, the teacher uses textbooks to convey new material that the students are supposed to learn. The students can learn new learning material by reading the written texts in the textbooks, connecting them to images, and doing exercises in their workbooks. Since many teachers rely on textbooks when teaching in the classroom, the content in the textbooks determines what the students are going to be presented and the topics that will be discussed.

According to Imsen (2020), students are presented a variety of cultures that include minority backgrounds through textbooks (p. 230). There might be that students are familiar with some of the cultures presented to them, whereas some might seem foreign. Therefore, the content concerning different cultures must be presented in a natural context and not stereotypically. Skjelbred (2019) claims that the various texts conveyed in textbooks are not accidentally chosen. However, the textbooks convey the knowledge, attitudes, and values the society considers as crucial for this

generation and the next (p.142). Students with minority backgrounds that recognize their culture as represented in textbooks should be able to identify themselves and feel a sense of joy that their cultural background is implemented in the learning material. Simultaneously, their peers can be introduced and learn about these cultures. Likewise, learning about various cultures in contrast to what many consider "ordinary" contributes to increasing respect for what is recognized as different from oneself (Imsen, 2020, p. 230). Hence, for the students to associate themselves with different cultures and backgrounds, textbooks must present them in a natural and non-stereotypical context.

1.4 Curricula

In Norway, the curriculum is the most crucial document in education that teachers are obliged to follow it. The curricula are guidelines for teachers concerning the content of what the students are supposed to learn and the use of various methods (Imsen, 2020, p.279). It functions as a tool for the content of the teaching and how it is supposed to function in practice, which will be beneficial for teachers and students. The content of the curricula may differ throughout the years, but the main components usually consist of aims, content, methods, and evaluation (Imsen, 2020, p. 303).

Furthermore, Eisner (1994) claims that three curricula are always used in schools: the explicit, implicit, and the null curriculum. He describes the explicit curriculum as the one that is visible for all teachers, which they are obliged to follow, for instance, the competence aims in various subjects (p. 87). The implicit curriculum, also called the hidden curriculum, are messages conveyed unintentionally to the students from teachers, textbooks, or school structures (p. 73). These elements are not included in the curriculum but are still taught to the students, such as social expectations of genders or norms (p. 95). Lastly, the null curriculum is described as what is left out in the school and is not conveyed to the students (p. 97). This can be what is omitted in the curriculum and by teachers in the classroom.

In 2020, a new curriculum was implemented in Norwegian schools. The new curriculum, Kunnskapsløftet 2020 (The Knowledge promotion reform 2020, hereafter shortened to LK20), also called Fagfornyelsen, is a revised curriculum from the previous curriculum Kunnskapsløftet 2006 (The Knowledge promotion reform 2006, hereafter shortened to LK06). Some of the new elements in LK20 highlight intercultural competence, in-depth learning, and the interdisciplinary topics implemented across various school subjects (Imsen, 2020, p. 292). Because of the new curriculum LK20, schools have implemented revised textbooks that correlate with the new guidelines of the

new current curriculum. Although the textbooks that will be analyzed in this study are based on both LK06 and LK20, I will in this section present some of the key elements in LK20. This is due to LK20 being the curriculum currently used in schools, which therefore makes it natural to address some of its key issues.

There are several key issues in LK20 that relate to the topic in this thesis, and some of them will be addressed. LK20 states that the school is supposed to "support the development of each person's identity, make the pupils confident in who they are, and also present common values that are needed to participate in this diverse society and to open doors to the world and the future" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). This sentence emphasizes the importance of building the student's identity to make them confident in themselves. Through inclusion of various cultures and backgrounds represented in the classroom, LK20 is built on the assumption that it will create inclusion among students across cultures. The students are supposed to be able to communicate and relate to others different from themselves, which will contribute to a better understanding of the world and its inhabitants. This will lead to them developing confidence in their identity and culture as well as others. Furthermore, in the competence aim after year 7, it is stated that students are expected to "investigate ways of living and traditions in different societies in the English-speaking world and in Norway and reflect on identity and cultural belonging" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). In this competence aim, the students are not only encouraged to learn about and discuss societies in English-speaking countries and in Norway but are also expected to reflect upon their own identity and background as well as others. In the English classroom, the students should be encouraged to develop their own identity and background and simultaneously develop respect and understanding towards people with different backgrounds. Additionally, the students are also supposed to engage in critical thinking. The curriculum refers to critical thinking as "applying reason in an inquisitive and systematic way when working with specific practical challenges, phenomena, expressions and forms of knowledge" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). Therefore, it is crucial that the students develop critical thinking when being represented with visual representations that are depicted stereotypically in textbooks.

1.4.1 Intercultural competence in LK20

In LK20, intercultural competence is highlighted as an essential element in reinforcing understanding across cultures. However, the term does not address race and racism, such as racial differences and racial discrimination. The core elements in the English subject states that "working with texts in English helps to develop the pupils' knowledge and experience of linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as their insight into ways of living, ways of thinking and traditions of indigenous peoples" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). This core element emphasizes the importance of the student's spoken languages and different cultures through working with various texts. In addition, it indicates that languages make the students communicate and establish relationships with people across cultures different from themselves. This core element explicitly mentions indigenous people as one of the cultures the students are expected to learn about. Although this sentence includes how the students can develop intercultural competence by working with diverse texts and learning about the culture and traditions of indigenous people, the students are not being taught how to deal with and challenge race and racism. Further in the paragraph in the curriculum, it is stated that the students are supposed to "build the foundation for seeing their own identity and others' identities in a multilingual and multicultural context" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). Although students are supposed to develop an understanding of other cultures and include them in a diverse classroom, it does not mean that the problem of race is solved. Thus, although intercultural competence highlights the importance of language being vital to affiliation and the development of cultural awareness, it does not imply the racial inequalities and discrimination that affect indigenous people and others with minority backgrounds.

1.5 Previous Research

As previously introduced, textbooks are the primary source in Norwegian schools and represent various cultures. Therefore, this section will present some of the studies that previously have been conducted regarding the representation of BIPOC people in school textbooks.

Cecilie Brown and Jena Habegger-Conti's (2017) study examined how four different English textbooks used in the lower secondary Norwegian schools visually presented indigenous cultures. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, over 800 texts in textbooks were analyzed to classify how frequently and how indigenous people were represented and compared to the representations of white people. The findings of this study were that four textbooks presented

indigenous people stereotypically and mainly associated them with wearing traditional clothing. Additionally, the textbooks presented indigenous culture as excluded from the modern world and instead belonging to the past (p. 23). The finding of this study indicates that the images analyzed of indigenous people did not contribute to cultural understanding but instead created an "us" and "them" understanding between white and indigenous people.

Furthermore Paul Thomas (2017) analyzed the portrayal of non-westerners in four different EFL textbooks used in the upper secondary schools in Norway. His findings from the eight short stories analyzed were that people with non-western backgrounds were represented as the "racialized other" (p.1). These characters were portrayed as distant from the "normal world" and contrasting to what many people associate with the western world. These representations of non-westerns may make the reader identify with white participants that are presented as "ordinary" in the textbooks.

Similarly, another study conducted by Ragnhild Lund (2006) analyzed four EFL textbooks in lower secondary grades based on the curriculum from 1997 (L97). Her study aimed to describe and discuss how the combination of culture and context were represented in the textbooks based on L97 (p.16). Some of her findings were that the textbooks presented people from various countries in negative contexts that contributed to reinforcing prejudices towards these cultures (p.281). Additionally, the textbooks presented foreign cultures as exotic and as the "other" without including the relevant texts for the students. An example from one of the textbooks is how Aboriginal people and Native Americans were presented when the main focus was Zimbabwe and Australia as tourist places and not places where ordinary people live (2006, p. 282).

Poulsen (2013) has written an article examining whether history textbooks used in Denmark, England, Germany, and Norway represent globalization and international challenges or if the emphasis was on the nation-state. This study indicates that these four textbooks mainly presented national and Western content. The very few topics regarding non-Europeans were represented from a European perspective (p. 409). Also, the curriculum in these four countries focuses primarily on the nation-state, which will result in a lack of historical consciousness that concerns themes from world history.

Norwegian scholarship reflects international trends. The book *The New Politics of the Textbook: Problematizing the Portrayal of marginalized groups in textbooks* (Hickman & Profilio, 2012) examines how textbooks used in public schools in the US promote stereotypical views of the "other". One example from this study is ten high school geography textbooks that were analyzed. One of the findings was that all textbooks had a false representation between tradition and modernity (Zagumny & Richey, 2012, p.205). Another example is ten history and social studies textbooks that were analyzed, and only one textbook represented indigenous people as still being alive and belonging to current history (Cummings, 2012, p. 264).

Considering the previous research conducted in Norway and internationally, my contribution is to analyze the representation of BIPOC people in English textbooks used in Norwegian elementary schools today. This study aims to examine the various contexts BIPOC people are depicted and how they are presented compared to white people. In addition, the study aims to compare the visual representations of BIPOC people in the textbooks based on the two curricula, LK06 and LK20.

1.6 Thesis Overview

To answer my research question, I have introduced the topic and background of this study in this chapter. Chapter 2 will present relevant theories, such as BIPOC, CRT, and education research, followed by the methods applied in this study: critical visual literacy, visual semiotic analysis, and structural visual analysis. This chapter will also present the materials used in this study and explain how these materials have been collected, followed by ethical considerations. Furthermore, in chapter 3, the selected material will be presented and discussed in relation to the research question and theoretical background. Lastly, chapter 4 will present the main findings of this study, its implications, and further research.

2 Theory and Method

2.1 CRT

Critical Race Theory (hereafter shortened to CRT) is a valuable framework for discussing issues regarding race, racism, and power in society. The movement was first developed in the 1970s by scholars in America that were interested in the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 3). They realized that new theories and approaches were necessary to end the different forms of racism that existed in the system organized on the perceptions of a person's skin color or race (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 4). CRT asserts that race and racism are social constructs and defines racism as systems organized by what people presume regarding "race" (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 9). The scholars argue that race is a concept developed by people with no real biological foundation. Although individuals with common origins have some similar physical traits, does not signify that they have similar attributes, such as personality, intelligence, and behavior (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 9). Furthermore, individuals can declare belonging to various categories in society despite their identity. However, society determines to ignore these scientific facts about race and instead racialize minority groups into different categories according to their origins.

Furthermore, CRT argues that racism is conceptualized in the system through a colorblind ideology. People do not have to be deliberately racist in practice for something to be racist. Bonilla-Silva (2017) asserts that the colorblind ideology is constructed into four central frames in society (p. 54). Firstly, abstract liberalism claims that people use ideas associated with political liberalism, such as the idea of equal opportunity for everyone, and political liberalism, such as individualism (p.56). He asserts that the white society's excuse for inequalities between white and minorities in for instance education, wealth, and overrepresentation in the criminal justice system, is because of the minority's lack of hard work (p. 240). Such a colorblind ideology emphasizes that all people have similar opportunities in society and contributes to deny the discrimination minorities encounter based on their race and skin color (p. 56). He also argues that white people avoid discussing racism and race by suggesting excuses for the distinctions between white and black people to justify racial inequalities in society (p. 94). Secondly, the frame of naturalization allows white people to explain racial inequality as a natural process (p.56). An example is how segregation is excused as reasonable because individuals with different backgrounds "gravitate towards likeness" (p. 56). Thirdly, cultural racism relies on stereotyping racialized groups to explain minorities position in

society. For example, that "Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education" or that "Blacks have too many babies" (p. 56). Lastly, the Minimization of racism focus on how discrimination is no longer a central factor for minorities (p.57). These frames highlight the dominant society's tendency to normalize white privilege and ignore the experiences of BIPOC people. Their perception of racial discrimination belonging to the past makes them ignore the various discrimination they encounter in society and thus continue with their colorblind ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2017, p. 142).

2.1.1 Criticism of CRT

CRT has received external criticism from critics such as Randall Kennedy, Daniel Farber, and Suzanna Sherry, and internal criticism based on self-criticism. One of the external critics, Randall Kennedy, claims that CRT accuses "mainstream scholars of ignoring the contributions of writers of color" (Delgado et al., 2017, p.102). Kennedy, however, argues the fact that some texts have not acquired similar recognition does not necessarily relate to discrimination and racism (p.103). Additionally, Daniel Farber and Suzanna Sherry argued that CRT scholars were rejecting truths and merits by arguing that for example, Jews and Asians achieved a high level of success due to conventional standards. Therefore, Farber and Sherry questioned their statements by questioning the explanation of the success of these two minority groups in the unfair system (p. 103). In addition to the external criticism, CRT scholars have questioned its practical worth concerning problems due to race and racism in society, such as domestic violence, the school system, and police brutality (p.105).

