

# **Linguistic Imperialism in the EFL School Textbooks in the First Three Primary Grades in the Public Schools in Egypt<sup>(\*)</sup>**

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## **Abstract**

The aim of the current study is to investigate linguistic imperialism as a form of cultural dominance in the EFL school textbooks in the first primary three grades in the Egyptian public education system. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed as a theoretical framework to design a model of analysis for this study. This model includes two interconnected components: stereotypes and cultural diversity awareness. The analysis revealed that the following cultures are represented: American, Chinese, Egyptian and French. Portrayal of Egyptian culture includes featuring Egyptian characters with familiar names in addition to different geographical and historical information, local products and activities. However, the study found that some Western values were implicitly promoted, such as the culture of consumerism. The implicit perpetuation of the culture of consumerism would lead learners to develop materialistic values. Furthermore, the authors used an Egyptian family from the upper socio-economic level as a model in different lessons. This would alienate the public-school learners since they cannot relate to the family activities.

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Furthermore, the study found almost all the females represented are unveiled and are professionally successful. The over-presentation of women in senior positions compared to men is problematic since it is not real and might lead learners to form mistaken perception about success of females. The study suggests that future research should include analyzing school textbooks from other grades in addition to other teaching resources, i.e. supplementary materials and teacher's guide, since this would provide a more comprehensive analysis.

**Keywords:** Linguistic imperialism, cultural representation, western ideology, culture of consumerism, intercultural dialogue, EFL textbooks

### الملخص

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى بحث تأثير الإمبريالية اللغوية بوصفها أحد أشكال الهيمنة الثقافية في كتب اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة أجنبية بالمرحلة الابتدائية المصرية، وذلك باستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA) وتحليل الخطاب البصري (VDA) كأطر نظرية، تم تطوير نموذج تحليل، مكون من جزئين: القوالب النمطية، والوعي بالتنوع الثقافي. خلص التحليل إلى تمثيل الثقافات التالية في مناهج هذه المرحلة: المصرية، الأمريكية، الفرنسية، والصينية. وقد برز تمثيل الثقافة المصرية في إبراز الشخصيات المصرية بأسماء مألوفة بالإضافة إلى معلومات جغرافية وتاريخية مختلفة، ومنتجات وأنشطة محلية. ومع ذلك، وجدت الدراسة أن بعض القيم الغربية تم الترويج لها ضمناً، مثل ثقافة الاستهلاك على سبيل المثال. إن الترويج الضمني لثقافة الاستهلاك سيؤدي إلى تطوير المتعلمين لقيم مادية. علاوة على ذلك، استخدم المؤلفون عائلة مصرية من المستوى الاجتماعي والاقتصادي الأعلى كنموذج في دروس مختلفة. وهذا من شأنه أن ينفرد طلاب المدارس العامة؛ لأنهم لا يستطيعون الارتباط بأنشطة هذه الأسرة. بالإضافة لذلك، وجدت الدراسة أن جميع الإناث الممثلات تقريباً غير محجبات وناجحات مهنيًا. إن الإفراط في تمثيل النساء في المناصب العليا مقارنة بالرجال يمثل مشكلة؛ لأنه غير واقعي وقد يؤدي إلى تكوين تصورات خاطئة عن نجاح النساء لدى المتعلمين. تقترح الدراسة أن تشمل الأبحاث المستقبلية تحليل كتب مدرسية من صفوف أخرى، بالإضافة إلى مواد تعليمية أخرى، أي المواد التكميلية ودليل المعلم، لأن هذا سيوفر تحليلاً أكثر شمولاً.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الإمبريالية اللغوية، التمثيل الثقافي، الأيديولوجية الغربية، ثقافة الاستهلاك، الحوار بين الثقافات، كتب اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة أجنبية.

## 1. Introduction

English is the most spoken language in the world although its native speakers come in the third place after Mandarin Chinese and Spanish (Ethnologue, 2024). This reflects the wide use and various functions of the English language (Crystal, 2008; Ethnologue, 2024; Kachru, 1990), which qualified it to be the current global language. To be a global language, Crystal (2008) maintains, the language has to be recognized in most of the countries in the world. In the case of English, it has three different roles in more than 160 different countries: first language, official language and primary foreign language (Crystal, 2008; Ethnologue, 2024). These various functions of the English language were originally classified by Kachru (1990) into three concentric circles: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. In the inner circle countries, English is the first language of the country. In the outer circle countries, English serves as the official language in the government, the law courts, the press and the educational system and in the expanding circle countries, English is widely studied as a foreign language. According to the more recent analysis and data about the use of English (Crystal 2008; Ethnologue, 2024; McKay, 2003), Kachru's analysis is still valid since English is spoken as a first language in the USA, Canada, Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa in addition to some other territories (Ethnologue, 2024). In addition, English has an official and administrative status and is used as the primary medium of communication in official domains such as the government, the law courts, the press and the educational system in over seventy countries, such as India, Ghana, Singapore and Zimbabwe. In contrast to the first two roles, English may not have an official status in the third case but is made a priority in the foreign language teaching policy in more than 100 countries (Ethnologue, 2024). That is, English is the chief foreign language children study at school, and it is the most demanded and available language to adults in continuing education in these countries, located in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. These various

language uses, according to Crystal (2008), are the conditions needed for a language to be considered a global one.

### **1.1. Factors leading to the global status of English**

English has gained this status because of the power of its native speakers throughout the last two centuries. Power in this sense refers to the interrelated military, political, economic, technological, cultural and educational factors (Crystal, 2008).

Political or military powers of the English native speakers started with colonialism bringing English around the world from the sixteenth century, so that by the nineteenth century, the language had gained a global status with the sun never setting on its speakers (Quirk et al., 1985). For global languages prior to English, Latin or French, the superiority of the military power of its speakers automatically led to the expulsion of the previous one. However, in the case of English, the USA overtook Britain and became the world's leading military and economic power (Crystal, 2008).

English is a must-have ability or skill for nations, entities and individuals seeking to get access to quality education and the international community of politics and economics. For nations, English is needed in order to interact in the United Nations, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. For entities exporting and importing products or introducing overseas services, they must hire English-speaking individuals. In addition, having English as the main language used in various entertainment channels, international travel and technological advancements necessitates its learning. Furthermore, English is the gate for most individuals seeking quality education, internationally accredited certificates, and recognition in reputable research communities (Crystal, 2008; Marcuse, 2000; McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024).

