# PEDAGOGICAL SHORTCOMINGS OF GLOBAL EFL TEXTBOOKS AND SPANISH SPEAKING LEARNERS

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Abstract: The article discusses the different types of pedagogic shortcomings to be found in global textbooks (GTs) used in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms. The analysis will be divided along the lines of the linguistic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic/sociocultural communicative competencies of the *Common European Framework* (CEFR, Council of Europe, 2005). This work highlights the flaws of GTs and legitimates the call for local and contextualized coursebooks stemming from public institutions.

Keywords: contextualization, English Language Teaching, EFL materials, global textbooks.

*Defectos pedagógicos de los libros de textos globales de Inglés como Lengua Extranjera en el contexto de los aprendices hispanoparlantes*

Resumen: *El artículo aborda los diferentes tipos de límites pedagógicos inherentes a los libros-guías globales de inglés lengua extranjera. El análisis está dividido según las competencias comunicativa lingüística, pragmática, y sociolingüística/ sociocultural del Marco Común Europeo (Consejo Europeo, 2005). Este trabajo destaca los límites pedagógicos de los libros-guía globales y legitima el llamamiento a libros guías locales y contextualizados producidos por instituciones públicas.*

Palabras claves: *contextualización, libros-guías de ILE, libros-guías globales.*

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## 1. Introduction

ELT textbooks can be analysed in numerous ways, as evidenced by the variety of perspectives adopted in the studies that analyse these artefacts. Researchers have analysed the representations of genders (Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Blumberg, 2007; Lesikin, 2001; McGrath, 2004), the presence of cultural bias (Gray, 2000, 2010a, 2010b; Ndura, 2004; Sherman, 2010), how "green" issues are addressed (Haig, 2006), how they promote consumerism (Sokolik, 2007), and so on. Harwood argues that textbooks should be studied and evaluated at the levels of content, consumption, and production (2014b: 2). The analysis presented here focuses on the content level, combining "in-use" and "retrospective" evaluations (Cunningsworth, 1995; Ellis, 1997) drawn from various studies. This paper discusses, from a critical user perspective, shortcomings in global coursebooks. In line with Tomlinson, who distinguishes between local (specific to the context) and universal criteria for textbook evaluation (2013), it proposes both an "evaluation" and an "analysis", defined as "a more theoretical and principled approach to the examination of language teaching materials […] concerned with identifying general trends using different theories as the framework of investigation" (Weninger & Kiss, 2014: 3), what Littlejohn summarizes as addressing textbooks "as they are" (2011: 181). On the other hand, the author of this article conceives of evaluation as "situated in the practice and context of the language teacher to offer practical and immediately applicable answers" (Weninger & Kiss, 2014: 3). Evaluation deals with "materials-in-action", considering coursebooks "a pedagogic device" (Littlejohn, 2011: 181-182). This article adopts both perspectives since it provides both an evaluation and an analysis. It includes a general reflection on the appropriateness of these materials rooted in an extensive literature review, as well as an evaluation of their adaptation to Spanish speakers.

The reflection presented in this paper arises from a larger research conducted in different institutions in Medellín, Colombia (Le Gal, 2018) that analyses the practices and perceptions of English teachers in relation to their textbooks. Data were collected through nineteen interviews during which the author sought teachers' insights, criticism, and feedbacks about global textbooks, the difficulties they experienced concerning these products, providing material for the reflection developed in this paper. A previous study about textbook uses by teachers of French language (Le Gal, 2011), as well as the author's personal experience as an English and French teacher, have laid the foundations of this article.

### 1.1. The importance of ELT textbooks

Despite calls against their use, ELT textbooks continue to be of vital importance in second language classrooms all over the world. In many EFL contexts, particularly outside academic settings, textbooks make up the main, sometimes the only source of language input and lay the basis for language practice in and outside the classroom (Richards, 2005, p. 1). Although no figures could be retrieved, Menkabu and Harwood assert that "much of the English language teaching to L2 speakers that occurs

throughout the world today is conducted through the medium of textbooks" (2014: 145).