CRT has also been criticized in American schools for being blamed for causing harmful outcomes (Morgan, 2022, p.35). This is due to many Americans receiving incorrect information from critics distorting the concept of CRT to ban it in schools, although students in K-12 are usually not taught this theory. In addition, some Americans are against this movement because they believe that it will make white children guilty and cause them discomfort (Morgan, 2022, p. 37). They are also concerned that CRT will blame white people for being oppressors and view Black people as the victims (Morgan, 2022, p.38). However, Morgan states that the movement does not blame white people for racism but rather how the institutions and society create inequalities. Thus, many Americans feel threatened because they fear the growing focus on racism and social justice in America (p. 38).

In Norway, religious studies scholar Torkel Brekke claims that the discussion of CRT excludes curiosity among people and observation of the world that provides unexpected answers (Brekke, 2018). He further argues that discussing race and racism in society through a CRT approach dismisses dialog and the opportunity to aim toward similar goals (Brekke, 2020). Additionally, he asserts that if CRT perspectives are implemented in Norwegian schools, they will confuse rather than enlighten students (Brekke, 2018).

2.2 CRT and Education Research

CRT scholars assert that ideas of race may be reproduced through narratives, stories, and images (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 125). These are represented in textbooks as shared experiences for students and teachers in schools. CRT also emphasizes deconstructing the master narrative, which relates to how the dominant society has created a framework by determining what can be viewed as reality regarding the collection of different concepts (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 123). In Norway, Norwegian exceptionalism can be interpreted as the master narrative, which according to Eriksen (2020), focuses on the absence of race and racism through nation-branding and protection of the Norwegian self-image (p. 4). Such focus is recognized in education, where Norwegian colonialism and discrimination towards national minorities are absent from the teaching material. The master narrative and the Norwegian exceptionalism in Norway reject having diverse perspectives in perceiving reality. Therefore, scholars emphasize the counter-narratives to challenge the ideas of the master narrative and encourage minority voices to share their narratives. For example, Delgado (1989) claims that counter-narratives "open new windows into reality, showing us that there are possibilities for life other than the ones we live" (cited in Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 125). In addition, a CRT approach to literature consists of more than only recognizing race and racism in the texts. Instead, it considers the significance of examining and understanding the various factors determining how people recognize, encounter, and respond to racism.

Eriksen (2020) claims that the discussion of race has been one of the unpleasant topics among educators and students in the Norwegian classroom. She asserts how this can be explained due to Norwegian exceptionalism, which focuses on protecting the Norwegian self-image (p.4). When mentioning racism from the historical aspect, Norwegians often refer to Holocaust, slavery in the US, or other global horrific events (p.4). Norwegian exceptionalism has resulted in the Danish-

Norwegian involvement in the maritime slave trade between the 1600s and 1800s being ignored. Additionally, it has also resulted in the neglecting of the colonization of the Sami ancestral homeland, Sampi, and the discrimination against the Kvens, Jews, Roma, Romani/tater, and Forest Finn that were national minorities in Norway during the 18th and 19th centuries (Eriksen, 2020, 4.). The colonial history of Norway has also been ignored in the education field, where the students only are exposed to some of the colonial histories of other nations. A survey Eriksen (2020) conducted in six Norwegian elementary schools about race and racism conveys that students downplay the possibilities that racism exists in Norway (p. 8). In the discussion regarding race and racism, the students become uncomfortable and consider such themes inappropriate to discuss in the classroom. Eriksen claims that the discussion of these topics makes the students "contradict the internalization of attitudes towards racism as morally wrong and is inconsistent with the Norwegian self-image as inherently anti-racist" (p.8).

Dyer (1997) states that the assumptions of how white people do not consider themselves as "raced" but rather as "only human", and that the concept of "race" is just something given to non-white people (p.1-2). Such understanding of race is also depicted in the representations that emphasize the distinction between white and non-white people. Furthermore, Dyer (1997) refers to Toni Morrison's study, *Playing in the Dark* (1992), regarding whiteness in American literature. Her study focused on the contrast in representation between Black and white individuals. For example, the study presented that the non-white subject was not allowed space, autonomy, recognition, or acceptance compared to the white subject in the texts (p.13). Such distinction between white and non-white people can also be recognized in textbooks used in schools.

The denial of racism occurring in society by not viewing it as a serious matter when discussing it is also connected to colorblindness. This also leads to an absence of recognizing the importance of understanding intersectionality, which refers to how different factors such as race, class, and gender combined affects the individual concerning discrimination and privilege in society (Orupabo, 2014, p. 331). A part of understanding racism is that it also recognizes it as a combination of various categories that can affect the individual's living conditions (Orupabo, 2014, p.331). However, Delgado, Stefancic, and Harris (2017) state that every individual has "overlapping identities, loyalties and allegiances" (p.11). Therefore, it is vital to understand that a person can claim to belong to various categories regardless of their race, gender, or religion that are visible to others from the outside.

2.2.1 Representations and Stereotypes

Through representations, people can be presented in various and meaningful ways. Because of the distinction between how white and BIPOC people are presented in texts, diverse representations and challenging stereotypes are crucial. In defining representation, Stuart Hall (1997) states that it implies "using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (p.15). Therefore, representation becomes crucial in exchanging different meanings and understandings across cultures. Diverse representation is a way to move away from essentializing individuals based on their race. Delgado, Stefancic, and Harris (2017) argue that "everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances" (p. 11). In addition, it is a way to present the world from a perspective to others, which are different and include various interpretations. According to Hall (1997), the matter of representation is complex concerning the engagement with "difference" and "it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper levels than we can explain in a simple, common-sense way" (p. 226). Furthermore, he claims that instead of discussing what is right or wrong in representations, the individual should consider the aspect of the several meanings in the image that is supposed to represent privilege (p. 228). There are also binary oppositions that highlight the difference between the two aspects relevant to representations. Derrida (1974) asserts that "there is always a relation of power between the poles of binary opposition". Examples of representation are "white/Black, men/women, masculine/feminine, upper class/lower class, British/alien" (as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 235). The two binary oppositions have different power in society, where the first has a privileged and dominant role. Up to the present time, representations of binary oppositions still exist, such as the difference in depiction between white and Black characters in texts. Such representations in texts contribute to prejudice towards cultures distinctive from the dominant white culture.

Moreover, such representation of Black people or others with minority backgrounds creates stereotypes. Beeghly (2015) defines *stereotype* as something that is "characterized as a subclass of genetics that makes claims, especially about social kinds" (p. 676). Later, he states that "stereotypes play a special role in categorizing individuals and forming expectations above them" (p.680). These statements are related to what was previously written about race as a "social construct", where people place individuals into specific categories or "units" and expect them to act accordingly. In addition, Hall (1997) describes stereotype as a "symbolic frontier" between "us", the normal, and "them", the abnormal (p.258).

2.2.2 Different approaches to culture

The British scholar Michael Byram has developed a model of intercultural competence in the foreign language classroom. Byram argues that intercultural competence consists of five "saviors": attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, and critical cultural awareness (Dypedahl & Lund, 2020, p. 20). He claims that the students need to develop these components to become interculturally competent. Furthermore, according to Stuart Hall (1997), culture is a complex term with various definitions (p. 2). In the previous years and through a social science context, *culture* is defined as "the way of life of a people, community, nation or social groups" (p.2). In addition, another definition of the term is to define it as "shared values" between people in a community (p.2). Dahl's book (2013) distinguishes between descriptive and dynamic culture. He defines descriptive culture as something historically, such as ideas, norms, and rules adapted from previous generations and is forwarded to the next generation (p.35). These can be seen as "codes" that people often do not consider when implementing in their lives (p. 35). Here, people's cultures play an essential role in their various decisions in life. It is assumed that people who belong to the same culture have similar understandings and reasons for their doings, where people are defined by their culture. Such an approach to culture is referred to as essentializing, a term used to describe what is typical for specific cultures and, therefore, divide them into various "units" (Dahl, 2013, p. 40). However, dynamic culture rejects the concept of culture as something people have but instead describes it as being established when encountering other people in different contexts (p.40). This implies that people are not categorized based on their culture but rather on their various interactions with others. Lustig and Koester (1999) define culture as something that "involve values, attitudes, beliefs, norms, and practices that people acquire as members of society" (cited in Dypedahl & Lund, 2020, p. 17). Such a definition of culture highlights the importance of defining when and how people's culture develops instead of others determining for them.

Considering that textbooks in schools present various cultures, these definitions of culture are crucial to consider. For example, when a culture is presented through a descriptive culture, the viewer may believe that all people that belong to this culture are homogenous and have a similar understanding of the world. Such representations become problematic since it defines individuals from the same culture as one "unit". However, the viewer recognizes that culture develops through dynamic representations of culture in textbooks.

Intercultural competence today reflects on Margaret Mead who were anthropologist that developed pedagogy approaches to how race and culture should be implemented in American schools in the early 1940s. Mead wanted schools to promote equality and undermine racism by supporting racial differences and encouraging teachers to celebrate cultural diversity. Her approach was to bring together people from different backgrounds and share meals. She claimed that this could be implemented by sharing various cultural traditions through food and songs (Burkholder, 2011, p.13). Mead supported the view that gatherings should promote healthy eating and minimize prejudices and misunderstandings between races (Burkholder, 2011, p. 88). Through these experiences, people from different backgrounds would encounter real-life experiences that she stated could be an effective strategy to eliminate racism. Mead argued that implementing such an approach would be more effective for others than teaching them explicit scientific facts about race (Burkholder, 2011, p.88). In addition, she supported implementing intercultural education in schools where teachers celebrated racial differences and stated that the most effective way to minimize racism in the classroom was through racial integration (Burkholder, 2011, p. 12). Such an approach supports a colorblind education and only highlights the positive attributes of minority cultures. Additionally, it involved that race had nothing to do with social relations. Instead, other approaches were implemented to end racial discrimination by white people, such as sharing different cultures with others to better understand each other (Burkholder, 2011, p.65).

Today's version of this pedagogy in Norwegian schools is "intercultural competence". As previously discussed, this concept has been emphasized in the English subject in LK20. Dypedahl (2019) defines intercultural competence as "the ability to relate constructively to people who have mindsets and/or communication styles that are different from one's own" (cited in Dypedahl & Lund, 2020, p.19). This implies that the students develop intercultural competence through understanding other individuals different from themselves by being open-minded to other cultures. In the English classroom, scholars like Heggernes (2019) argue that reading literature may help the students engage with conflicting perspectives (p. 39). Through being exposed to various texts, readers encounter various stories and cultures that engage with their own culture. As a result, they can relate to other individual's stories and learn about different cultures, which may contribute to the development of respect and tolerance. However, the concept of intercultural competence stated in LK20 does not mention race and racism. Instead, it highlights how the students can develop knowledge and understanding of different cultures through engaging in various texts.

2.3 Methodology

Considering that this study has analyzed textbooks, it can be referred to as document analysis. The term document has a broad meaning and can be referred to in most written sources such as newspaper articles, internet sites, written feedback, curricula, and textbooks (Høgheim, 2020, p. 137). In addition, the data conducted in a document analysis is from the past created in a given context to a target group, such as textbooks (Høgheim, 2020, p. 138). Furthermore, a qualitative approach was chosen in this study as being most appropriate to analyze how BIPOC people are represented in textbooks.

2.3.1 Multimodal approach

Most of the textbooks used in Norwegian elementary schools are combined with texts and images, making them multimodal texts. Mills and Unsworth (2017) describe the term multimodality as something that "refers to the constitution of multiple modes in semiosis or meaning making" (p.1). By combining the various modes in a text, such as written texts, images, and colors, the reader produces a holistic meaning (Maagerø & Tønnesen, 2014, p. 24). In LK20, texts are understood in a broad sense, and it is stated that they include "writing, pictures, audio, drawing, graphs, numbers and other forms of expression that are combined to enhance and present a message" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). Multimodal texts are given a crucial role in the curriculum, which recognizes the importance of applying various texts to develop student's learning. As previously mentioned, this study has primarily focused on analyzing visual representations. However, the written texts, including headings and captions, have been included in the analysis to better understand the image's context.

2.3.2 Research Methods

In LK20, working with texts in the English subject is highlighted. The core element explains that texts comprise a broad category, including pictures, drawings and photographs that present a meaning (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). In visual representations, how images are presented and their given context is fundamental to creating meaning for the viewer. Hall (1997) claims that images "...carry meaning because they operate as symbols, which stand for or represent the meanings we wish to communicate" (p.5). How the images are presented determines the elements that become noticeable compared to others. The visual weight can be accomplished through various elements, such as the size of the image, detailed depiction, contrasts in colors, and image placement (Maagerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 43). Additionally, visual representations in texts are choices constructed by the author and publisher, indicating that these are not generally accidental. By adopting various methods, the viewer can identify the power relations by analyzing how the viewer is positioned and the construction of the image.