These different uses and needs to master the English language have been creating needs for the educational services provided by the

inner circle countries, whether on their premises, i.e. remedial English courses, or though their representative institutions and products in the outer and expanding circle countries, such as the British Council and Amideast.

This large demand for the English language proficiency courses and products of the inner circle countries has led to enormous economic gains for these countries. For example, research has shown that the revenue generated by the educational services for Britain was the third category earned for the year 2007-2008. In addition to the economic gains, Spring (2009) found that the culture and ideologies of the inner circle countries are disseminated through ELT materials and textbooks used in the outer and expanding circle countries. The economic gains and cultural influence of producing ELT materials in the inner circle countries raise questions about how English became the current global language. The aforementioned factors leading to the current status of English were not accidental, Phillipson (1992) maintains. Rather, they were carefully engineered to support the cultural and economic dominance of the first circle countries over the outer and expanding circle ones, which is known in the literature as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

## **1.2. Linguistic Imperialism and Globalization**

Linguicism, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (1988), is the discrimination against a person or a group based on their language. Linguistic imperialism is a specific form of linguicism focusing on how and why certain languages dominate internationally and on attempts to account for such dominance in an explicit, theoretically founded way (Phillipson, 2009, p. 1). It can “help to clarify whether the winning of political independence of the second and third world countries led to their linguistic liberation, and if not, why not” (Phillipson, 2009, p. 1). Linguistic imperialism cannot be comprehended without studying the contextual factors and other forms of domination it interlocks with. Phillipson (2018) explains that it is interwoven with other forms of power and domination such as

educational, economic and political imperialism (Phillipson, 1997 & 2009). For example, the policies of the key economic entities such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund privilege and perpetuate the use of English in the education systems of the developing countries at the expense of indigenous languages (Phillipson, 2009). This means that the financial aids and the loans of the WB and the IMF are tools to implicitly enhance educational imperialism, which entails, along with the promotion of English, the export of Western institutions' norms, teacher training methods and textbooks (Laremont, Kalouche, & Ostergard, 2004). These norms, methods and textbooks glorify the beliefs, attitudes and imagery of the dominant language and stigmatize others (Spring, 2009), which is known as cultural imperialism (Phillipson, 2009). These inextricably interwoven relations between linguistic, educational, cultural and economic imperialism reflect that there is a global, overarching structure arranging their work in order to legitimate and naturalize the exploitation of the outer and inner circle countries (Phillipson, 2009).

The main cornerstones of the global system applying and providing rationale for linguistic imperialism are: global society, culture, economy and global interdependence (Levin, 2001). This means that modern communication has brought nations closer to each other and that the world is a small village. Thus, according to the supporters of this point of view, the global society needs one global language, and some standard cultural practices and values for communication (Rao, 2019). In addition, the global economy is needed in the global society to maintain the economic needs and interests of the different nations through the leading monetary institutions, World Bank and International Monetary Fund, whose main language is English.

Educational institutions, Levin (2001) explains, inevitably play a role in the enactment of globalization and that First World countries are seeking to serve their interests by improving the educational level and quality in the Third World countries. This marker-driven agenda

of First World countries aims to increase their economic gains but not to empower Third World peoples' living conditions or raise their standard of living (White, 2008). To exemplify the role of education in the enactment of globalization and linguistic imperialism, it should be noted that many American organizations have been established to sponsor training language scholarship courses, textbooks, library services, and a supply of teachers and experts, in curriculum development and annual TESOL conferences. An example of these organizations includes the TESOL International Association, which according to the *2023 TESOL Annual Report*, provides services for more than ten thousand English Language professionals from 170 countries. Another impactful American entity supporting the teaching of English Language in the inner and outer circle countries is the Regional English Language Office, RELO, which is funded and coordinated by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. According to the RELO official page, it has 25 offices around the world, and it provides various scholarships to EFL teachers and learners. These activities are done in the midst of globalization activities driven by the USA and its ally, the United Kingdom (Bishop, 2007). An example of a UK language entity generating revenue is the British Council, which is playing a dynamic part in selling and marketing ELT products. Phillipson (1992) examined the British Council annual reports that viewed the English language as a great asset and a source of increasing revenues, more valuable than North Sea Oil. This indicates that the British Council does not only exist for cultural or political purposes but also for the commercial promotion of the English language for facilitating business transactions for the British publishing houses.

In addition to the economic gains of the linguistic imperialism, one of the goals of supporting the purposeful spread of English is promoting Western ideology (Gray, 2010), what Phillipson (2009) refers to as cultural imperialism. Countries depending on the UK and the USA for financial assistance and expertise in the field of ELT are

responsible for the ideological consequences of this policy which negatively affects their cultural norms and values (Canagarajah, 1999). This dependence could be due to the failure or lack of financial resources of these countries to take decisions related to their educational policy (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994). Put differently, the educational policies leading to the dominance of the English language in the second and third circle countries are part of the inseparable economic, political and military tools used by the first circle ones to maintain this dominance, which is known in the literature as linguistic imperialism. These tools are inter-related in an endless circle of serving the interests of the first circle countries under the umbrella of globalization. This inter-relation between the globalization of education and economy is highlighted by Brooks and Normore (2010), who stressed that globalization of education and economy constantly evolve with each other. As a result, it is incomprehensible to isolate national educational systems from global educational trends. What is taught and tested, especially in developing countries, is influenced by the global discourse of education (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman 2012).

This is why the study of linguistic imperialism is important since it not only highlights the negative impact of this global discourse of language education on developing countries, but it also sheds light on the erroneous tenets of globalization. For instance, the claim that the world is a small village and, hence, needs one global language for communication is mistaken, because this is contrary to the figures of the *International Communication Union* data (2021) stating that about 37 percent of the world population has never used or had access to the internet. This means people in these countries cannot and need not use English to communicate with the outside world. Furthermore, if the earth has shrunk to the size of a small village, communication and information should flow easily in both directions. Communication means dialogue where people speak and listen and both sides are fairly treated; otherwise, it would turn into a monologic



communication (Van Dijk, 2006). The type of communication that exists between the West and the rest of the world is neither genuine nor fairly balanced since the core countries dominate the peripheral ones (Phillipson, 2009). In education, this dominance, which is one form of linguistic imperialism, is reflected on the promotion of Western culture in the ELT materials and discourse (Van Dijk, 2006).