This importance is confirmed by the profits made by ELT textbook publishers. An article in the *Sunday Times* states that in 2011, total sales reported by the top four publishers were in excess of one billion pounds sterling (Tryhorn, 2011). In spite of these recent years of global economic austerity, annual sales in ELT textbooks and related learning materials have continued to increase by 9 to 12 per cent, and amounted to 40-50 per cent of Cambridge University Press's and Oxford University Press's total profits in 2011 (Cambridge University Press Annual Report, 2010; Cambridge University Press Annual Report and Accounts, 2011; Cambridge University Press Performance Study, 2010; Oxford Annual Report of the delegates of the University Press, 2010/2011).

Given that textbooks considerably reduce teachers' workload, and may fill their pedagogic and linguistic gaps by providing them, for example, with a syllabus (Ur, 2009: 184), as well as assisting and facilitating coordination in large institutions (Richards, 2001), they constitute a useful and convenient support for learners and teachers, and are essential for test-oriented courses. Therefore, they are unlikely to disappear anytime soon.

## 1.1.1. Justification

The importance of ELT textbooks supports the need for critical studies, such as the one here presented. Indeed, as Littlejohn argues:

> We need, therefore, a means to examine the implications that use of a set of materials may have for classroom work and come to grounded opinions about whether or not the methodology and content of that material is appropriate for a particular teaching/learning context (2011: 180).

Despite the prevalence of global textbooks in ELT processes, "the literature on materials development, analysis and evaluation is relatively limited in numbers" (Weninger & Kiss, 2014: 3; Tomlinson, 2012). Furthermore, past textbook research has been deemed as lacking theoretical and methodological rigor (Tomlinson, 2012), showing "a need to extend and strengthen the research base in this area" (Harwood, 2014b: 2).

On the other hand, recent years have seen a surge of books about ELT textbooks (Garton & Graves, 2013; Gray, 2013; Harwood, 2014a; McDonough, Shaw & Masuhara, 2013; McGrath, 2013; Tomlinson, 2013), bringing Rixon and Smith to speak of "the coming of age in ELT textbook research" (2012: 383). However, most of the available studies focus on ideological and sociocultural issues (Asgari, 2011; Boriboon, 2004; Canagarajah, 1993a, 1993b; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Feng & Byram, 2002; Gray, 2000, 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Sokolik, 2007; Weninger & Kiss, 2013, 2014; Yuen, 2011; Zarei & Khalessi, 2011) to the detriment of pedagogical concerns (Hadley, 2014: 212). Harwood explains this trend arguing it is easier to review pedagogical materials in an abstract manner than to predict their potential success or failure in the

classroom (2010: 18). According to various authors (Hadley, 2014: 213; Menkabu & Harwood, 2014; Rowland & Barrs, 2013; Waters, 2009), this prevalence of theoretical papers stems from the dominance of Critical Social Theory in Applied Linguistics.

Following up the work carried out by authors such as Hadley, who evaluates the use of global textbooks in a specific context (2014), this study aims at filling the gap of pedagogic studies by evaluating how global textbooks are adapted to learners' needs. Identifying materials' shortcomings enables teachers to improve their usage while questioning the relevance of such materials for specific ELT contexts and calling for other types of materials.

## 1.2. Local and global textbooks

Bayne defines *textbooks* generically as "all forms of printed ELT instructional materials, commercial or non-commercial, bound or loose-leaf, and whole or part of a textbook" (2002: 13). According to Tomlinson (2000), textbooks include course books, self-access materials, supplementary materials and workbooks. More specifically, Besse defines language textbooks as reference books used in class for presenting and working with language teaching and learning resources (2008). Textbooks can also come in the form of in-house materials as can be seen in most franchised language schools, such as Berlitz, Winston-Salem, or Wall Street English.

A distinction should be made between "teaching situations where "open-market" materials are chosen on the one hand, and where a Ministry of Education (or some similar body) produces materials that are subsequently passed on to the teacher for classroom use, on the other" (McDonough et al., 2013: 51). Indeed, textbooks can be divided into two broad categories: generalists and specific, imported and in-country, regional (Dat, 2008), or international and local; "global textbooks" being a favoured label.