One of the methods that can be applied to deconstruct the image's meaning is critical visual literacy. By applying this method, the viewer asks critical questions such as, "who the image benefits and disadvantages?", "what does the image include and exclude?" and "how is the person constructed in the image? "(Janks et al., 2014, p. 1). Through such an approach, the viewer can recognize how participants in the images are depicted and their relationship (Skovholt & Veum, 2020, p. 66). All images are constructed, and the chosen images and how these are put together are not accidental (Janks et al., 2014, p. 85). In order to deconstruct these visual representations, three steps are presented that can guide the viewer to read images critically: "What/who", "How", and "Where" (Janks et al., 2014, p. 85). Firstly, the reader must consider what or who is represented and depicted. Secondly, the focus shift to how the people are portrayed or how items are presented. In the final step, the viewer studies how the image is depicted by identifying the people or items in its given context. Critical visual literacy guides the viewer in recognizing ideas and values represented in images (Skovholt & Veum, 2020, p. 66). Additionally, this method contributes the viewer to challenge visual stereotypes, for instance, in textbooks applied in schools. Janks et al. (2014) claim that visual stereotypes occur "when a particular representation is repeated often and assumed to be the 'whole truth' without a full understanding of the context" (p. 90). Such representations naturalize elements that the viewer should question and represent an incorrect understanding of reality. Thus, through critical visual literacy, the viewer develops awareness of how images are constructed by considering various elements and how these are positioned.

Another method to deconstruct the meaning of images is *visual semiotic analysis*. *Semiotics* is defined as studying signs and symbols in a text (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 247). Through visual semiotic analysis, the viewer first studies what the images present and how they are applied. Secondly, the viewer studies the "hidden meanings" in the images and what they symbolize (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 92). In visual semiotic analysis, the questions asked are not necessarily the "What/Who", "How" and "Where", such as in critical visual literacy, but rather to study how the image-makers have (re-) construct reality (van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p. 5). This considers that the perspective of reality represented in the image might be a reality depicted differently. This is vital in textbooks used in the classroom, considering that representations of minority cultures have historically often been depicted as the "others" through binary oppositions, which presents these people stereotypically (Hall, 1997, p. 235).

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) was the first to apply ideas of visual semiotics and distinguished between two layers regarding how images create meaning for the viewer (Magerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 28). The first sign is a *visual denotation* that considers what the viewer sees in the image, such as people, things, or places, which is the literal meaning of the sign. In comparison, *visual connotation* stands for broader context and concerns the ideas and values represented in the image (Skovholt & Veum, 2020, p. 64). The viewer recognizes how images create meaning through visual connotation by studying how they are placed in the text combined with other elements (Maagerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 28). In the analysis process, the illustrator's choice to include or exclude elements in the image is vital to examine. This entails how the illustrator chooses to design the image, such as the "framing, distance, lighting, focus, speed" are crucial in visual connotation (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 98).

Kress and van Leeuwen's book (2006), *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* focuses on the structural aspects of the image. Several elements can be studied to reveal the positioning of the image in a text. However, in this text, the concepts that have been applied in this study will be presented.

One of the structural concepts that can be adapted is the image act or the gaze concerning the participants depicted in the representation. The image act determines what connection it is intended for the viewers to have with the participants (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). There is a significant difference between participants who look directly at the viewer and participants who do not. The participants who look directly at the viewer create a contact that explicitly acknowledges the viewer and establishes a relationship between the participant and the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). Furthermore, such an image can be called a "demand" intended to do something with the viewer, where the gaze is intended to create an imaginary relation with the participants. The type of relation depends on different factors, such as the facial expressions and gestures of the participant (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 118). In contrast, when the participant is not looking directly at the viewer but rather in a different direction, it is referred to as "offer". Here, no contact is established between participants and viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119). By analyzing the participant's gaze in images, the viewer can identify the relation intended to be established with the participant.

Furthermore, another structural concept is the size of the frame that depicts a close or distant relation between participant and viewer. The different relation can be distinguished between a close shot, that portrays the head and shoulders of the participants, and a medium shot that cuts off the participants approximately at the knees. Lastly, in a long shot the participant occupies about half the frame's height (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124). The size of the frame suggests if the viewer identifies the participant as a stranger or as the "other" or someone they can identify themselves with. Although the relation created between the depicted participants and the viewer is only imaginary, the choice of frame in images "portray as though they are friends, or as though they are strangers" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 126).

Salience is also a vital structural concept regarding multimodal texts, such as textbooks, where images are depicted in correlation with other images or written texts. According to Kress and van Leewuen (2006) "salience can create a hierarchy of importance among the elements, selecting some as more important, more worthy of attention than others" (p. 201). Salience is created through a complex interaction between various elements such as size, sharpness, color contrast, and placement (p. 202).

Additionally, the horizontal and vertical angles in the image examine the involvement and power relations between participant and viewer. In most cases, participants can either be represented through a frontal or an oblique angle. The participant has eye contact with the viewer through a frontal angle, and an involvement is established between them. Here, the viewers consider what is depicted as something familiar and that they can relate to. However, through an oblique angle, the participant is detached from the viewer, and there is a lack of involvement between participant and viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). Whereas through a vertical angle, an image can have a high angle that presents the participant as small and depicts the relation between participant and viewer as one in which the viewer has more power (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 140). Through a low angle, the viewer is looking up at the participant, and the participant is given more power. Lastly, an image at eye level creates an equal power relation between participant and viewer (p. 140).

2.4 Description of empirical basis

The purpose of this study is to analyze the visual representations of BIPOC people in textbooks. Both illustrated and photographed images contribute to creating proximity to students by presenting them in a way that they can resonate with (Maagerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 29). In addition, images can include details that the written texts cannot express. Meaning making in images is developed through the placement of the various elements concerning each other and through the image's size, shape, and color (Maagerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 28). Since this study is mainly concerned with visual representation, there was not conducted any in-depth analysis of the written texts. However, the written texts have been included in cases related to the image and contributed to creating a better understanding of the image's context. Since textbooks consist of both images and written texts, these will be analyzed through a multimodal approach.

This study examines how BIPOC people are represented in English textbooks used in Norwegian elementary schools. To gather my data, I have selected four textbooks in accordance with the previous curriculum, LK06, and the current curriculum, LK20. The textbooks applied in this study are: *Explore* 6 (2016), *Explore* 6 (2021), *Quest* 6 (2015), and *Quest* 6 (2021). Analyzing numerous textbooks provide a wide selection regarding representations of BIPOC people than only one textbook. Furthermore, analyzing text from two different curricula allows the researcher to compare how BIPOC people are represented and examine if there have been done any replacements between the textbooks. There is an increased focus on visual literacy in LK20, where the inclusion of visual representations in texts has been emphasized (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019).

The textbooks applied in this study are published by two major Norwegian publishing companies. *Explore* is published by Gyldendal, whereas *Quest* is published by Aschehoug. Both textbook series based on the two curricula have the same authors. However, some adjustments have been made to the editors and the image editors in the current textbooks based on LK20, where some of the previous editors have been replaced or supplemented with others. *Explore* and *Quest* are two of the English textbook series I have observed being frequently used in elementary schools in Norway. Also, since two major publishing companies have published them, these textbooks were chosen to be examined. In this study, textbooks from year 6 have been analyzed because the textbooks from year 1 to year 5 had limited content on Indigenous people. Additionally, *Explore* 7 and *Quest* 7 based on LK20 were not published as I started writing this thesis.

The four textbooks presented include workbooks and a teacher's guide. At the beginning of this study, I intended to include some content from the teacher's guide to examine how the visual representations were supposed to be taught in the classroom to understand the analysis process better. However, due to the limitation of this study, I decided that it was necessary to only focus on analyzing the textbooks. Additionally, the workbooks will not be included since they contain fewer images than the textbooks. Thus, this thesis has analyzed visual representations of BIPOC people in English textbooks by applying critical visual literacy, visual semiotic analysis, and structural visual analysis methods.

2.5 Operationalizing key terms

BIPOC consists of various cultural groups (Black, Indigenous, and people of color), and therefore in my analysis, I have selected images that depict Black, Indigenous, and People of color. I have identified Black people and people of color by their skin color. On the other hand, Indigenous people are not necessarily defined by their looks but rather through cultural and ethnic belonging. Since the chosen textbooks have depicted indigenous people by their cultural characteristics, I have decided to identify them through clothes associated with indigenous cultures, cultural artifacts, and art.

2.5.1 BIPOC

This study builds on the international discussion of race, particulary the acronym BIPOC which stands for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. The term has previously been actively used due to police brutality and racism toward Black people in the United States. BIPOC has also been utilized as an inclusive term to include the marginalization of various minority groups in society and emphasize the historical oppression they encountered. Throughout history, people with minority backgrounds have fought to shape their own identities (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 4). The emphasis on BIPOC people's rights and creating their narratives have been influential in different disciplines, such as education (Zamudio et al., p. 124).

The term exceeds the Black-white binary common in an American context and includes the diverse marginalized groups in society. Each minority group, which indicates everyone who is not white, is categorized as racialized in its own individual way according to the need of the majority group (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 79). Society has divided its inhabitants into different "units" based on their physical attributes and cultural belonging (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 80). Such racial division among people moves away from the black-white binary since each minority group experiences different forms of discrimination. In an American context, this implies that the binary is between white people and BIPOC. However, in a Norwegian context, Eriksen (2020) suggests that the binary is between "ethnic Norwegian", which is a synonym for "white", and BIPOC. In Norway, the standard narrative is that there is no such concept called "race" but rather a categorization between the "Norwegians" and the "others". This distinction between these two categories is not, as in the US, based on the individual's race but rather on their cultural, geographical, and religious belonging. Even today, the term "ethnic Norwegian" is used as a term equivalent to being white, whereas other minorities, including indigenous Sami, are excluded from this term (p.4). This also includes the Norwegian minority groups such as the Roma, Romani, Jews, Forrest Finns, and Kvens that have experienced racist policies due to their background and geographical belonging.

In the process of categorization, I have encountered some limitations regarding defining what is considered "white", "Black," and "people of color". Before selecting and analyzing the images in this study, I planned to categorize the different participants based on their skin color. However, as I started the process, I realized that identifying people's race in images based on their skin color was more complicated than I thought it would be. For instance, some participants have light skin tone with curly hair and appear biracial in some of the selected visual representations. This makes it more challenging to categorize them as either being Black, white, or people of color. Additionally, the participant's hair texture has been demanding to distinguish. One example in the analyzing process has been to classify an individual as either being Black or white when the participant has curly hair and light skin tone. Also, many of the Black and POC participants have "typically white" names, which makes it challenging to distinguish their difference. For instance, some parents do not give their children names to highlight their "Blackness" in the US and instead choose names identified as "white". Such instances in textbooks make identifying the participant depicted according to skin color difficult.

Furthermore, after experiencing these challenges in the categorization process, I decided to focus on some criteria in each categorization to apply the same principles in all selected images for this study. Therefore, Black participants have been identified through their skin color and hair texture. Indigenous people have been identified through clothes, cultural artifacts, and art. In addition, they have also been recognized by written texts related to the image that relates to indigenous culture and people. Lastly, since people of color are from various backgrounds, they have been categorized through their skin color- neither black or white, but rather brown. Some have also been identified through their names, such as the American Chinese participants presented as having Chinese names in the written text. Due to the limitation of this study, all the visual representations of BIPOC have not been included in the analysis. This study has mainly focused on BIPOC people that have been represented distinctively compared to white people in the textbooks. Additionally, images analyzed in this study that were presented in both textbooks based on LK06 and LK20 included only one of the two images in the appendices due to not wanting to repeat the same image.

2.6 Ethical considerations: Reliability and Credibility

Ethical aspects to consider in this research are reliability and credibility. Reliability refers to if the researcher has conducted a study that the reader can trust (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2016, p. 129). A researcher is not able to guarantee reliability in a study. However, the various complications the researcher encounter can be addressed. (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2016, p. 129). In addition, reliability is related to how accurate the selected data is, what type of data that selected, and how these are collected and analyzed (Joahnnessen, Tufte & Christoffersen, 2021, p. 27). On the other hand, credibility relates to the study's trustworthiness and discusses how the researcher's results support the study's purpose (Johannessen, Tufte & Christoffersen, 2021, p. 256). A study that focuses on credibility ensures the quality of the study, such as describing how the material was collected and analyzed and discussing the shortcomings (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2016, p. 130). Furthermore, to strengthen the study's credibility, considers whether the researcher has data based on more than one setting to gather more widespread data (Johannes, Tufte & Christoffernse, 2021, p. 257).

I have attempted to strengthen the study's reliability and credibility and consider my position as a researcher for this research. In the introduction chapter, I presented the importance of focusing on visual representations in textbooks. Chapter 2.4 described the reason and how I selected the textbooks analyzed in this study. Additionally, in chapter 2.5, I was open about the limitations of using visual clues to determine a person's race. I explained how I gathered the data by focusing on some criteria in categorizing BIPOC people for the same principles to be applied in each group. Furthermore, in this study, I must consider my position as a researcher. The researcher's perspective may influence the selected data and its interpretation (Johannessen, Tufte & Christoffersen, 2021, p. 243). Since I will analyze how BIPOC people are represented in various textbooks, I know that my minority background may influence my interpretations. Therefore, it may be challenging to only maintain an objective perspective on my analysis and discussions.