### **1.3. Gap and Research Questions**

The aim of this study is to investigate linguistic imperialism as a form of cultural dominance in the EFL school textbooks used in the first four primary grades in the public schools in Egypt. These books were designed as part of the Education Project 2.0. Linguistic imperialism is operationally defined as the positive portrayal of the Anglo-American culture and the stigmatization or marginalization of the Egyptian culture.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

- How is the local culture represented (overtly and covertly) in the school EFL textbooks in the first three primary grades in the public schools in Egypt?
- How is the western culture represented (overtly and covertly) in the school EFL textbooks in the first three primary grades in the public schools in Egypt?

#### **1.4.1. Definition of terms**

Peterson classified cultural elements into visible and invisible (2004). The current study analyzes both the visible invisible elements of the Egyptian and Anglo-American cultures in the EFL school textbooks in the first three primary school grades in the Egyptian public school system. Examples of visible elements include architecture, history, geography, artifacts, products, means of transportation, celebrations, gestures, clothing, houses, money. The invisible elements of culture include the portrayal of society's norms, values, preferences, beliefs or tastes, and opinions.

## **2. Literature Review**

The present literature review focuses on linguistic imperialism in EFL school textbooks. After highlighting the role of the EFL textbook, the literature provides a summary of some empirical studies on linguistic imperialism in these books. Then, contextual and background information about the education system in Egypt is provided. Finally, the contribution and rationale for the current study is provided.

### **2.1. Roles of EFL textbooks**

EFL Textbooks are considered essential pedagogical tools in both achieving the learning outcomes and facilitating the process of language and culture learning (Allwright, 1981; Asghar, 2012). This is because these textbooks play a central role as learners' primary source of information not only about the target language but more importantly about its speakers and its culture. An EFL textbook, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) maintain, is more than an educational tool; it is “a teacher, a map, a resource, a trainer, an authority” (p.243). If the textbook does not stimulate the learners’ critical thinking and lead them to answer lower-thinking skill questions, it could be a de-skinner (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999).

The various roles of the textbooks differ according to the educational policies and the pedagogical orientation in different educational settings. For example, in exam-oriented teaching contexts, the EFL textbook is an authority since it is the main reference assessors use to draft the exam questions. Learners in this context have to recite the linguistic structures, regardless of the cultural orientation, so as to be able to answer the exams. In contrast, in educational settings stimulating learners’ critical thinking skills, the EFL textbook has less authority on the learners’ perception since they reflect, analyze and evaluate its impact on them. In both cases, the description of a textbook as an ideology is a key one for two reasons. First, it reflects the ideology and philosophy of textbook authors.

Second, the EFL textbook might shape learners' ideology through providing different cultural representations about their home culture and the target one.

This reflects the role of the EFL textbooks in promoting linguistic imperialism through influencing learners' way of thinking and guiding them to look up to a specific ideology. Accordingly, there is a need to evaluate the cultural content of the EFL books to identify their cultural approach and orientation.

## **2.2. Research on linguistic imperialism in EFL school textbooks**

Mostly, the interference of the regime in the design of EFL textbooks is notable in developing countries, or countries with political conflict (Asghar, 2012). This is because in these countries, the ruling regime interferes in the design of the book through setting censorship guidelines. To make sure that the newly published books meet the guidelines, editors following the regime revise and edit these books (Asghar, 2012). Critical analysis of the content of EFL schoolbooks in these contexts would, thus, reveal factors such as dominance, power and oppression.

For instance, conducting a systematic text oriented discourse analysis of various linguistic devices such as the names, pronouns, rhetorical techniques and lexical items in the EFL schoolbooks in a high school in the Palestinian occupied territories, Awayed-Bishara (2015) found that these books mainly address the "Western oriented Jewish-Zionist subjects, thus contributing to the reproduction and perpetuation of Western and Jewish hegemony" and marginalizing the Palestinian Arab minority, their culture and common traditions (Awayed-Bishara, 2015, p. 51). This refers to the regime use of the school EFL textbooks in promoting the identity of the dominant group in the community (Wertsch, 2002). Through excluding the culture of the Palestinian and the other members of the society, i.e. oriental Jews, the state introduces the model of a citizen that they want all the learners to look up to. This shows the bias and oppression the state can practice while supervising the design of school textbooks.

In his analysis of a Pakistani EFL school textbook, Asghar (2014) found that the editors, who represented the regime, violated the academic and linguistic competencies set in the National Curriculum of English Language in Pakistan. That is, by the end of each text, editors provided learners with guided themes that would force them to produce a specific answer rather than encourage critical thinking skills. According to Asghar (2014), the way editors guided the lessons through the textbooks supports the submissiveness of the learners, since they are allowed to produce specific answers that go with the morals desired by the regime.

Another study supporting the exploitation of school textbooks as socio-political tools in propagating the values of those in power, in this case the American Republican Party and its representative regime in Saudi Arabia following 9/11, is that of Al Jumiah (2016). Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Saudi curriculum, and EFL textbooks in particular, were accused of promoting anti-American images (Elyas, 2008). Trying to provide pro-American images to have a more positive influence on the Saudi learners' idea about the American culture, George W. Bush administration launched a program called the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI). One of the objectives of the program was to promote tolerance in education, in general, and EFL textbooks in particular (Elyas, 2008). This action reflects the strong socio-political role of the school textbooks.

Al Jumiah's (2016) study analyzed two Saudi Arabian EFL school textbooks and compared their content with the objectives of MEPI. This study shows that content of the EFL school textbooks is not only influenced by the ruling regime in Saudi Arabia, but also by the external political players, the American Republican Party. Al Jumiah (2016) found that the EFL textbooks are used by the state to legitimate and reproduce the current social order in the Saudi community through promoting male supremacy, sexism, and women marginalization. Furthermore, the texts used in these books were found to negatively influence both the teachers and the learners, since

they deskill the teachers and limit their roles in transmitting knowledge to the learners and limit the learners' roles to passive recipients of knowledge, instead of empowering them to develop critical thinking skills. Furthermore, the researcher found that the textbooks perpetuate white male supremacy and idealize the native speaker. An important example of the influence of MEPI on the EFL school textbooks in Saudi Arabia is reducing the number of Islamic texts (Al Jumiah, 2016). This was not pedagogically beneficial for the learners, the researcher argues, since those learners needed to construct, express and discuss their Muslim identity in English. Al Jumiah's (2016) study demonstrates that the EFL textbooks in developing countries are designed in alignment not only with the regime's agenda, but also with the other more powerful states influencing the regime.