Local textbooks are "specific", designed in and for a situated context, with a given audience in mind at a national or regional level. They are usually produced by, or in association with, a national publisher and stem from the initiative of a public institution such as a Secretary of Education in a city, a region, a state or a country (e.g., *English 11,* Anh, Ha & Phuong, 2004, published by the Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training). Also labelled as "contextualized", local texbooks' design is primarily based upon a context analysis, a "context-based approach" (Bax, 2004; Canagarajah, 2009; Jarvis & Atsilarat, 2004; Kumaravadivelu, 2003, 2006), drawing on a national curriculum and on the learners' experiences by including references to local personalities, places, etc. Editorial quality greatly varies and is usually much lower than that of global textbooks since, in an economy of scale, the funds invested do not compare.

International or global textbooks are the most commonly found, especially in outer circle's countries (Kachru, 1982). Tomlinson defined a global textbook as a "coursebook which is not written for learners from a particular culture or country but

intended for use by any class of learners in the specified level and age group anywhere in the world" (1998, x).

Global textbooks have also been labelled as "universalists" or "of universalist vocation" (Verdelhan-Bourgade, 2007: 123) and "international" (López Barrios, Villanueva de Debat & Tavella, 2008: 300), since the same edition is distributed in different parts of the world, regardless of students' cultures and mother tongues. Global textbooks are typically produced in English-speaking countries to fit in "comprehensive pedagogical packages" (Hadley, 2014: 206) that contain a student textbook, a teacher's book, workbooks, computer CD-ROMs, DVDs, and accompanying websites that serve as an "e-learning platform" (Cambridge University Press Annual Report, 2010: 70). Popular examples of these are: *Top Notch* (Saslow and Ascher, 2006), *Interchange Third Edition: Full Contact* (Richards, Hull, Proctor, and Shields, 2005), and *New Headway* (Soars & Soars, 2000), which is in its fourth edition and has sold over 100 million copies (Oxford Annual Report of the Delegates of the University Press, 2010/2011: 7).

A third category, at the crossroads of global and local, i.e. "glocal" (Gray, 2002), refers to contextualized or "localized" global textbooks (López Barrios et al., 2008: 300), international coursebooks which have been adapted to a specific context (e.g. an edition for Spanish speakers), such as *Essential Grammar in Use* (Murphy, 2009). The market's reaction is usually decisive: if a textbook has some success in one country, it may then be adapted to another country (e.g. *Let's Go for EGB 1* of Elsworth, Rose & Date, 2000 in López Barrios & Villanueva de Debat, 2006).

## 2. Pedagogic Shortcomings of Global Textbooks

### 2.1. Foreword: limitations in content analysis

For reasons intrinsic to its nature, "no textbook can ever completely meet the needs of a class" (Harwood, 2014a: 1; Ur, 2009: 185). This is all the more true of global textbooks which have been designed by for-profit multinational corporations for a broad variety of contexts and which therefore present numerous adaptation problems at the time of being used in a particular class. In this study, the pedagogic shortcomings of global textbooks will be discussed on the linguistic, pragmatic, sociocultural and content levels.

It should be remembered that content analysis —since it cannot accurately predict the effects of the global textbooks' resources— faces some limitations (Harwood, 2014a: 10; Sunderland, 2000). The effect of some material depends on the use a teacher makes of it, therefore "materials as they are" should be distinguished from "materials-in-action" (Littlejohn, 2011). Regardless of the nature of a resource, teachers can use it in a number of ways, as in Sunderland's example of a text including gender bias used to get learners to identify them (2000: 153-155). The same goes for cultural bias.

Various content analyses of L2 textbooks (Barbieri & Eckhardt, 2007; Boxer & Pickering, 1995; Jiang, 2006; Römer, 2004) are not "anchored to a classroom

context […] since they analyse textbooks' contents and not their use" (Menkabu & Harwood, 2014: 148). In a context-based approach, studies analysing and discussing the suitability of textbooks in relation to a specific situation would appear to be more relevant (see Boriboon, 2004; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Grammatosi & Harwood, 2014; Hadley, 2014; López Barrios et al., 2008; Nguyen, 2011).