3 Analysis and Discussion

In this chapter, the visual representations of BIPOC people will be presented and discussed in relation to the research question and theoretical background. In chapter 3.1, the central patterns discovered in the Explore textbook series between BIPOC and white people will be presented. The textbooks present a diverse representation of BIPOC people. For example, the Explore series, based on LK06 and LK20, include fewer representations of BIPOC people in contrast to the *Quest* series. Hence, the images of BIPOC are not equally distributed in all four textbooks chosen for this study. However, several BIPOC participants are represented distinctively from white participants, which will also be presented. Chapter 3.2 will present and discuss the representations of Black people depicted as extraordinary in the Explore textbook. Furthermore, chapter 3.3 will present the central patterns noticed in the *Quest* series. Chapter 3.4 will present and discuss the representations of the model minority in these two textbooks based on LK06 and LK20. In chapter 3.5, the representation of indigenous people has been presented, focusing on the visual representation, being presented as belonging to the past, and the depiction of colonization. The Quest series include more representations of Indigenous people compared to Explore. Therefore, this study includes more images from the Quest textbook. Additionally, most of the representations in the textbooks of Indigenous people are of Native Americans, except for two representations of the Sami people. Therefore, the selected images of indigenous people will mainly consist of Native Americans.

3.1 Explore: BIPOC vs. White

The pattern noticed in the textbooks demonstrates that white participants are depicted as being the norm. This norm is noticeable in how BIPOC people are represented compared to white people. Depicting many white participants in various settings that the students can recognize themselves in, such as their involvement with animals and various activities, may present a notion that whiteness is seen as the norm. Regarding that white has been the norm throughout history in Norway indicates that such patterns can be recognized in the textbooks (Eriksen, 2021, p. 112). Considering that many white people have been assigned characters that students can identify themselves with in their daily lives might make the students identify whiteness as the norm in contrast to BIPOC people. These representations of white participants in textbooks correlate with the master narrative and Norwegian exceptionalism, in how race is absent or constructed differently from white people (Eriksen, 2020, p.4). Correspondingly, CRT emphasizes the need to deconstruct the master narrative and perceive reality through different perspectives (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 125). Considering that textbooks are supposed to present the world and that the world is not "white", the viewer questions how BIPOC participants are represented and their given context compared to white participants.

One main difference is that the *Explore* series, based on the previous and current curriculum, presents representations of white people involved with various animals, such as dogs, cats, orangutans, and horses. In this textbook series, the depiction of white people engaging with different animals is repeated. Visible relation is established between white participants and the various animals where the participants are either holding, petting, or having contact with them. One example is the representation of white boys and orangutans included in both Explore textbooks (see appendix 1, p. 156). In these images, the boys are illustrated as having a close relation with the orangutans. The captions state that "Daniel and William work hard to save the orangutans", which indicates that they play a crucial role in saving their lives. The images in the two textbooks have a medium shot. One of the boys has eye contact with the viewer, which establishes a connection that recognizes the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). In addition, in the same textbook series, three images of a white man and a cat are presented on the same page (see appendix 2, p. 24). The images are taken in three different settings. The connection between the man and the cat is presented as close and friendly. Also, the representation of white people and dogs is repeated in the Explore textbooks. One example is a girl reading for a dog named Bart (see appendix 3, p. 20). The relationship between the girl and the dog is presented as close. Although some black participants

are involved with various pets in the two textbooks, these become very few compared to the depicted white participants.

Reflection of the western idea of the relationship between domesticated animals and white children has also been identified in family portrayals in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Black children have been represented in contrast to white, where white children have been associated with the white middle-class American family. One example is an image of a smiling white boy depicted with a dog. In the background, there are flowers, fruit trees in a well-tended garden, and clean white sheets that may advocate a cheerful mom and housewife (Morey, 2014, 107). Additionally, the dog in this portrayal is depicted as the white boy's best friend. However, the portrayal of Black children accompanied by dogs are not associated with the white middle-class family. One example is an image of a Black boy and a dog, where the dog is not essential in the photograph, and the relation between them is not depicted as friendly and close (Morey, 2014, p. 111). Thus, recognizing such differences in representations between white and Black children is crucial, especially in textbooks.

Another difference is that BIPOC people are not engaging in similar activities as white people. As previously introduced, numerous BIPOC people are represented in the textbooks. However, many participants are not depicted in the same context as white participants. Several white people are depicted as involved in various activities that the students can recognize themselves in. Almost all these settings are depicted with white participants. For example, in the textbook based on both LK06 and LK20, there is an image representing people of different ages in the movies (see appendix 4, p. 114 & appendix 5 p. 116). However, most people included in the illustrations are white, whereas very few people can be identified as "people of color" through their skin color. Additionally, another example is an image depicted in the textbook based on LK06 where it is presented a white boy that is cycling (see appendix 6, p. 107). The boy in the image has an audience consisting of both children and adults that he is engaging with.

Furthermore, in contrast, several BIPOC participants are depicted through a close shot or as being stationary through a long shot. One example from the two textbooks is a two-spread page titled "What is your favorite type of film?" (see appendix 7, p. 120-121 & Appendix 8, p. 122-123). In these pages, four children are represented as white, Black, and people of color. Both pages have the same layout in the two textbooks. First, the name and the children's ages are introduced, followed by a close shot portrayal. Below each image is a short description of the children's favorite films. Although the representations of BIPOC children are included in these pages, they are not portrayed

as engaging in activity compared to the white people depicted in appendices 4, 5, and 6 presented in the previous paragraph. Additionally, many of the images of indigenous people in this textbook series are represented as stationary. One example is the image of the Sitting Bull from the Sioux tribe depicted in *Explore* based on LK06 (see appendix 9, p. 168). The photograph is a medium shot, and the Sitting Bull is depicted as seated. Another example is a long-shot image of the Shoshone tribe that is depicted in *Explore* based on LK20 (Appendix 10, p. 186). In this image, Native Americans are presented as either standing or sitting with no indication of movement among the participants. The representations of indigenous people in the *Explore* series based on the two curricula are from various Native American tribes. The visual representations are combined in the chapter about the USA. *Explore* based on LK06 has depicted three images of indigenous people, whereas the textbook based on LK20 has included eight images of indigenous people in total.

BIPOC participants have also been represented as contributors to positive change in society. For example, In *Explore*, based on LK20, two girls from Bali collecting plastic rubbish are depicted (see appendix 11, p. 158). The caption states "Goodbye, plastic bags" and indicates that these girls want to contribute to a difference by ending the use of plastic bags. Furthermore, the same textbook includes images of Black boys engaged in the "Black Lives Matter" protest and demonstrating against inequality and racism (see appendix 12, p. 188).

3.2 Explore: The extraordinary Black and the ordinary white

For many, whiteness has been related to "normality" compared to blackness. Due to white privilege, white people do not have to experience that their achievements are regarded as being exceptional or as "credits to their race" (Delgado, 2017, p.90). Instead, white people's achievements are considered as being normal. This is related to a difference in representations between white and BIPOC people, where BIPOC participants have been assigned characters not typical for white participants. One example is a Black man (Usain Bolt) presented as masculine and fast. Another example is the representation of a Black girl that has accomplished something extraordinary despite her young age. Lastly, there have also been included representations of the "Black Lives Matter" movement where Black children are depicted as exceptional protesting against racism and inequality. Such representations of Black people presented as exceptional might result in white and BIPOC students assuming that BIPOC students have to be exceptional as the people depicted in the textbooks. Additionally, such representations might indicate that BIPOC students think they are in contrast with what is considered "normal".

3.2.1 From the athletic Black man to the ordinary Black girl

The *Explore* textbook, based on the two curricula, begins each chapter with a picture collage that depicts various images of what the following chapter will consider. For example, in chapter 4 in the textbook based on LK06, the chapter title is "Faster than the Speed of Light" (see appendix 13, p. 88-89). The picture collage depicts various images, such as a jet fighter plane, a spacecraft, a train, and a truck. Other images are included that depict other transportation options, such as a skateboard, bicycles, and an air balloon. All the images depicted represent various vehicles and other means of transport that work at different speed levels. This picture collage also depicts a Black and masculine male sprinter wearing running clothes and a sign with "Bolt" written on it, which indicates that the depicted sprinter is Usain Bolt, the Jamaican sprinter who is the world's greatest sprinter of all time. The word "SPEED" is written in capital letters above Bolt which may signify that he is associated with speed. Furthermore, the name of the chapter "Faster than the Speed of Light" describes an unimaginable speed that may confuse the readers and associate Bolt's speed with something beyond the bounds of possibility. Additionally, the chapter's title can confuse the readers and make them uncertain about what the following chapter will consist of. Also, the depiction of Bolt, the most famous sprinter of all time, in a picture collage with other rapid vehicles

indicates that Bolt's speed is compared with the speed of the various vehicles. One of the critical questions in critical visual literacy is how the participant has been constructed in the image (Janks et al., 2014, p. 1). Such illustration of the sprinter may signify that the students compare Bolt's speed to the various vehicles included in the picture collage.

The representation of Bolt can be compared with an image in the same chapter of a Black girl that has achieved a great and rare accomplishment considering her young age (see appendix 14, p. 106). The same girl is also depicted in *Explore* based on LK20 (see appendix 15, p.106). The headline of the two pages is "Kids on a mission". Both images are depicted through a long shot where the participant has eye contact with the viewer. The written text indicates the girl's achievement as extraordinary due to her young age. The image in the textbook based on LK06 portrays the girl standing in front of a plane (p. 106). She is depicted through a low angle which indicates that the girl is presented as having more power than the viewer. Such an image may indicate that the girl is presented as being remarkable due to her high achievement and that the viewer identifies her as being in a powerful position. Furthermore, the image in the textbook based on LK20 is at eye level (p.106). Such depiction indicates equal power relations between the viewer and the participant (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 140). This image may illustrate that the girl is supposed to be presented as having equal power relation with the viewer despite her achievement. Both images present the same girl, however, the image from the textbooks based on LK20 appears to be more modern than the image in the previous textbook. In this image, the girl is wearing a professional pilot uniform. Additionally, the quality of the two images differs where the illustration in the textbook based on LK20 appears more contemporary than the image in the textbook based on LK06.

Furthermore, Bolt is depicted performing his well-known signature pose called the "To Di World" pose, which involves leaning back and pointing his index fingers toward the sky while his left arm is stretched out more than his right arm (EssentiallySports, 2021). This gesture became the well-known signature move that was performed as an indication of celebrating his numerous victories. Additionally, bolt is depicted through a long shot that establishes a distance between the participant and the viewer. As a result, the viewer identifies Bolt as a stranger or someone almost a superhuman that the students most likely cannot recognize themselves with (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 126). Additionally, Bolt is depicted through an obliques angle where no eye contact with the viewer is established. Such an angle creates a detachment and lack of involvement with the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136).

The textbook based on LK20 presents a similar picture collage in chapter 4. However, the chapter's title and the depiction of Usain Bolt have been replaced (see appendix 16, p. 90-91). The title's chapter has been replaced with "Cars and other vehicles" (p. 90-91). This title gives the reader a clear indication of what the following chapter will consider. Additionally, the depiction of Bolt in the previous textbook based on LK06 has been replaced with a young Black girl standing on a hoverboard. The girl presented in the picture collage appears to be approximately the same age as the intended viewers. Additionally, the girl is standing on a hoverboard, a modern technology many students may recognize and relate to. The girl is depicted from a frontal angle which establishes an involvement with the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). Furthermore, the participant has eye contact with the viewer, making the viewer acknowledge and establish a relation with the girl (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119).

By comparing these two picture collages in the *Explore* textbooks, the author and the editor may have consciously replaced the depicted participant and the chapter's title. In contrast, white participants engaging in various sports are represented differently in this textbook series. In both textbooks, Bolt is the only super athlete depicted, which indicates that no well-known white super athletes are included in the textbooks. However, some white participants, both adults and children, are presented as engaging in various sports, such as cycling, skateboarding, surfing, and performing a gymnastic trick. These activities are familiar to most students, and therefore, they can identify themselves with these participants compared to Bolt. One example in the Explore textbook based on LK06 represents a young white boy presented as the youngest person to cross the United States on a bicycle (see appendix 6, p.107). Although the boy's accomplishments may seem exceptional considering his young age, the engagement in the image is presented as the students can identify themselves with the participant. In the image, the boy engages with other children that appear to be his audience. The children are smiling, and some are giving him applause. Additionally, the children depicted in front of the image are giving the boy a "high five" while smiling. Such an image presents a relation between the participants depicted in the image. However, the image of Bolt in the same textbooks stereotypically portrays a Black male by presenting him as a masculine sprinter in the context of other vehicles. Bolt is depicted as the super-male athlete who might make the viewers assume that all Black athletes are similar to him, considering that he is the only Black athlete portrayed in this textbook series (Hall, 1997, p. 233). Such representation of a Black man is related to how CRT asserts race as a social construct and that people are categorized by society's expectations (Delgado et al., 2017, p. 9). Furthermore, Hall (1997) has questioned the binary oppositions between Black and white participants in representations and argues that there is always

a power relation between the two binary oppositions (p. 235). In the picture collage in *Explore* based on LK06, in addition to the Black participant, a white participant is depicted riding a skateboard. Here, Bolt is presented as being masculine and rapid, whereas the white participant is presented in a standard setting that the viewers are familiar with.