The results of the studies reflect that the local EFL school textbooks could be used by the different regimes to promote the values of the dominant group, as in Awayed-Bishara (2015) and Al Jumiah (2016). Furthermore, the EFL school textbooks could be used to deskill the learners through guiding them to produce specific answers rather than stimulate their critical thinking skills, as in Asghar (2012) and Al Jumiah (2016). Furthermore, marginalizing the local culture, as reflected in the decrease in the number of Islamic texts in Al Jumiah (2016), and excluding the reference to the indigenous people in Awayed-Bishara (2015), has negative pedagogical implications for the learners who need to discuss their identity in English. These results exemplify the ideological role of EFL school textbooks to perpetuate the ideas and morals desired by the ruling regimes.

### **2.3. Current structure of the educational system in Egypt**

Egypt has the largest education system in the MENA region (UNDP, 2008), which plays a central strategic role in the area (El Fiki, 2012). There are two types of classification of schools reflecting the nature of the Pre-university education in Egypt; the first is based on

content: secular and religious (Al Azhar schools), and the second is based on the tuition paid by the learners: private and public (El Fiki, 2012). The second classification of the schools into public or private is more generic since all the schools, including Al Azhar ones, are classified into either public or private.

There are three pre-university stages in the formal education system in Egypt: primary, preparatory and secondary. Both the primary stage, which consists of 6 years, and the preparatory stage, which consists of 3 years, are compulsory and defined as elementary (Zahran, 2023). There are two types of public schools: Arabic and experimental. Arabic schools teach the national curriculum in Arabic, whereas experimental schools use English as the language of instruction and teach a second foreign language at the preparatory level, usually French or German. Since the focus of the current research is on analyzing the EFL school textbooks used in the public schools, the next section addresses the challenges associated with these types of schools.

#### **2.4. Common Challenges and Attempts of Reform**

The World Economic Forum ranked the quality of Egypt's education system the **130<sup>th</sup>** among 137 countries in its *Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018*. This shows that there are various and overlapping challenges facing the system, such as: crowded classes, budget constraints and digital illiteracy. Other challenges include the quality of instruction, private tutoring, rote learning, assessment methods, the training of pre- and in-service teachers (Assaad & Kraft, 2015; Hartmann, 2013; Sobhy, 2012). All of these challenges lead the stakeholders to focus mainly on having learners pass the end of year achievement exams. One of the consequences of this exam-oriented setting is enhancing the authority of the school textbooks as the main reference and guide for the teaching process.

Attempting to improve the quality of education in Egypt, the Ministry of Education and Technical Education (MoETE)

developed an education reform program (2018-2030) in order to deliver high quality service, which is indispensable to meet the country's labor market needs and to respond to the evolving social and political systems (Zahran, 2023). Attempting to achieve the country's strategic vision for education 2030, the Ministry of Education launched Education 2.0 reform project. According to Egypt's Updated Vision 2030, the aim of this reform was to build a new education system in Egypt from k-12 to de-emphasize the culture of exam and to focus on learning. Other targets of the project included developing curricula and teacher training in addition to abolishing year end examinations during the first two years of primary stages with the learners sitting for final school examinations at the end of grade three (Zahran, 2023).

Some of the promised changes were implemented: the primary stage curricula updated, the assessment system modified, and the primary teachers trained (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, 2023). However, no study was designed to evaluate the content of the newly designed school textbooks in terms of teaching approaches, gender or cultural representation. Attempting to partially fill in this gap, the current study analyzes the representation of the Egyptian and Anglo-American cultures in the updated EFL school textbooks used in the first three primary grades in the public system in Egypt.

## **2.5. EFL Textbooks in the Public School System in Egypt**

The challenges of the public education sector in Egypt, such as the lack of instructional materials, crowded classes leading to dependence on private tutoring and unqualified teachers, led to the adoption of a traditional teacher-centered approach, where the focus is on the teacher to deliver information to the learners (Assaad & Kraft, 2015; Sobhy, 2012). The teachers' main task in this environment is to use different techniques to help learners recite the content of the school textbooks rather than stimulate their critical thinking skills. What enhances the authority of the school textbook in this context are

the final standardized achievement tests promoting the rote learning and memorization of the subject content (Sobhy, 2012). Thus, school textbooks have become the main reference for all the stakeholders in the educational process: the teachers, the learners and their families in addition to the administration.

In this context, English is taught through discrete grammar points and drilling in pattern repetition, and the EFL textbook is considered a holy book beyond criticism (El Fiki, 2012). EFL teachers, thus, adhere to the explicit or implicit portrayals of the culture presented in the texts and images, regardless of their accuracy or aim. This shows that the EFL school textbooks are the main driving force for teachers and learners in the English language teaching process in the public schools in Egypt. Hence, the influence of the school textbooks content on the learners' perception of themselves and the other is powerful (El Fiki, 2012).

## **2.6. Contribution of the present study**

As can be discerned from this review of the literature, there are few studies that analyzed the linguistic imperialism in the Egyptian context. Furthermore, there is no study, to the researcher's knowledge, that analyzes the representation of culture in the curricula designed for Egypt Vision 2.0. Thus, there is a need to investigate the representation of the Anglo-American and the Egyptian culture in these curricula which according to Egypt Vision 2030 should enable learners to "accept diversity and differences and is proud of his country's history" (p.13).

## **3. Methodology**

### **3.1. Scope of research**

The research focuses on the local and target cultural representations in these schoolbooks. The local culture refers to the Egyptian culture and the target culture refers to the American and British cultures. The analysis covers the EFL student books in the first three primary grades, but it does not cover the workbook or the



teachers' manuals or any other supplementing materials. The total number of books is 6, one book for each semester. These books were written by native speakers and revised by a committee of Egyptian educators. The rationale for using these books is that they were recently designed as part of Egypt Vision 2030 aiming to "enhance the quality of education" (p.113). The aim of the analysis is to investigate which cultural aspects and ideologies promoted in the newly designed EFL school textbooks.