## 2.2. *Lack of linguistic adaptation*

Not taking into account learners' mother tongue is probably the most important flaw in global ELT textbooks. Although, for example, series designed for Spanish speakers do exist (Cambridge University Press, Barnes & Noble), global textbooks remain more popular. These materials usually do not bring learners to observe cross-linguistic similarities (numerous when the target language is relatively close to the mother tongue) nor do they address the difficulties that spring from cross-linguistic differences between L1 and L2. Global materials do not train learners to reflect on linguistic contrasts, falling short in developing learners' linguistic competence (CEFR, 2005: 109) and its subcomponents:

- Grammatical competence: adapted coursebooks should rely on activities covering linguistic contact and interlanguage (Klaus, 1995) to help learners identify the systemic differences and similarities between L1 and L2. As regards syntax, in the case of prepositions for example, Spanish-speaking learners tend towards *calques* yet English prepositions have different functions and values; in Spanish the adjective usually comes after the noun whereas it is the opposite in English. Spanish speakers face difficulties with the structure of the verb phrase (for example: "Did you went to the party last night?").

- Lexical competence: English false cognates should be identified as well as the Latin roots of English words in order to further Spanish-speaking learners' vocabulary comprehension and acquisition.

- Morphological competence: adapted materials would [could / should] address Spanish learners' difficulties stemming from differences in verbal tenses (simple past and present perfect) and declensions.

## 2.3. *Phonological competence*

Another competence that global textbooks cannot satisfactorily address is phonological competence. Indeed, producing sounds that do not exist in one's mother tongue is a difficult task requiring tailored exercises. A textbook not designed specifically for a particular group of learners cannot take into account the specific difficulties this group encounters with English pronunciation, prosody, and rhythm.

For example, Spanish speakers face difficulties stressing the syllables of English words due to cross-linguistic differences (Carter, 2004): most Spanish words are marked on the last or penultimate syllable whereas most English words are stressed

on the first or second syllable. An English word may have two or three accentuations whereas Spanish generally uses only one stress, except for a few adverbs.

Regarding consonants, Spanish-speaking learners may have difficulties in correctly pronouncing d, t, g, h, j, l, r, w, v, th, and z on account of phonological differences. Spanish-speaking learners, depending on their variety of Spanish, tend to pronounce the letters "v", "b", "y", and "j" as they are pronounced in Spanish. The seven extra vowels of English (Spanish has only five, Bradlow, 1995) also naturally yield difficulties. Spanish speakers also struggle with short and long vowel sounds (Bradlow, 1995) and the corresponding minimal pairs, since Spanish does not have short vowel sounds for /a/, /i/, /o/, and /u/, as English does. Another challenge stems from the fact that Spanish words never start with an "s" followed by a consonant. Therefore, Spanish-speaking learners tend to include an "e", pronouncing "I am from Espain" / aɪam frəm espeɪn/. All these cross-linguistic difficulties call for resources specifically targeting them, which are lacking in global textbooks.

In addition, the emergence of International English has substantially redefined the linguistic variety to be included in EFL materials.

## 2.4. The long awaited shift to International English

Recent decades have witnessed an explosion of "English as a global language" (Crystal, 2003), evidenced by studies on World English (McArthur, 2002), English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins, 2007, 2014; Seidlhofer, 2011), International English (Seidlhofer, 2003; Sharifian, 2009) and "English as an International Language" (Holliday, 2005; McKay, 2000, 2003b). The fact that non-native speakers now greatly outnumber native speakers entails that most communication in English now takes place between speakers of English as a Foreign Language, thus profoundly redefining the ELT field, its methods, (Kumaradivelu, 2003, 2006), methodologies and focuses. Along with these researchers, the author contends that teaching American and British variants is therefore inappropriate in most EFL situations. Unless learners present a specific need for one of these varieties, due for example to an expatriation or a trip to one of these countries, targeting American and British English is not relevant anymore.

Despite some progress, the shift to teaching International English is still awaited by TESOL researchers and materials are falling behind in its integration. For example, researchers found that, in the Finnish textbooks they analysed, outer/expanding circles accents 2 only accounted for between 1-3 per cent of the recordings and listening exercises (Kivistö, 2005; Kopperoinen, 2011). Likewise, a study of two English language textbooks used by Hong Kong secondary schools found that outer/expanding circles varieties were largely under-represented (Yuen, 2011). Fortunately, the trend is slowly changing, and more and more textbooks are integrating or focusing on International English, introducing linguistic and cultural materials from the outer and expanding circles (e.g. *World Link,* Stempleski, Douglas & Morgan, 2010).