One of the methods applied in this study is a visual semiotic analysis that focuses on what the image present and its "hidden meanings" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 92). Visual denotation and visual connotation are two main concepts of visual semiotic analysis that are crucial in these representations. The visual denotation considers what the viewer sees in the image, such as people, things, or places. Therefore, examining the Black athlete through a visual denotation level does not become problematic in itself because that is what the viewer sees. However, from a visual connotation perspective, the viewer examines the meaning behind the image by considering the given context (Maagerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 28). Milton (2012) refers to Robert Staples's book regarding how Black males have been assigned cultural images of several types given by society. One of these types is being an athlete (cited in Milton, 2012, p. 18). Such representation promotes stereotypes that might influence how the viewers observe Black men because of how they are represented in images (Brown, 2019, p. 121). This representation is also related to cultural racism, which according to Bonilla Silva (2017), racializes minority groups to explain their position in society (p. 56). The viewers might assume that all Black men are extraordinary through such depiction. Therefore, not being critical of such an image when used in the classroom might make BIPOC students believe they must be expectational due to their background.

On the other hand, the picture collage from the textbook based on LK20 replaced Bolt with a young Black girl on a hoverboard. The girl has been represented in a context where the viewers may associate themselves with her. In the picture collage, the girl is smiling, which indicates that the viewer explicitly acknowledges the participant and establishes a relation with the girl (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). Such representation does not reinforce stereotypes but instead includes BIPOC people in the representation. Additionally, the chapter's title has been replaced with "Cars and other vehicles" which provides the reader a clearer understanding of what the following chapter will consider (p. 90). Thus, by comparing the two picture collages in the *Explore* series, it is recognized that the Black super athlete in the previous textbook has been replaced with a young Black girl whom the students can identify themselves with.

3.2.2 "Black Lives Matter"

The *Explore* textbook based on the current curriculum, addresses the movement "Black Lives Matter" on the front cover of chapter 7, "About the USA" (see appendix 17, p. 166), and in a two-page spread in the same chapter (see appendix 12, p. 188-189). The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement began as a hashtag on social media after a white man shot a 17-year-old Black boy in 2012. The chapter's front cover presents a black boy holding a poster written "When do I go from cute to DANGEROUS?" and "#Protect the youth" (p. 166). The fact that the boy is included in the chapter's front cover among the other elements that the following chapter will address, indicates that this topic will be presented later in the chapter. The boy is depicted through a low angle where the viewer is looking up at the participant. In such a depiction, the participant is positioned as having more power than the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 140). Additionally, the boy is presented through a frontal angle and has eye contact with the viewer, establishing an involvement between them (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). The image can also be referred to as a demand, where the intention is to do something with the viewer, and the viewer establishes a relation with the boy (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117)

Further in the chapter, two Black boys are depicted as being in an authority position. The image to the right depicts the young boy from the front cover. In the caption, it is written "All over the US children spoke up about inequality" (p. 188). The image to the left represents another young Black boy giving a megaphone speech. Both adults and children are standing next to him in the image. Since the boy is depicted through an oblique angle and positioned facing a different direction, he appears to be talking to an audience in front of him that is not visible to the viewer. In the caption, it is written, "Kids can make a difference, says Nolan Davis". In these two images, children of approximately the same age as the viewers are given powerful positions that indicate a change in society.

The written text related to the images narrates the killing of George Floyd in May 2020 in Minneapolis. The text states that because of his killing and the discrimination toward African Americans in the US, people worldwide took part in the "Black Lives Matter" protests. Furthermore, the written text states that people "were angry about the way black people are treated and protested against racism and inequality" (p.188). The text highlights the importance of eradicating racism and presents protests to spread awareness of racial discrimination. However, the written text does mention the problematic issues related to race. Additionally, by reading the text, the reader could interpret that racism only happens to African Americans in the US and that people

worldwide protest in solidarity with them. The reason for this might be because racism and inequality are only included in these two pages in the Explore series where the focus is on American racism. The fact that the BLM movement is included in the Explore textbook based on LK20, compared to *Explore* based on LK06, which did not mention this topic makes the students aware of racial disparities. However, since these pages only focus on race and racism in the context of the US, students might assume that racism only occurs in this country. Therefore, in this textbook, the US is presented as an exceptionally racist country that overlooks other problematic and racial policies globally. For example, no content about the UK is presented in the textbook despite its significant conflict over race regarding the Windrush scandal. In 2018, it was announced that the thousands of people brought from the West Indies to the UK as workers between 1948 and 1971 were wrongly categorized as illegal immigrants and threatened with deportation or detention because of The Home Office's lack of official paperwork (BBC, 2021). However, the only inclusion of the UK is a brief introduction of British authors that have written texts included in the textbook, such as Babette Cole, Roald Dahl (British-Norwegian), David Williams, and James Matthew Barrie. Additionally, the story of James and Bob the cat that lived in the UK is also presented in the textbook.

In both visual representations regarding the "Black Lives Matter" movement, the depiction of the boys has been presented as being in a powerful position seeking to develop a change in society. These representations convey that even children approximately the same age as the intended readers can contribute to difference by using their voices. However, the concept of race and racism in the Norwegian context is excluded in the written text. Eriksen (2020) argues that due to Norwegian exceptionalism, the discussion of these topics has been uncomfortable to discuss in the Norwegian classroom (p. 4). By introducing the "Black Lives Matter" movement and racism in the context of the US, the students might assume that people in Norway do not face racism. According to a Norwegian Centre Against Racism (2017) survey, many students with minority backgrounds experience racism at school (p. 14). CRT makes us understand the occurrence of racism, although schools claim they do not tolerate racism, which makes it crucial to understand the social structure to deconstruct racism. Given the assumption that white people are given a privileged position by not experiencing racism, most white people tend to associate racism with an issue that only considers "the racialized others". Bonilla- Silva (2017) asserts that such thinking about race and racism is a colorblind ideology that gives white people the excuse not to see race. One of his frames elaborated on abstract liberalism, which claims that white people argue that all people have the same opportunities, which contributes to denying the racism and discrimination minority people

encounter (p. 56). Therefore, Eriksen (2021) claims that the focus should shift from only focusing on the people that experience racism to the invisible racialization of the dominant white society as one of the efficient ways to eradicate racism (p.107).

3.3 Quest: BIPOC vs. White

Similar to the *Explore* series, one main difference in the *Quest* textbook is differences in representations between white participants and BIPOC people, where white people engage in various activities that the students can recognize themselves in. One example in the textbook based on LK20 is the pages that have the subchapter titled "American sports", which presents four different activities that represent American sports: cheerleading, American football, baseball, and basketball (see appendix 18, p.104-105). In these images, only white participants are represented and are actively involved in the various sports. Considering that these areas are essential for Black people, it is a paradox that no Black athletes have been included in the images. American football and basketball have been among the two sports African American athletes have achieved excellent performances and attained high status in the previous years (Wiggins, Moore & Mjagkij, 2018, p.4). Therefore, by excluding black athletes in these illustrations, the students might assume that these sports are only typical for white people.

In contrast, the indigenous people represented in the *Quest* series based on both LK06 and LK20 present them as the "other" by only being depicted as wearing traditional clothing. By combining the image with the related written text through a multimodal approach, indigenous people are presented as belonging to the past with no indication of how they live today. In addition, most of the indigenous people depicted do not have eye contact with the viewer, which establishes detachment. These findings in the textbooks correspond to Brown's (2017) study regarding how white and indigenous people are represented. The white participants were presented as active compared to indigenous who were static and passive. According to Brown and Habegger- Conti, these differences in the representation between the two cultures contribute to creating an "us" and "them" understanding (p.26).

Most of indigenous people's representations in this textbook series are presented in chapter 3 about the USA. However, one representation of the Sami people in the textbook based on LK06 is depicted in a different chapter. The indigenous people presented belong to various Native American tribes. In the *Quest* textbook based on LK06, there were twelve visual representations of indigenous people, where ten images depict Native Americans and two depict the Sami people. In comparison, *Quest* based on LK20, presents eleven images of Native Americans and one representation of the Sami people. This indicates that most of the representations of indigenous people are Native Americans. Thus, the representations demonstrate that the *Quest* series depict more images of Indigenous people than the *Explore* series.

Like Explore, the Quest series also presents BIPOC people as contributors to positive societal change. The textbooks present African Americans who fought against racial inequalities and racism in the US. Two of the people included in these textbooks are Rosa Park and Martin Luther King Jr. They were two vital individuals who fought against the racial rules in the US. The visual representations of both participants are depicted as being in a powerful position (see appendix 19, p. 110-111). In the illustrations of Rosa Park, she is depicted as sitting in front of a white male on the bus. Whereas in the image of Martin Luther King Jr., he is presented as standing in a higher position while giving a speech for a large group of people. Learning about these individuals is essential to understanding the racial inequalities African Americans encounter in the US. Since both Explore and Quest textbooks focus on American Racism, the students might assume that racism is not something that takes place in a Norwegian context. However, considering that the books conducted in this study are in English, it is natural that topics regarding the Norwegian context are downplayed. Furthermore, these representations influence people to establish a space for BIPOC people's voices. Eriksen (2021), stated that whiteness is considered the norm in Norway (p.107). Therefore, by including such representation in the classroom, the students can challenge the master narrative's view addressed in chapter 2. Additionally, such representations encourage the students to share their own stories in the classroom. CRT scholars highlight the importance of BIPOC students being able to create their own narratives that they can share with the rest of their class (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 124). Also, such images that present BIPOC people will make the students be able to identify themselves with the various people in the textbooks. Thus, considering all this focus on the US in textbooks might be an argument for the usability of American concepts when working with these texts.

3.4 Quest: Representation of the Model Minority

The *Quest* textbooks based on LK06 and LK20 present the Model Minority Asian American that appears to be intellectual and high achieving. The image in the textbooks based on LK06 depicts a woman named Lian Wang, a student at Texas Tech University that is being interviewed by a white male (see appendix 20, p.173). Due to the women's name, she is considered to have a Chinese background. The written text related to the image conveys that the woman studies how to generate power from the wind to help the environment. Through the representation, it seems like the interview is taking place in a windy location, most likely nearby a wind power. The participant is wearing a white laboratory coat associated with authority and professionalism. Additionally, due to the wind, some papers are flying away. The woman's facial expression appears passionate about what she studies in the interview. On the other hand, the white male interviewing the woman looks surprised by her high achievements in the image. There might be various reasons for his amazed facial expression. One explanation might be because the dominant are white people in this field, and the reporter may be surprised by the student's accomplishment.

Furthermore, *Quest* based on LK20 depicts a white male named Dave Farrow and a girl named Angel Yuen Man Lai, considered Chinese due to her name (see appendix 21, p. 67). In the image, the man is holding the girl's arm. This image is connected to the previous page, a written text regarding an interview with the Guinness World Record holder, Dave Farrow, that a reporter interviewed. The image's caption indicates that Dave congratulates the girl on the Canadian Memory Champions held in Toronto. In the illustration, the white male, Dave, is presented as holding up the girl's arm to announce the girl's achievement publicly where it appears as if they are standing on a stage with an audience. However, the written text on the previous page does not mention the Chinese girl depicted in the image. The only written text concerning her is the caption describing the visual representation. Considering that the girl is not mentioned in the written text on the previous page, the written text and the visual representation do not correspond through a multimodal approach as presented in chapter 2.3.1. Such a representation where the image does not correlate with the written text might confuse the students.

This gives the picture of *Tokenism* which is defined as "the practice or policy of making no more than a token effort or gesture, as in offering opportunities to minorities equal to those of the majority" (Dictionary. com, n.d.). The written text on the same page the girl is depicted are questions that have the topic "After reading" and "Talk about it" related to the written text on the

previous page (p. 67). Including representations of participants with minority backgrounds is not problematic in itself but rather how they are included in the text. The inclusion of tokenism in the textbooks might reinforce diversity, reducing critical thinking of superficial and celebratory representations (Deckman et al., 2018, p. 292). Additionally, Deckman et al. (2018) state that such representations of minorities do not highlight inclusion but rather present them as stereotypical (p. 293). Thus, such images might make it difficult for students to identify themselves with the participants and instead recognize them as the "other". Tokenistic representations correspond to the findings of Lund's study (2006) regarding how culture and context were presented in English textbooks. One of her findings similar to this study was that the textbooks presented various cultures without including the relevant written texts so the students could better understand the images depicted (p. 282). Instead, the various cultures presented were depicted as the "other" that seemed foreign to the students. Such representations make it difficult for the students to identify themselves with the presented cultures and characters.