### **3.2. Data analysis instrument**

The classification of the instrumental tools analyzing the cultural content of the EFL materials differs according to the aspect they are designed to investigate: textual content, visual content or both (Weninger & Kiss, 2013). Although most of these tools could provide some insights about the cultural content of the analyzed materials, they assume that "meaning is fixed" in the text or the image regardless of the pedagogical task or the context (Weninger & Kiss, 2013, p. 699). Attempting to avoid these challenges, the current study employs a model, Table 1, focusing on the textual and visual content in addition to the pedagogical task linking them.

Table 1 illustrates the cultural representation along with its corresponding subcomponents. Examples are provided to clarify potential applications. To design the model, the current study employs both Byram's (1997) intercultural communicative competence and Van Dijk's (2006) strategies for analyzing discourse about the other. Intercultural communicative competence, Byram explains, is the foreign language learners' ability to successfully communicate with people from different cultural and geographical backgrounds (Awyed-Bishara, 2020). In addition, Van Dijk (2006) explains the "overall interaction strategies" as "Positively presenting the Self and negatively presenting the Other" and "lexical selection" as "using Positive words for Us, negative words for Them" (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 373). In addition to focusing on the textual content of the books, the model also investigates the visual representation since they have a

strong impact on the perception of the viewer, or in this study, the school textbook readers. Using visual discourse analysis would help researchers analyze how different photos or pictures convey meanings and influence readers' interpretations (Schroeder, 2006). Using both the critical discourse analysis and the visual discourse analysis would provide a comprehensive analysis about the messages conveyed in the lessons.

In the first part of the model, the focus is on the positive and negative portrayal of the Anglo-American and Egyptian cultures through negative and positive stereotypes. By analyzing these elements, teachers can assess how different cultures are represented and whether there are any stereotypes or biases present. In the second part of the model, the focus is on the representation of different cultures in the textbooks and whether this presentation is superficial or genuine. Providing different opportunities for foreign language learners to be familiar with different cultures and to reflect on their own would aid in developing their intercultural competence.

**Table 1**

*Components of the Model of Analyzing Cultural Representation*

Main components	Subcomponents and examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Stereotypes and Biases: Identify any stereotypes or biases perpetuated in the textbook's portrayal of different cultures (Van Dijk, 2006).</li> <li>○ Cultural Diversity Awareness: Assess the extent to which the textbook represents a diverse range of cultures and avoids monoculturalism (Byram, 2008; Van Dijk, 2006)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Foregrounding, backgrounding: representation of home and other cultures. This also includes over-representing a specific culture, under-representing and or excluding other cultures.</li><li>○ Negative and positive stereotypes: Portrayals of certain cultures as inferior, superior (e.g., portraying Arab cultures as violent or oppressive and of American as critical thinkers).</li> <li>○ This refers to the cultural connections between home cultures and other cultures (e.g., an activity where learners compare their own cultural traditions with those of the cultures they are studying).</li><li>○ Avoidance of monoculturalism: Presentation of multiple cultural perspectives without privileging one over others (e.g., a textbook that presents different cultural perspectives on a global issue, such as climate change).</li></ul>

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#### **4. Analysis procedures**

The EFL school textbooks used in the primary stages, from grade 1 to grade 3, in Egypt were designed as part of the education reform 2.0. This means that they were designed as a series of textbooks using continuous similar themes, visuals, texts and pedagogical tasks. This

means that themes introduced in grade 1 are reintroduced in more advanced format in grade 2.

The researcher began by analyzing the visible and invisible cultural elements in the different units. For each unit, the image, textual content and pedagogical task are analyzed. Then, a search is done about other tasks supporting the analysis. For instance, the focus of unit 12 in the second semester of Primary one is on shopping and the importance of saving money. After analyzing the content of the unit, the researcher tracks the concepts of spending and saving money throughout the books so as to have a comprehensive analysis of how it is presented.

## **5. Findings**

This section starts by providing an overview of the main findings and then it presents them according to the two sections of the model of analysis: stereotypes and cultural diversity. Appendix A includes sample images and texts supporting the analysis.

The study found that most of the activities and lessons in the EFL school textbooks in the first three primary grades are about the Egyptian culture. Representations of the Egyptian culture include: historical and geographical information about different Egyptian cities, sample industries and agricultural products, Egyptian looking characters and names, references to Egyptian museums, monuments and landmarks (see Figures A1, A2, A3, A9, A10 and A11). Examples of other pedagogical activities with possible positive impact on the learners are the ones introducing them to people with disabilities, i.e. sign language (see Figures A12 and A13) in addition to people from different cultures (see Figures A23 and A25).

The study found that some Western values were implicitly promoted, such as the culture of consumerism (see Figures A8 and A9). The culture of consumerism, Al Jumia (2016, p. 70) explains, is represented in highlighting the importance of money and spending on entertainment, fashion, tourism and technology (see Figure A17).

Furthermore, the study found that all the families represented have similar characteristics. Each of these families has an unveiled working mother and belongs either to the upper or the upper middle socio-economic classes, i.e. they live in a villa or an apartment in big cities (see Figures A16, A18 and A19). The analysis revealed that while the Egyptian culture is positively presented in the EFL school textbooks in the first three primary grades, some Western values are implicitly promoted. The sections below include the analysis divided by the subcomponents of the model: stereotypes, biases and cultural diversity.

## **5.1. Stereotypes and biases**

### **5.1.1. Foregrounding and backgrounding**

The study found that the Egyptian culture was foregrounded positively in the three EFL school textbooks in the first three primary grades. The representation of the Egyptian culture includes using Egyptian looking characters and names; most of the characters of the children and adults in the EFL textbooks resemble their counterparts in the Egyptian community (see Figures 1 and 2.). In addition, almost all the names in the researched textbooks are Egyptian, i.e. Mona, Hana, Hany, Yusef, Amira,..etc. The Portrayal of the Egyptian culture includes referring to historical and geographical information (see Figures A4 and A5). Providing lessons on sample visits to the Pyramids, Alexandria Library and other landmarks in addition to lessons about different Egyptian governorates would enable learners to engage with the book activities and experience in-group feelings (see Figures A4 and A5). One of the lessons the textbook authors use to link between modern and ancient Egypt is jewelry. Following a lesson in which the kids visit Khan El Khalili and buy a piece of jewelry, necklace, as a birthday present for their mother, they visit the Egyptian museum in which they “saw beautiful gold and silver jewelry from Ancient Egypt” (Gardner, 2021, p. 33). Then, there is a reading passage on the history of jewelry from ancient Egypt (see Figure A29). These various activities not only enable learners to relate

their everyday actions to their historical background but also nurture their identity.