## 2.5. *Pragmatic Shortcomings*

Each tongue features specific speech acts and pragmatic norms which do not transfer straightforwardly to another language: a certain amount of complimenting may be considered normal in one culture while excessive in another, just like "accepted topics of phatic communion (i.e., small talk) in one culture may be perceived negatively in another" (Meier, 1997: 24). Therefore, textbooks should put emphasis on the development of pragmatic competences.

EFL textbooks however, have been criticized for their unsatisfactory handling of L2 pragmatics (Grant & Starks, 2001; Lee & Park, 2008; Millard, 2000; Vellenga, 2004; Wong, 2002), leading Vellenga to evaluate the acquisition of pragmatic competence as "highly unlikely" (2004: 1) since materials did not provide adequate information. For example, in Vellenga (2004) two coursebooks teach learners how to threaten but not how to apologize. Many materials also tend to introduce speech acts without sufficient information about their context of use (such as the relationship between speakers in a dialogue) and appropriateness (i.e. meta-pragmatic information). In the same line, coursebooks have been criticized for not teaching authentic language (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Grant & Starks, 2001; Vellenga, 2004; Wong, 2002).

To reach adaptation, ELT materials should rely on contrastive differences between L1 and L2 in their resources. For example, interactions in Spanish tend to be much more direct than in English, as shown by the frequent use of the imperative form. Materials designed for Spanish speakers therefore need to emphasize this discrepancy so that learners adopt more indirect forms, through the use of modals for example.

## 2.6. *An impossible sociocultural and sociolinguistic adjustment*

"Even the humblest material artefact which is the product and the symbol of a particular civilization, is an emissary of the culture out of which it comes", wrote Eliot (1948: 92). Global textbooks, which undertake to teach English and its associated cultures, are therefore archetypal "cultural artefacts" (Gray, 2000, 2010) since they aim at introducing learners to foreign cultures, usually Western, Anglo-Saxon and, especially English and North American, which they tend to stereotype. Gray (2000, 2010) stresses how global textbooks are "commodities which are imbued with cultural promise" -the prospect of entering an often-idealized international speech community (2000: 274). From a political perspective, Phillipson qualified the promotion of British global textbooks as "a government-backed enterprise with an economic and ideological agenda aimed ultimately at boosting commerce and the dissemination of ideas" (1993: 60).

Designed to be used in contexts as culturally diverse as China, Turkey, Hungary or Colombia, global textbooks cannot be socioculturally adapted to the learners they are meant to assist. Numerous content analyses give evidence of this "cultural inappropriacy" in various contexts (Boriboon, 2004; Cortazzi, & Jin, 1999; Canagarajah, 1993a, 1993b; Gray, 1994; Mohammadi & Abdi, 2014; Zarei, & Khalessi, 2011; Suaysuwan & Kapitzke, 2005; Yuen, 2011; Lee & Park, 2008; Asgari, 2011).

Conflicts with local cultural contexts and students' interests and needs generate challenges for teachers to relate the contents of global textbooks to learners' reality. For example, Gray found that the teachers he interviewed perceived explicitly British matters "with considerable reservation" (2010: 146) and as irrelevant to their Catalan learners who studied English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) with no project to move to the UK. Other data (Gray, 2010) "revealed how culturally focused material may vary in relevance depending on the teaching context" (Harwood, 2014a: 14): an instructor described how a listening activity about a group of women car mechanics made for a "fantastically successful lesson in Cairo" but had "died a thousand deaths" in Barcelona because Catalans found the idea of female mechanics unremarkable (Gray, 2010: 152).

Addressing learners' perceptions, Boriboon (2004) stressed the gap between his provincial Thai learners' lifeworlds and the contemporary characters' of *New Headway Intermediate* (Soars & Soars, 1996: 45), summarizing the discrepancy as "they would rather talk about *plaa raa* than hamburgers". He emphasizes how this inappropriateness may impact learners' motivation and illustrates his stance with a sample activity focused on shopping, having learners buy petrol, pay an electricity bill, and collect plane tickets, none of which his learners were likely to have ever experienced.