The two Chinese girls represented in the *Quest* series are presented stereotypically. According to Beeghly (2015), "stereotypes play a special role in categorizing individuals and forming expectations above them" (p. 680). Since these two Chinese Americans are the only participants that have been depicted as intellectual and high achieving in the textbooks based on the two curricula might make the students assume that all Chinese people have similar characteristics. These representations correlate with Zhang's (2010) findings in her research that indicated that Asian people are represented as the model minority that achieves extraordinary success in various fields (p. 32). Such a model reinforces stereotypes and categorizes Asian people based on people's assumptions of race. The representation of Chinese people as intellectual and high achieving is not only a problem, and such illustrations might inspire students to achieve similar accomplishments. However, presenting Chinese people as the only intellectual participants in the textbooks reinforces problematic stereotypes that present Asians as the perfect minority group. Delgado et al. (2017) assert that these myths become discriminatory towards Asians who are poor and in need of assistance. Also, other disfavored groups, such as African Americans, are criticized for not achieving similar success as the model minority (p. 94). Critical visual literacy challenges the representations of visual stereotypes, which helps the reader pay attention to the various values and ideas the image might represent (Skovholt & Veum, 2020, p. 66). One of the three steps the viewer can utilize to recognize what the image represents is considering the image's context (Janks et al., 2014, p. 85). Here, questions such as how the image is represented are considered. Thus, the

representations of the two Chinese participants might make the students assume that all Chinese people are high achieving and intelligent, which can create a false and stereotypical understanding.

Furthermore, from a denotative perspective, the image in *Quest* based on LK06 depicts a Chinese American woman named Lian Wang, whom a white male is interviewing. Similarly, the textbook based on LK20 presents a Chinese American girl named Angel Yuen Man Lai, depicted with a white male holding up her arm. Such representations are not problematic in themselves. However, the connotative level focuses on the represented elements of broader concepts, values, and ideas (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 96). From a connotative level, the two girls are depicted stereotypically by both being presented as intelligent and high achieving. The images from the two textbooks convey similar stereotypical representations. Additionally, the student in the textbook based on LK06 is portrayed with a big smile. Such depiction is related to the portrayal of the minority through laughter in the graphic novel American Born Chinese where especially one character was framed in laughter throughout the novel (Oh, 2017, p. 22). For students, this representation might convey that they associate Chinese people with laughter and therefore do not take them seriously. This is a second stereotype about Asians, which clashes with the hard-working model minority myth. Furthermore, Oh (2017) asserts that "laughter points to how we are all scripted by society to laugh and make fun of that which is foreign and different to distance ourselves from the other" (p. 28). Such presentations become problematic if they are repeated in textbooks.

Furthermore, both images illustrate a white male standing next to the two girls. In the image based on LK06, the male is interviewing the girl. Whereas the image from the textbook based on LK20, the white male is holding up her arm. Such representations between the Chinese Americans and the white males correlate to Hall's (1997) binary oppositions between the dominant white male and the minority (p. 235). In both images, the girls are the ones who have achieved something, whereas it seems like the white males are the ones who convey these achievements. In the second image, the white male holds up the girl's arm, indicating that she needs a white man to convey her accomplishment. Also, this relates to the model minority that presents them as "the nerds who lack social and communication skills" (Zhang, 2010, p. 32). The viewer might assume that the white male is holding up the girl's arm because she did not intend to do so. Thus, representing Chinese girls as high achieving in the two *Quest* textbooks may reinforce the stereotype that all Chinese people are high achieving and intellectual.

3.5 Indigenous people

3.5.1 Visual representations of indigenous people

Explore: "Stars and stripes"

Chapter 7 in the *Explore* series based LK06, presents a picture collage that introduces various images regarding the content of the following chapter. The picture collage in the textbook has the title "Stars and Stripes" (see appendix 22, p. 164-165). It depicts photographs of various elements that can be associated with the USA. The images included are men that are surfboarding, some stars from Hollywood's Walk of Fame, Marilyn Monroe, tall buildings, a tram, Mount Rushmore, the American flag, an eagle, the Statue of Liberty, a city at night, a "wanted" poster, and pancakes. The only content that includes indigenous people in this collage is a drawing of a war bonnet written "NATIVES" above it (p. 164). On the left side of the picture collage, there are some written words associated with the USA and that this chapter will consider: freedom, great, state, independent, however, drive, destination. Here, written words associated with indigenous cultures are excluded. Such exclusion can be referred to as what Eisner (1994) claims to be the null curriculum, which is described as what is left out of the teaching material and not conveyed to the students (p.97). The fact that the drawing of the war bonnet is the only indication of indigenous people might make the students associate all indigenous people with wearing war bonnets. According to White (2017), the war bonnet is a "sacred regalia for the men in the nations in which the headdress is worn" (p. 1422). This indicates that the war bonnet is only worn by particular men in an authority position which is a very small percentage of Native Americans. Therefore, the inclusion of a war bonnet as the only representation of indigenous people creates an incorrect understating of the Native Americans as only belonging to one group. Additionally, the text "NATIVES" written above the war bonnet explicitly reinforces the assumption that all Native Americans wear this headdress.

Quest: «The Native Americans»

In the textbook based on LK06, there is a two-page spread titled "The Native Americans" (see appendix 23, p. 84-85). The first page depicts an oil painting named *Buffalo Hunt*, painted in 1897 by Charles M Russel (1864-1926). In this image, two Native Americans are depicted hunting Buffalos (p. 84). The image is a long shot which indicates that the viewer creates a distant relationship with the participants and makes the characters socially distant from the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 126). In addition, the two Native Americans depicted do not have eye

contact with the viewer, which establishes detachment (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). The two Native Americans are riding horses while hunting the Buffalos with bows and arrows, a weapon associated with ancient times. Additionally, the two Natives are wearing traditional clothing. Furthermore, the image on the following page represents a powpow event where Native Americans gather and celebrate through dancing, singing, and socializing to honor native American culture (p. 85). Although there are several Native Americans depicted in the illustration, only the participant at the front is visible, whereas the others are blurred out. The participant presented at the front is depicted from a back angle and is not making any eye contact with the viewer, and therefore, the viewer establishes a detachment from the participants (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). The native Americans depicted in the illustration wear traditional clothing such as war bonnet, other traditional headdresses, and clothing. The participants are also represented with traditional artifacts. In addition, the caption briefly describes what a powwow celebration is. Considering the page's heading is "The Native Americans", the students might associate Native Americans with people who only wear traditional clothing and hunt buffalos.

The Quest textbook based on LK20 depicts three girls from the Navajo tribe wearing traditional blankets (see appendix 24, p. 94). The illustrations represented in Quest based on LK06 have been replaced with an image of three girls depicted through a frontal angle that the students might establish a relation with compared to the images depicted in the textbook based on LK06. Similar to Quest based on the previous curriculum, the title of this page is "The Native Americans" and indicates that the image on the page is from a Native American Tribe. The photograph is presented as modern and illustrates that it was photographed in recent years. The image's caption demonstrates that the girls depicted belong to the Navajo tribe, which is one of the largest tribes in the USA. Additionally, the caption points out that the blankets the girls are wearing are essential for their culture. All the girls are represented through a frontal angle, which establishes an involvement between the viewer and participants. Two girls have eye contact with the viewer, which acknowledges the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). It seems like two people are standing behind the girls in the image. Their heads are not visible, but the traditional blankets are recognizable and appear similar to the ones the girls are wearing. Additionally, one of the girls depicted at the front and the participant behind the girls are wearing a similar necklace that might resemble a traditional necklace. However, the written text above the illustration does not correlate with the image. Instead, it describes the different tribes of Native Americans Columbus observed when he arrived in America in 1492. The only written text about The Navajo tribe except what is mentioned in the caption is a small section on the following page named "Did you know?" (p. 95).

In this section, the written text does not mention what the illustration of The Navajo tribe depicts. By representing the Navajo tribe as only wearing traditional clothing, the students might assume that all members of this tribe wear similar blankets and clothing.

3.5.2 *Quest* and *Explore*: Indigenous people belonging to the past

The *Quest* textbook based on LK06 presents a Venn diagram of similarities and differences between the Sioux and the Sami people (Appendix 25, p. 87). This page is the last page of a two-page spread about Sioux and the Sami people. Because of this thesis's limitations, only the last page has been included in this study. The written text indicates that the Venn diagram was created by a girl named Anna from Hammerfest in Norway. The Sioux people are represented with a war bonnet, whereas the Sami people are represented with a Sami hat. On this page, Anna mentions the similarities between the Sioux and the Sami people. Some examples from the Venn diagram are "They were first in their country", "Lived in teepees/lavvos", "Used animal skins to make clothes", and "Forced to speak English/Norwegian". All these similarities between the Sioux and the Sami are written in the past tense, which indicates that they are no longer applicable today. Therefore, they are considered to belong to the past. Furthermore, the Venn diagram does not include how they live today, which conveys the notion that they still live in such circumstances. In addition, the fact that these two ethnic groups are represented only with a war bonnet and a Sami hat may reinforce the stereotype that all Sioux and Sami people wear these hats.

"Sacagawea"

Explore textbook based on LK20 presents the story about Sacagawea in a two-page spread consisting of three images and written text (see appendix 10, p. 186-187). According to the written text, Sacagawea was a Native American from the Shoshone tribe born in 1788. On the top left is a stamp of Sacagawea issued in 1994 because of her being one of the American West's well-known women (Potter & Brandman, 2020-2022). Sacagawea is represented through an oblique angle in the stamp, and no eye contact is made with the viewer. Such representation indicates no relation between the viewer and Sacagawea (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119). The second image on the same page depicts people from the Shoshone tribe. Behind the Shoshone tribe are some teepees. The image is in black and white, which might be associated with the past and not existing today. The people are depicted through a long shot, and since the image is presented as indistinct, the

people appear as though they are strangers. Such an image makes it difficult for the viewer to create a relation with the participants, which establishes a detachment between the participants and the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 126). The second page presents a painting of Sacagawea and her son that she is carrying on her back. Sacagawea is depicted through an oblique angle that creates a detachment from the viewer and establishes an impersonal relation (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). In addition, her son on her back is sleeping and therefore does not create a connection with the viewer. However, Sacagawea is depicted from a low angle and appears like a person with power and authority (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 140). Her facial expression indicates that she is a determined and brave woman. This correlates with the caption "The brave girl walked long distances carrying her son on her back" (p. 187). Behind Sacagawea and her son is a green landscape and mountains. In the three images presented in these pages, Sacagawea and the Shoshone tribe are only depicted wearing traditional clothing. Such representations might make the viewers associate them with something foreign and assume that people from this tribe only wear such clothing.

The findings in this study regarding the representations of indigenous people in textbooks indicate that they are presented as the "other" and belonging to the past. From a denotation perspective, the indigenous people are represented as wearing traditional clothing, which is not problematic in itself. However, it becomes problematic through a connotative level that focuses on the image's broader context and meaning, such as the ideas, values, and context included in the image (Skovholt &Veum, 2020, p.64). The connotative level indicates that the images of indigenous people are presented stereotypically since they are depicted as a homogenous group only wearing traditional clothing. Such representations might make the students assume that all indigenous people dress similarly. Additionally, these portrayals might make the students place them into "units" and view them as the "other". Hall (1997) argues that stereotyping "divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable" (p. 258). Since the representation of indigenous people in the textbooks appears only to be depicted with traditional clothing and artifacts, it appears unfamiliar and abnormal for the students compared to what they consider familiar in their daily lives. Furthermore, many indigenous people are depicted from an oblique angle which makes the participant detached from the viewer and does not consider the representations part of their world (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136).

The textbook presents the Sami people and their culture as the "other" despite being "white". In the Venn diagram, the Sami people were only depicted as belonging to the past, and the only image that represented them was a Sami hat. Eriksen (2021) asserts that the Sami and other national minorities are constructed as the racialized "other" in relation to whiteness, regardless of categorizing themselves as being white (p. 112). Furthermore, Eriksen's study (2020) demonstrates that Norwegian students believe that Sami people only "live up in the North" (p. 10). Since the textbooks portray the minimal content included about the Sami as something the students cannot recognize themselves in, they reinforce the stereotype that Sami people are only people that belong to the past or live at a geographical distance different from where they live.

Such homogenous representation of indigenous people in the textbooks relates to what Dahl (2015) refers to as a "descriptive culture". This concept makes the viewer assume that all indigenous people are similar and essentializes them as belonging to the same group (p. 40). Also, the fact that the written text related to the visual representations of indigenous people is written in past tense might make the students believe that indigenous people only belong to the past. Such stereotypical representations contradict what is stated in the curriculum regarding the students developing cultural diversity through texts in the English subject (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). If the textbooks included modern representations of indigenous people that depicted how they live today, the stereotype and prejudices towards them would reduce. These representations of indigenous people are comparable to Brown and Habegger-Conti's article (2017) regarding how EFL textbooks used in Norwegian schools represented indigenous people. The findings of these texts were that indigenous people were presented as unfamiliar and as remaining in the past. In addition, the textbooks presented indigenous people stereotypically as not belonging to the modern world.