One of the themes with positive pedagogical impact on the learners is the inclusion of sample visuals and textual information about people with disabilities and how to communicate with them (see Figures A14, A15 and A24). What enhances the impact of these activities is that they introduce learners to different types of disabled kids and provide tips of how they communicate. For instance, there is a picture of a teacher teaching a visually impaired learner how to use Braille. Furthermore, there is another image on tips of how to use sign language with the Deaf (see Figure A24). The disabled learners are introduced as family members or friends of the speakers, which would make it normal for learners to accept them in reality.

### **5.1.2. Negative and positive stereotypes**

Although the Egyptian culture is positively portrayed in the textbooks, some Western values are promoted. These values are reflected in the promotion of the culture of consumerism, and the representation of families and females.

The culture of consumerism, Al Jumia (2016, p. 70) explains, is represented in highlighting the importance of money and spending on entertainment, fashion, tourism and technology (see Figures A8, A9, A17). According to Egypt 2.0 Project, the curricula have to follow the interdisciplinary approach, which means the learning outcomes of different subjects are inter-related comprehensively for learners. This is why there are some mathematical concepts introduced in the EFL school textbooks (see Figure A27). In unit 12 in the second semester of Primary one, entitled “Let’s Go Shopping”, learners are introduced to the concept of shopping for clothes (see Figure A8). Then, learners are introduced to an activity teaching them to save money (see Figure A9). In the following units, learners have to answer questions in activities teaching them to ask about the price of different vegetables, clothes, toys, stationery and items in a menu (see Figure A10).

Although these lessons on shopping and saving money are important for learners to contextualize their EFL learning, there is a possibility that such activities develop learners' culture of consumerism. The culture of consumerism is stressed through having a reading passage about the importance of money.

We use money to buy things. Money is very **useful** in our world. In Egypt, people use money to buy things they need, like food, clothes, and houses. We can also use it to buy things we want, like sweets and toys. In Egypt, the pound is our money or **currency** (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 19)

This passage underscores the importance of money on the universal and local levels. Furthermore, the passage explains that money enables people to purchase their necessities and fulfill their desires. The author of the passage tries to use items relevant to the desire of the learners studying the EFL school textbook, "sweets and toys" (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 19). Another technique the author uses to include the textbook readers in their discussion about money is the inclusive we, which refers to both the writer and the reader. Using both the examples of "sweets and toys" in addition to the inclusive "we" would impact the textbook readers who are guided to believe in the power and usefulness of money. This is an exercise of hegemony of the Western culture through an emphasis on materialistic values that have to do with consumption activities.

Providing various lessons on shopping for necessities and desires and the importance of saving money would have a negative impact on the learners' development of materialistic values. That is, learners studying these lessons would develop some ideas about wealth and identity. For example, learners might conclude that since money is essential on both the universal and local levels, and it is the main tool enabling them to buy all what they need, their main goal in life would be to collect money. In addition, highlighting the importance of money might lead learners to conclude that the ability to collect and save money is the exclusive indicator of success in life.

To skip the possible negative consequences of such activities on the learners, authors should have included sample activities on values. For example, had the authors included a lesson or a story about the difference between the materialistic and intrinsic values of some items, this could have mitigated the possible negative impact on the learners' development of materialistic values.

The analysis also revealed that all the families represented in the EFL school textbooks have common characteristics: unveiled working mothers and one or two siblings (see Figure A13). In addition, all the families presented belong to either the upper or the middle socio-economic class, i.e. families live in a villa with a garden or an apartment in a compound and play sports, i.e. tennis or basketball (see Figures A16 and A19). In addition, the houses represented in the books are spacious and each kid has a separate bedroom including a bed, a wardrobe and a computer (see Figure A18). Although these family members have Egyptian names and physical characteristics, their socio-economic level is not the norm in the Egyptian community; public school learners cannot identify their family members or activities with the ones in the textbook.

Although all the adult females represented have Egyptian-like features and names, almost all of them, regardless of their ages and roles, i.e. mothers or grandmothers are unveiled (see Figures A1, A3, A7 and A13). This suggests that wearing a hijab is an exception. This limited representation may not accurately reflect the diverse realities of Egyptian women, who may choose to wear the hijab for various cultural, religious, or personal reasons. This could have a negative impact on learners who may not be able to identify the females represented with their family or community members.

Moreover, there is an emphasis on females' professional success and financial independence. For example, in unit 10 in the second semester for Primary one, learners are introduced to the world of jobs (Charrington, 2021, p. 2). Although there is an equal



distribution of jobs among males and females, almost all the prestigious jobs are occupied by females while both the prestigious and low-level jobs are occupied by males. This is in contrast with the data revealed by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization Statistics which states that women Contribution in workforce is 15.2% of the total workforce compared to 69.0% for men. This means that the authors use the EFL school textbooks as agents of desired social change. Furthermore, the title of the unit is gender biased, “She is an Engineer” (Charrington, 2021, p. 2). The title breaks the stereotype that most of the learners interested in joining the faculty of Engineering are males. These findings mean that the book authors mean to change the learners’ perception or to make them familiar with the concept of gender equality.

The perpetuation of professionally successful women in the textbooks has a positive dimension since it would lead learners to believe in women empowerment. However, the exclusive representation of unveiled, professionally successful women is problematic because it is not real and, thus, would not enable learners to relate what they study to their lives.

The exclusive representation of families from the upper and middle socio-economic classes is in alignment with the culture of consumerism promoted; both may underscore the importance of money and would develop learners’ materialistic values. That is, for learners to have a life similar to the ones presented in the EFL textbook, they must have money. Furthermore, some critics argue that that perpetuating the theme of working women is positively correlated with the promotion of the culture of consumerism (Öztimur, 2007). Working women, Öztimur, (2007) argues, have financial independence which would enable them to increase the base of consumers in a community (Öztimur, 2007). According to this analysis, the representation of families and females in this study is implicitly linked to the culture of consumerism. It should be noted that the impact of these findings on the learners studying these books

needs to be verified through collecting data from them, which is beyond the scope of the current study.