Scholars have therefore called for textbooks evaluation checklists to include more prominent cultural concerns (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Feng & Byram, 2002; Kullman, 2003). The inappropriate cultural contents of global textbooks can cause major conflict with the local culture and values, which has led countries such as Saudi Arabia and China, to go to the extreme of producing materials with almost no references to English-speaking cultures (Gray, 2000: 275).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Tomlinson, drawing on a large array of ELT materials in the world, deems global textbooks to be "failing to help the learners to make full use of the language experience available to them outside the classroom" (2008: 320). Given the importance of situational and experiential learning, not including activities to gain authentic input and achieve authentic output is a major shortcoming.

## 2.7. Cultural hegemony

Cultural contents in English textbooks can schematically be divided into three categories (McKay, 2000; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999):

a) *source culture materials* refer to elements of the learners' native cultural background;

b) *target cultures materials* come from countries where English is used as a first language, e.g., American or British.

c) *international target culture materials* originate from both English and non-English speaking countries, e.g., Singapore, Nigeria, Spain.

Given that expanding/outer circle learners are much more likely to interact in International English with non-native than with native speakers, global textbooks should focus on international target culture materials and on elements drawn from learners' contexts (Mckay, 2003a). To put into practice the necessary shift from American and British English, Anglo-centrism and Euro-centrism to International English, textbooks should include a variety of cultural elements from outer and expanding circles. The content reviews of global textbooks (Yuen, 2011; Mol & Tin, 2008; Lumala & Trabelsi, 2008; Dat, 2008; Masuhara & Tomlinson, 2008; Tomlinson & Masuhara, 2008) have shown that international target culture materials are still scarce and portray non-European cultures superficially and insensitively (Tomlinson, 2008). Yuen found overall that the two global textbooks in his study focused on the representations of Western English-speaking countries cultures while the cultures of Africa were under-represented.

If global textbooks want to achieve their educational transformative goal through "cultural reflection and understanding within a critically oriented pedagogy" (Weninger & Kiss, 2013: 2), they ought to include materials that foster reflexivity, openness and global awareness in language learners (Weninger & Kiss, 2013: 2). As Kumaravadivelu contends, promoting global cultural consciousness in the classroom could be accomplished with a concerted effort towards materials (2008: 189). Global textbooks should try to develop learners' intercultural competence (Byram, 1997) by including materials from local (McKay, 2003b) and peripheral contexts (Kachru, 1982).

## 2.8. Methodological adjustment

Because of their assumptions about the best way to learn, global textbooks can be deemed to be Anglo-centric and Euro-centric (Tomlinson, 2008: 320). These materials have also been criticized for their lack of methodological adaptation (McKay, 2003a; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996). Because of their "one-size-fits-all", universal way of addressing foreign langue learning, global textbooks can only partially suit the pedagogical contexts outer and expanding circles contexts since such an adaptation depends on the textbook's integration in the local "culture of learning" (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998: 749), which global textbooks are incapable of taking into account. The concept of culture of learning has been defined as:

> the socially transmitted expectations, beliefs, and values about what good learning is. […] usually taken-for-granted cultural ideas about the roles and relations of teachers and learners, about appropriate teaching and learning styles and methods, about the use of textbooks and materials, and about what constitutes good work in classrooms (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998: 749).

As technological products stemming from research, theories and approaches elaborated in North America, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand (NABA) and recently Europe with the *Common European Framework,* global textbooks originate from a Western, usually Anglo-Saxon, culture of learning and teaching. Recent textbook design and methodology generally bears the hallmarks of the latest developments in

applied linguistics, as can be seen with the implementation of Task-Based Learning (in syllabuses and activities), lexical approach, corpus linguistics, autonomous learning and competence-based approach (through the self-evaluative "can do statements"), and the structuring of textbooks' according to the *CEFR* levels.