As introduced in chapter 2, the English curriculum highlights that the students will learn about other cultures different from their own to develop knowledge and experience of cultural diversity. Considering that the curriculum explicitly mentions that the students should have insight into "ways of living, ways of thinking and traditions of indigenous people" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019), the visual representations of indigenous people in the textbooks chosen for this study becomes problematic. Indigenous people have been depicted as homogenous in these textbooks, only dressed in traditional clothing. The written texts that correlate with the images indicate that indigenous people are presented stereotypically as only belonging to the past and therefore appear foreign to students. Additionally, the students cannot identify themselves with the

indigenous participants and instead recognize them as the "other". For many white students, these stereotypical representations of indigenous people may make them assume that they are the opposite of what is understood as the "norm".

3.5.3 Quest: Peaceful colonization?

The *Quest* series presents the interactions between Native Americans and the English colonists as peaceful. The representations included in this textbook series that will be discussed in this study are the first thanksgiving and the story of Pocahontas.

"The First Thanksgiving"

The Quest series presents a painting drawn by Jean Leon Gerome Ferris (1863-1930) called The First Thanksgiving in both the LK06 and LK20 editions (see appendix 26, p.96). He was an American painter known for his scenes from American history (David Barnett Gallery, n.d.). This image depicts a peaceful interaction between Native Americans and the English colonists. The written text indicates that the image portrayed a Thanksgiving feast in October 1621 and was painted in 1912. Since this event took place in 1621, and this painting was painted in 1912, this image captures the idealized and modern interaction between the Natives and English settlers painted through his narrative. The painting has a long shot, and many of the participants have an oblique angle, which makes the relation between the participants and the viewer distant (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). The image depicts a female colonist offering some roast turkey to a Native American man sitting on the ground. Behind the woman is a man who is holding a bowl of food. The other colonists in the painting are people engaged with preparing the food or standing with the other settlers. In the background, another female colonist is welcoming a native American woman. The active participants are the British people serving the natives and engaging with them. In comparison, the Native Americans are sitting on the ground and being served by the British. However, this peaceful painting contributes to rejecting the Native American experiences and instead conveys the white colonist's narrative. For many Native Americans, Thanksgiving is associated with a day of mourning and protest because of the arrival of the colonists in North America and the oppression and genocide that continued through the centuries (Bugos, 2019). The peaceful interaction depicted between the native Americans and the English settlers did not occur. In the representation, it seems like it is the first gathering between them. However, the Wampanoag tribe had contact with the English settlers before encountering them in 1621. The Wampanoag

contact with the settlers was brutal and bloody and involved slave raiding by the Europeans (Bugos, 2019). Thus, this page being the only representation of thanksgiving in the US that symbolizes a peaceful event between the natives and the settlers, will not allow the students to learn about the untold story of the Native Americans and their encountering with the settlers. Such representation between the Natives and the settlers is related to the null curriculum concerning what is omitted in the learning materials and not conveyed to the students (Eisner, 1994, p. 97)

"Pocahontas"

In the same textbook series, the story of Pocahontas is presented. Pocahontas was the daughter of the Powhatan Chief, Wahunsenaca. She was known as being a courageous girl that helped others as best as she could (Mansky, 2017). In *Quest* based on LK06, there is a color print postcard from 1907 of Pocahontas at the court of King James (see appendix 27, p.111). The image has a long shot which creates distance from the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124). None of the depicted participants have eye contact with the viewer, and therefore, no relation is established between the participants and the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119). In the image, Pocahontas is depicted from an oblique angle and creates detachment from the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). Additionally, the written text related to the image does not mention the happening in the color print postcard depicted below, which can confuse the students. The written text on the following page briefly mentions the meeting between, the meeting Pocahontas and King James. However, their meeting at the court is not included in the narrative.

Additionally, the *Quest* textbook based on LK20 depicts the story of Pocahontas, but here the narrative of Pocahontas is represented through a comic strip (see appendix 28, p, 92-93). The comic strip consists of six images and begins with Pocahontas as a little girl collecting firewood with other native girls. In the second image, Pocahontas is saving the English colonist from someone in her tribe that wanted to kill her. The third image depicts a peaceful interaction between Pocahontas and the English children. In the fourth image, there is a depiction of Pocahontas and her spouse, the Englishman John Rolfe, and their baby. In the following image, Pocahontas met with King James. Finally, the last image in the comic strip depicts an ill Pocahontas lying in bed. The written text related to this image indicates that Pocahontas died at 22. Throughout the comic strip, Pocahontas does not have eye contact with the viewer, resulting in no relation between her and the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119).

These two representations of Pocahontas in the two textbooks depict her living in harmony with the British colonists. The second image in the comic strip shows Pocahontas saving John Smith from her tribe that wanted to kill him. However, this did not most likely happen because he was honored by the Powhatan chief, and therefore her tribe did not have any reason to kill him (Schilling, 2017). Furthermore, the textbooks portray a friendly relationship between the natives and the English settlers that probably did not take place. The narrative about Pocahontas leaving her tribes village and marrying the English man, John Rolfe, is presented as a voluntary act. However, Pocahontas was kidnapped by an English colonist, and soon as she arrived in the English colony of Jamestown, she was raped (Schillings, 2017). Additionally, in the comic strip, it is conveyed that when Pocahontas went to England, she died because she became ill. This is probably also false, considering many of the Native Americans accompanying Pocahontas was kidnapped, including her sister, who stated that she most likely had been poisoned, which led to her sudden death (Schilling, 2017).

The representations of the Thanksgiving feast and the story of Pocahontas portray a difference in power relations between the depiction of Native Americans and the English colonists. In the image The First Thanksgiving (see appendix 26), the Native Americans, except for one lady standing at the back, are sitting on the ground waiting to be served by the English. Through a connotative level that considers the image's broader context and the represented ideas and values (Magerø & Tønnessen, 2014, p. 28), the dog and the little girl are approximately at the same height length as the natives sitting on the ground. Such comparison indicates that the natives are standing in a lower position than the English, who are either standing or sitting on chairs. Furthermore, almost all the natives Americans depicted have an oblique angle where no eye contact with the viewer is made. Such representation makes the viewer unable to identify themselves with the natives and therefore establishes a detachment from the participants (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). On the other hand, many English participants are depicted from a frontal angle, indicating that the students most likely will identify themselves with them. The differences in the representations between the natives and the English correlate with Hall's (1997) binary oppositions between the dominant white and the other, where white participants are presented as having more power than the natives (p. 235). Likewise, in the representations of Pocahontas, none of the images of Pocahontas have eye contact with the viewer, which establishes a detachment. Additionally, none of the participants in the comic strip are looking at each other. An example from the comic strip from the textbook based on LK20 is image four, where John Rolfe, Pocahontas, and their baby are depicted (p.92). Here, none of the participants have eye contact with each other, which creates a distance between them. In this image,

Pocahontas has an oblique angle, whereas the English man has a frontal angle which makes the viewer more engaged with him compared to Pocahontas.

What is noticed in these representations regarding the European colonization is that they are presented as peaceful interactions. Because the textbooks downplay how the English invaded and stole the territory of the natives, the students will not be able to develop understanding and sympathy for the harrowing experiences of the indigenous people. Presenting the stories of the natives American as peaceful prevents the students from thinking critically. The reason for downplaying the experiences of Native Americans might be because their experiences are narrated by the dominant white society and not by the native Americans themselves. Therefore, CRT emphasizes the importance of the counter-narratives to challenge the master narrative created by the dominant society (Zamudio et al., 2010, p. 123). Indigenous people have other stories that question Western society's assumed stories. Smith (2021) argues that these stories are "the history of Western research through the eyes of the colonized" (p. 3). The counter-narrative stories contribute to challenging the stories of the dominant society, which allows the students to encounter the narratives of the oppressed. Additionally, such perspectives make the students think critically of the various stories presented in the textbooks by examining the author's choices and the effects these can have on the viewers (Janks et al., 2014, p. 85). These findings on how the interactions between the native Americans and the English are represented through the dominant white society are similar to Poulsen's study regarding history textbooks and the inclusion of minority people. His research presented that most of the history textbooks used in four European countries covered primarily national and Western content. However, the few contents regarding non-Europeans were only represented from the dominant perspective (p. 409). Thus, challenging the master narrative by including the counter-narrative makes the students critical of the various texts.

Additionally, for Norwegian students in year 6, these complex topics about indigenous colonialization might become too demanding to comprehend, especially when the textbooks present them in a downplaying and incorrect manner. To teach these topics would require teachers to expand time and resources to educate the students about Native American history in comprehensible and accurate ways. Moreover, it might also be the case that all teachers are not familiar with the authentic stories of Sacagawea, Thanksgiving, and Pocahontas. Therefore, they might teach the students the narratives in the textbooks in a superficial way. Thus, the students will not be able to think critically of the various representations in the textbooks.

4 Conclusion

This study aimed to examine visual representations of BIPOC people in English textbooks used in year 6 in Norwegian elementary schools. The chosen research question was: How and to what degree are BIPOC people represented in English textbooks?

This study conducted three methods: critical visual literacy, visual semiotic analysis, and structural visual analysis, to answer the research question.

4.1 Main findings

One of the main findings in this study is that there has been an improvement in the representations between the textbooks based on LK06 and LK20. As previously presented in this thesis, analyzing textbooks based on different curricula allow the researcher to compare how BIPOC people are presented and if there have been conducted replacements in the representations. One improvement noticed in the *Explore* series was that Bolt was represented as the super-male Black athlete in the textbook based on LK06 and replaced with a young Black girl standing on a hoverboard in the textbook based on LK20. Furthermore, another improvement in the Explore textbook based on LK20 was that the "Black Lives Matter" movement was included that presents Black boys demonstrating against racism and inequality. Additionally, in the *Quest* textbook, it was noticed that two images that presented indigenous people as homogenous and as the "other" were replaced with a modern image of Native American girls in the textbook based on LK20.

However, many of the visual representations of BIPOC people in the textbooks based on the previous and current curricula were presented stereotypically. For example, the *Quest* series depicted two Chinese American girls in accordance with the model minority, where they were both presented as intellectual and high achieving. Additionally, the images of indigenous people were presented as a homogenous group that belonged to the past. Such representations of indigenous people relate to what Dahl (2015) describes as "descriptive culture", which makes the viewer assume that all indigenous people belong to the same group (p. 40). Another finding regarding indigenous people in the *Quest* series was that the interaction between the Native Americans and the British colonists was depicted as peaceful. The first Thanksgiving and the story of Pocahontas were romanticized, and the European colonization was downplayed.

4.2 Implications

This study indicates that some implications occurred from the results in the representations of BIPOC people in this study. The representations of BIPOC being presented stereotypically and the downplaying of colonization will be problematic as the students will develop stereotypical assumptions and be presented with misconceptions regarding the interactions between Native Americans and English settlers. Therefore, a significant aspect for teachers is to be critical of the stereotypical representations of BIPOC people depicted in the textbooks and critically reflect on these with the students. As a result, the students will be able to reflect and deconstruct the various BIPOC people that are depicted stereotypically. Additionally, the teacher can provide the students with other images to present alternative representations that are not stereotypical and lack diversity. As previously mentioned, the authors and publishers are essential in the visual representations of the textbooks. Therefore, a suggestion would be to invite BIPOC people that contribute to how BIPOC people should be presented in the textbooks. Such inclusion would emphasize cultural diversity as well as sympathy for indigenous people.

4.3 Suggestions for further research

Considering that this study only concerns the representations of BIPOC people in textbooks, further research in this field would be relevant. One suggestion for further research is to observe and interview the teachers regarding how these representations are taught in the classroom. Secondly, interviewing the students to examine how they interpreted these images of BIPOC would also be relevant. Lastly, another suggestion for further research is to interview the authors, illustrators, and editors of each textbook series to examine how they select the various visual representations that are depicted in their books.