### **5.1. Cultural Diversity**

The first unit in the second semester of Primary 3 introduces learners to representatives of foreign cultures. In the first lesson, a group of Egyptian kids visit a group of Chinese kids in their house in Egypt. The Chinese kids wear the traditional Chinese uniform (see Figure A23). This is followed by an introduction to the daily habits and schedule of four learners from different countries: Mark from America, Marie from France, Wang Min from China and Waleed from Egypt (see Figure A26). The unit promotes cultural connections through having learners of the same age representing the four cultures. It should be noted that the focus of these activities is on general topics, i.e. daily schedule, meals and country monuments, which means that the concept of monoculturalism is avoided.

Then, in unit 12, an Egyptian boy, Tamer, is getting connected with representatives of the same cultures in unit 1, but this time more information is shared about the monuments and the food of these countries. Exchanging information leads learners to dream of visiting each other's countries. For instance, the Chinese boy, Chen, says, "Yes, one day we will travel and visit each other's countries" (Gardner, 2021, p. 75). Providing such opportunities for the learners studying the EFL school textbook to be familiar with different cultures is the first step to develop their intercultural competence.

## **6. Discussion of Findings**

The Egyptian culture is represented in the EFL school textbooks through historical and geographical information about different Egyptian cities, sample industries and agricultural products, Egyptian looking characters and names, references to Egyptian museums, monuments and landmarks. Furthermore, presenting some people with disabilities would make it normal for learners to accept them. Portrayal of American, Chinese and French cultures includes

information about their habits, currencies, food items and landmarks. This representation of the Egyptian and other cultures would enable learners to become culturally competent. However, the exclusion of African and Arab cultures could have a negative impact on the learners' perception of these cultures.

Regarding the representation of Western culture, the study found that some values were implicitly promoted, such as the culture of consumerism, which would develop the learners' materialistic values. Furthermore, the study found that all the families represented have similar characteristics: unveiled working mothers and belonging either to the upper or the upper middle socio-economic classes. This could have a negative impact on the public-school learners who do not usually belong to the upper or the middle class. Furthermore, the exclusive representation of unveiled females with senior position is problematic since it does not reflect the reality in the Egyptian community.

Similar to aim of the current study, Abdur Rauf (2008) investigated the role of education in enhancing the patterns of culture identity for El Azhar students. The study analyzed the thirty-four English books of the *Hello Series*, taught from the primary fourth year to the secondary third year of the school year 2004/2005. The findings of the Abdur Rauf (2008) are congruent with the current study since both found that the Egyptian culture is mostly represented and is followed by references to foreign cultures and underrepresentation of Arab cultures.

In a more recent study, Abdel Wahab (2013) evaluated the cultural content of English language school textbooks of the first grade at Al Azhar secondary institutes in the light of the Islamic-Arabic culture. He found that the Islamic-Arabic culture was not sufficiently represented in the analyzed schoolbooks, which led learners to retain negative views of the EFL school textbooks. The exclusion of the Arab cultures is a common finding between Abdel Wahab (2013) and the current research.

Despite the difference in scope between Abdur Rauf (2008) and Abdel Wahab (2013) studies, both found that the Arabic-Islamic cultures are backgrounded while other cultures are foregrounded. However, Abdur Rauf's (2008) findings, which are in alignment with the current research, are more positive since the Egyptian culture representation was found to be ahead of the other cultural identities. The point is because both Abdur Rauf (2008) and Abdel Wahab (2013) focused on the EFL books Al Azhar, learners expected that in line with other curricula, there would be more focus on the Arabic and Islamic culture. This is why both studies support the negative influence of the exclusion of Arabic and Islamic cultures on the learners' perception of EFL. This is thought to be an obstacle for the learners to develop their English language proficiency, let alone their intercultural communicative competence or critical awareness.

A more recent study with similar findings to the current one is Ammar's (2017), which investigated the impact of globalization on the EFL textbooks taught at schools and language institutes in Egypt. The study found samples of negative stereotyping such as associating some negative traits with particular social actors such as the elderly, females and people of color. In line with the current study, Ammar (2017) found These were accompanied by the dominance of an exercise of hegemony of the Western culture through an emphasis on materialistic values that have to do with consumption activities.

The exclusion or underrepresentation of Arabic cultures is a common finding between the current study and Abdur Rauf's (2008) and Abdel Wahab's (2013). However, both the current study and Abdur Rauf (2008) found that the Egyptian culture is mostly represented in the EFL school textbooks. Furthermore, the current study aligns with Ammar (2017) in highlighting the dominance of Western culture through an emphasis on materialistic values that have to do with consumption activities.

## **7. Conclusion**

This study investigated linguistic imperialism as a form of cultural dominance in the EFL school textbooks used in the first four primary stages, grade 1 to grade 3, in the public schools in Egypt. The analysis revealed that Egyptian culture is represented in the EFL school textbooks through historical and geographical information about different Egyptian cities, examples of industries and agricultural products, Egyptian-looking characters and names, references to Egyptian museums, monuments and landmarks. Furthermore, including people with different types of disabilities is positive since this would make it normal for learners to accept them. Portrayal of American, Chinese and French cultures includes information about their habits, currencies, food items and landmarks. This representation of the Egyptian and other cultures is a good step in enabling learners to become culturally competent. However, the representation of the different cultures could have been more comprehensive had it included information about other Arab or African countries.

Regarding the representation of Western culture, the study found that the culture of consumerism is implicitly promoted, which would develop learners' materialistic values. Furthermore, the study found that all the families represented have similar characteristics: unveiled working mothers and belonging either to the upper or the middle socio-economic classes. This could have a negative impact on the public-school learners who do not usually belong to the upper or the middle class. Furthermore, the exclusive portrayal of women as unveiled and professional successful would foster mistaken stereotypes of success of women in the learners' minds. For instance, learners would not consider a veiled, middle educated woman successful. Furthermore, the association of these findings, the exclusive presentation of the unveiled, professionally successful women and of the families belonging to the upper or middle economic class, is problematic for two reasons. First, it does not reflect the real

situation in the community. Second, it would develop learners' appreciation of materialistic values.