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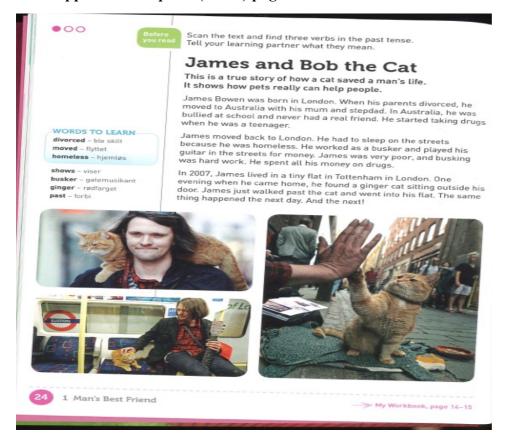
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Explore (LK06) page 156



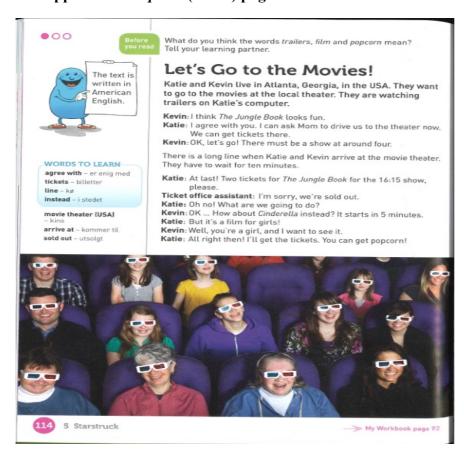
Appendix 2: Explore (LK06) page 24



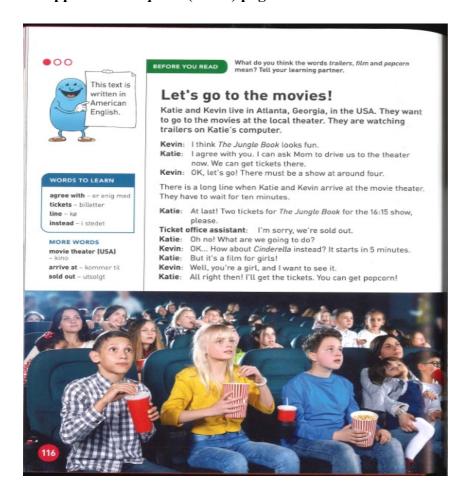
Appendix 3: Explore (LK06) page 20



Appendix 4: Explore (LK06) page 114



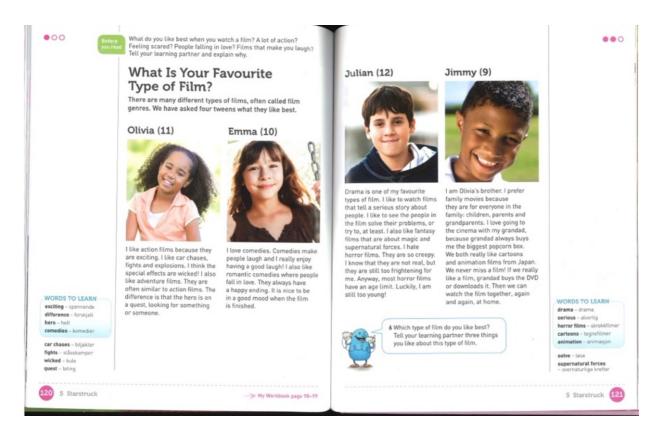
Appendix 5: Explore (LK20) page 116



Appendix 6: Explore (LK06) page 107



Appendix 7: Explore (LK06) page 120-121



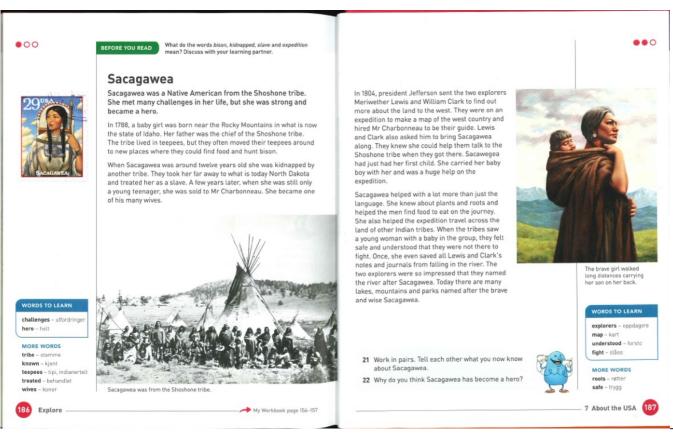
Appendix 8: Explore (LK20) page 122-123



Appendix 9: Explore (LK06) page 168



Appendix 10: Explore (LK20) page 186-187



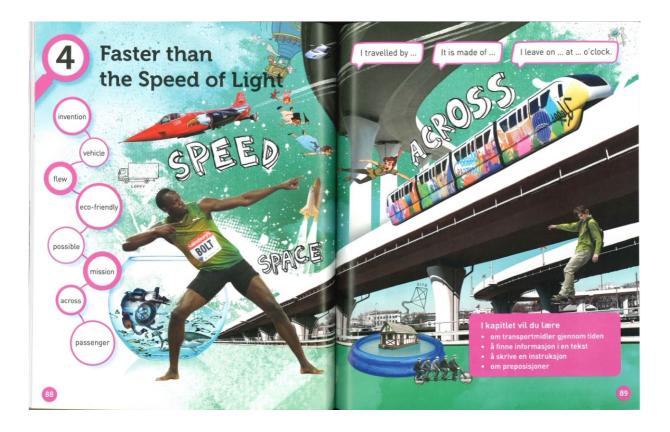
Appendix 11: Explore (LK20) page 158



Appendix 12: Explore (LK20) page 188-189



Appendix 13: Explore (LK06) page 88-89



Appendix 14: Explore (LK06) page 106



Appendix 15: Explore (LK20) page 106



Appendix 16: Explore (LK20) page 90-91



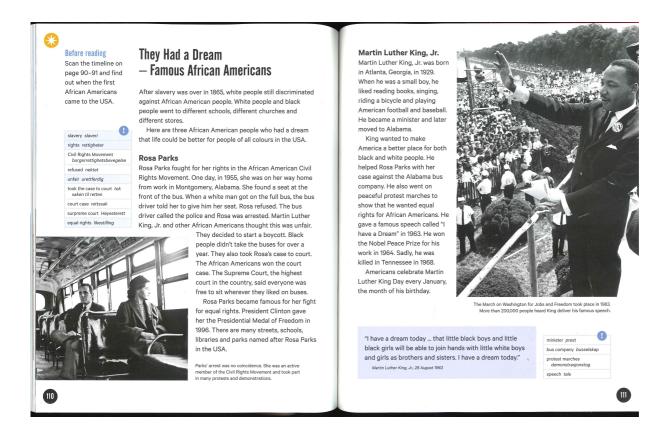
Appendix 17: Explore (LK20) page 166-167



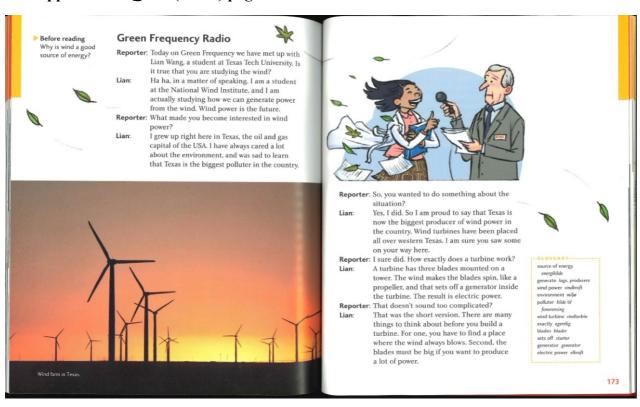
Appendix 18: Quest (LK20) page 104-105



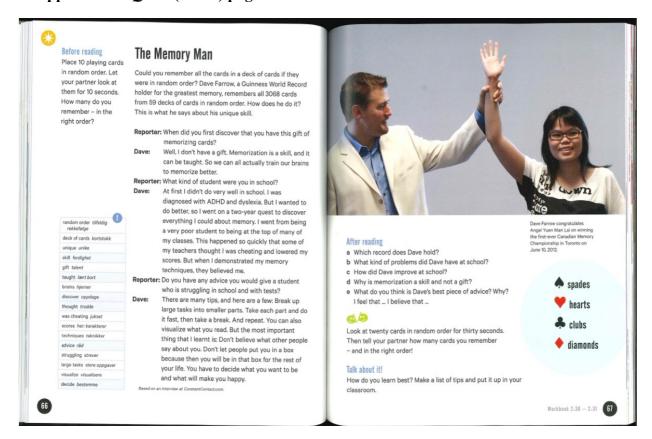
Appendix 19: Quest (LK20) page 110-111



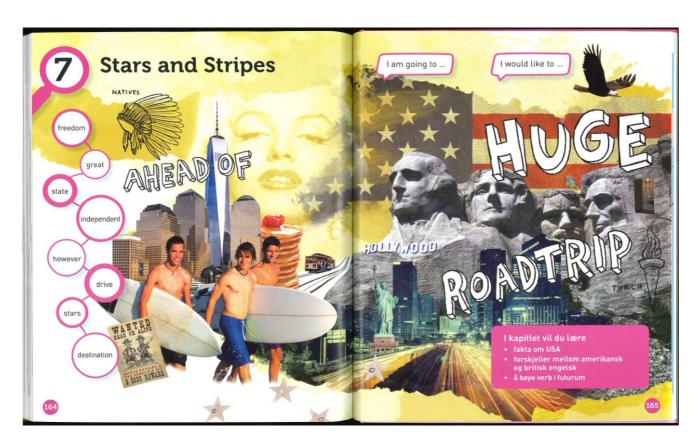
Appendix 20: Quest (LK06) page 172-173



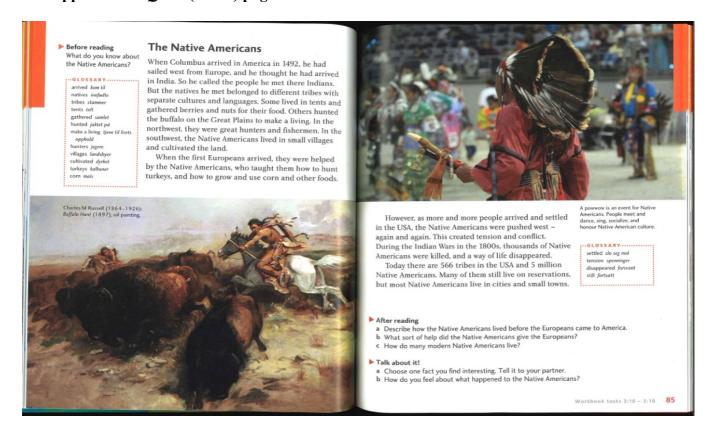
Appendix 21: Quest (LK20) page 66-67



Appendix 22: Explore (LK06) page 164-165



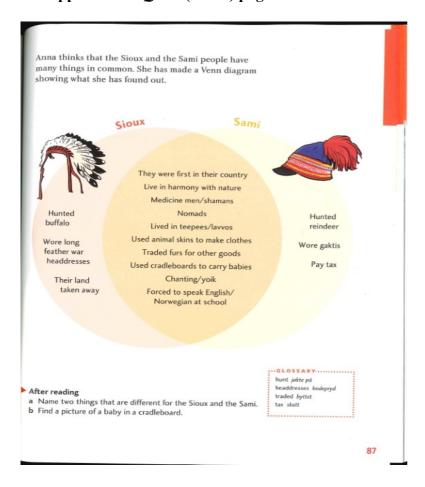
Appendix 23: Quest (LK06) page 84-85



Appendix 24: Quest (LK20) page 94-95



Appendix 25: Quest (LK06) page 87



Appendix 26: Quest (LK20) page 96



Before reading

What do you know about Thanksgiving?

Did you know?

Corn was very important to the Native Americans. In their different languages the word corn meant "life". The Native Americans made popcorn.

The First Thanksgiving

In October 1621, the English settlers had their first Thanksgiving feast. Today Thanksgiving is celebrated on the fourth Thursday in November in the USA. It is a time for sharing good food with family and friends.

Tisquantum (1585 – 1622) was a Native American who taught the English settlers how to grow corn and helped them through a hard winter. He also told the English how the Native Americans celebrated the harvest of corn.

After reading

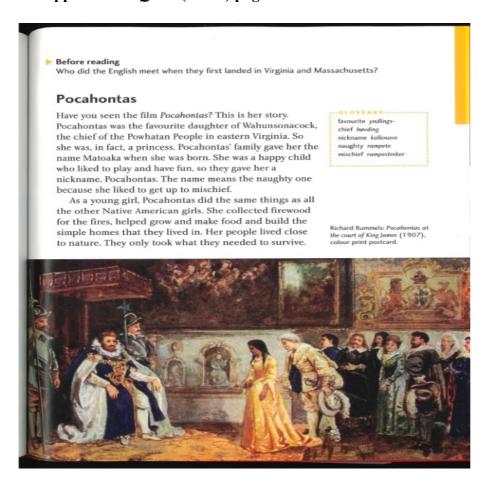
- a How did Tisquantum help the English?
- **b** Describe the people in the painting. What are they doing?
- c Do Norwegians have a similar festival?



Jean Leon Gerome Ferris (1863-1930): The First Thanksgiving (oil on canvas).

Werkbook 3:33 - 3:34

Appendix 27: Quest (LK06) page 111



Appendix 28: Quest (LK20) page 92-93