### **8. Implications for further research**

It is recommended that future research should investigate linguistic imperialism as a form of cultural dominance in more advanced educational stages in the primary, preparatory and secondary stages. Moreover, other teaching resources, such as the teacher's guide, learners' workbooks and online supplementary materials are recommended to be included in the analysis since they would provide more comprehensive analysis about the portrayal of both home and target cultures. It is also recommended to collect data from the learners studying the EFL school textbooks in order to investigate the influence of the books on them.

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## Appendix A

### List of Figures from the EFL School Textbooks in the First Three Grades

#### Figure A1

*Egyptian looking characters*



#### Figure A2

*Egyptian looking characters*



Primary one, Term 1, Unit 5, (Charrington, 2021, P. 38)

**Figure A3**

*The Family Used as a Model in the First Three Grades in the EFL School Textbooks*



Primary one, Term 1, Unit 5, (Charrington, 2021, P. 36)

**Figure A4**

*A Lesson on Egyptian History*



Primary one, Term 1, Unit 8, (Charrington, 2021, P. 56)



**Figure A5**

*A Lesson on Social Studies with Sample Photos from Different Governorates*



Primary one, Term 1, Unit 8, (Charrington, 2021, P. 61)

**Figure A6**

*The first page of the Unit entitled “She is an Engineer”*



Primary 1, Term 2, Unit 10, (Charrington, 2021, p. 2)



**Figure A7**

*A Sample Activity on the Jobs*



Primary 1, Term 2, Unit 10, (Charrington, 2021, p. 3)

**Figure A8**

*An Activity on Shopping*



Primary 1, Term 2, Unit 12, (Charrington, 2021, p. 18)

**Figure A9**

*First Lesson on Money*



Primary 1, Term 2, Unit 15, (Charrington, 2021, p. 52)

**Figure A10**

*Local Market and Seller*



Primary 1, Term 2, Unit 15, (Charrington, 2021, p. 46)

Figure A11

*Sample of Egyptian Monuments and landmarks*



Primary one, Term 2, Unit 16, (Charrington, 2021, p. 62)

Figure A13

*The model family is meeting New Friends*



Primary 2, Term 1, Unit 1 (Gardner and Turner, 2021a, p. ٧)

**Figure 14**

*Teaching a Visually Impaired Learner How to Read Using Braille*



Primary 2, Term 1, Unit 1 (Gardner and Turner, 2021a, p. 15)

**Figure 15**

*Example of a Wheel Chaired Boy*



Primary 2, Term 1, Unit 1 (Gardner and Turner, 2021a, p. 15)



**Figure A16**

*A picture of the model family having lunch together*



Primary 2, Term 1, Unit 6, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 58)

**Figure A17**

*A Sample Activity on Teaching Learner to Create Tools for Saving Money*



Primary 2, Term 2, Unit 8, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 24)

**Figure A18**

*An Activity on the Vocabulary of Items inside the House*



Primary 2, Term 2, Unit 9, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 40)

**Figure A19**

*An Activity on the Vocabulary of Items inside the House*



Primary 2, Term 2, Unit 9, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 40)

**Figure A20**

*An Activity about the Different Types of Houses*



**1 Listen and read**

**1** Some people around the world live in houses. Usually one family lives in a house. Some houses have gardens.

**2** Other people live in apartments in big cities. Apartment buildings are big. Many families live in the building.

Primary 2, Term 2, Unit 9, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 44)

**Figure A21**

*An Activity on the Houses of Siwa*



Primary 2, Term 2, Unit 10, (Gardner & Turner, 2021, p. 45)

**Figure A22**

*Some Children Express their Feelings*



Primary 3, Term 1, Unit 1 (Garnder, 2021a, p. 4)

**Figure A23**

*An Activity of Some Egyptian Kids Visiting Their Chinese Friends in their House in Cairo*




Primary 3, Term 2, Unit 7 (Garnder, 2021, p. 3)




Figure A24

An activity on Using Sign Language

**in American Sign Language**

**1**   
I'm from Egypt.

**2**   
I'm from France.

**3**   
I'm from America.

**4**   
I'm from China.

**5 Practice ASL for the countries with your friends**

**6 Practice ASL for Egypt**

**Vocabulary:** ASL for Egypt, France, America, China

Primary three, Term 2, Unit 7 (Gardner, 2021, p.7)

**Figure A25**

*A visit of some Egyptian kids to some Chinese kids in Egypt*



**Figure A26**

*An Activity on Children from Different Countries*



Primary three, Term 2, Unit 7(Gardner, 2021, p.8)

**Figure A27**

*An activity about a lesson on different currencies*

**1 Look, listen, and read**

**1** In my country, Egypt, our money is the **pound**. One pound is 100 **piastres**.

**2** In my country, France, our money is the **euro**. One euro is 100 **cents**.

**3** In my country, China, our money is the **yuan**. One yuan is 10 **jiao**.

**4** In my country, America, our money is the **dollar**. One dollar is 100 **cents**.

**2 Read again and complete**

a 1 pound = ..... piastres      c 1 yuan = ..... jiao  
b 1 euro = ..... cents            d 1 dollar = ..... cents

Primary 3, Term 2, Unit 7 (Garnder, 2021, p. 12)





**Figure A29**

*An activity about the History of Jewelry in Ancient Egypt*

**1** Read and listen to the text. Why do you think Ancient Egyptians like jewelry?

**Jewelry in Ancient Egypt**

Jewelry was very important in Ancient Egypt. Men, women, and children wore jewelry. They wore it every day and for special days. They loved rings, bracelets, and necklaces.

The jewelry was very beautiful. Ancient Egyptian men made the jewelry from silver and gold. They also used stones with bright colors.

- 1** At first (around 4,000 years ago), the Ancient Egyptians liked colored stones best. Look at this beautiful necklace.
- 2** Then, around 3,300 years ago, the Ancient Egyptians loved gold jewelry with colored stones. Look at this awesome jewelry from Tutankhamun. It has a big, blue eye.
- 3** Last, around 2,600 years ago, the Ancient Egyptians liked animals in their jewelry. Look at this fantastic gold ring with birds.

**2** Read the text again. Match the photos A-C with the paragraphs 1-3



Primary 3, Term 2, Unit 7 (Garnder, 2021, p. 36)

**Figure A30**

*A Wheel-chaired boy asking to communicate with people from different cultures*



Primary three, Term 2, Unit 12 (Gardner, 2021, p. 71)