Although integrating the latest results in L2 acquisition research in the design of global textbooks is, on the one hand, desirable since it relies on cognitive knowledge valid for a vast majority of learners, it can, on the other hand, be reductive and simplistic if not mediated with local sociocultural aspects. This is evidenced by the conflicts generated by the implementation of Communicative Language Teaching and Task-Based Learning in radically different educational contexts, such as China and East Asian countries of Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) (Adams & Newton, 2009; Littlewood, 2007; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). Teacher-centred teaching, a focus on writing, the student's silent role and pedagogy through memorizing and repetition are all in conflict with the communicative and task-based approaches which most textbooks adopt.

## 3. CONCLUSION

Despite influential voices such as Kumaradivelu's (2003, 2006) leading ELT towards a context-based approach and away from hegemonic discourses and native speaker-centredness, little of this influence can be seen in global textbooks. The main conclusion of the above demonstration of global textbooks' flaws is that the only way for textbooks to reach a consistent pragmatic, linguistic and sociocultural adaptation stands in local textbooks tailored to learners' needs. EFL materials should be re-appropriated by governments and academic units shifting their primary nature from economic to educational products. However, to achieve editorial quality that can rival that of global textbooks, coursebooks designed for specific contexts need significant funding. Nevertheless, this investment is very likely to be recovered shortly since good quality, locally published textbooks can be expected to find their market and generate profit. Sales would be guaranteed in public schools and an intelligent promotion and tax system would help make local textbooks attractive to private institutions. As an incentive to foster local textbooks on the market, textbooks from foreign editors could be heavily taxed whereas specific textbooks would benefit from lighter taxes. Given that mentalities are slow to change and that, in most learners' representations, products, methodologies, and teachers from centre countries offer the best way to learn, and their linguistic varieties and culture should be the target of learning, governmental actions to support local products by taxing foreign textbooks would appear to be justified.

A middle ground promoted by Tomlinson (2003) is the contextualization of global textbooks: rather than designing a coursebook from scratch, an existing, well-received product could be adapted. This "glocal" textbook (Gray, 2002) is a localised version of a global coursebook that provides "a better fit" by connecting the students' world with "the world of English" (Gray, 2002: 166). López Barrios and Villanueva

de Debat (2014: 41-42) characterize this contextualization through three aspects: personalisation, contents and topics included in the materials, and pedagogical fit. Personalisation implies primarily "connecting coursebooks to the real world which the learners live in" (Tomlinson, 2003: 171). In along the same lines, topics covered should be of interest to learners but also sensitive to the sociocultural norms of the society where they are implemented.

This is achieved, for example, in the Argentinian localization of *Let's Go for EGB 1* (Elsworth, Rose & Date, 2000), through the inclusion of local elements such as texts about wildlife in South America, references to local places and famous people, and an intercultural section about British and Argentinian life and culture (López Barrrios & Villanueva de Debat, 2006). In another example (*Dream Team Starter*, Whitney & Sharman, 2000), contextualization is achieved through the introduction of Lucas, an Argentinian studying English in the UK, as one of the main characters in the series (López Barrios & Villanueva de Debat, 2006).

Pedagogical fit refers to the match between a coursebook and educational practices that suit local teaching context, and its compliance with a country's school curriculum. This is evidenced in the textbooks of the aforementioned study designed in accordance with Argentina's official curriculum.

Contextualization is also achieved through the integration of topics and themes appealing to learners, custom-made activities based on interlingual contrasts between English and the mother tongue at the grammatical, pragmatic, phonological, lexical and spelling levels, activities learners can carry out in their sociolinguistic context.

Another recommendation stemming from this study is to train teachers to use textbooks critically. As shown by Le Gal (2012, 2018) and Shawer, teachers, depending on their use of the textbook, can either be "curriculum-makers"*,* "curriculum-transmitters" or "curriculum-developers" (Shawer, 2010). Curriculum-makers refers to teachers hardly using the textbook whereas curriculum-transmitters mechanically transmit its contents without the necessary adaptation. Curriculum-developers appear as the most appropriate model as regards teachers who work within the framework of a global textbook. Indeed, the contextualization of global textbooks can be enhanced through the modifications, adaptations, additions, removals and reorderings that teachers come up with.

Furthermore, as Maley contends, another possibility for global textbooks on the path towards adaptation lies in these materials providing "greater flexibility in decisions about content, order, pace, and procedures" (2011: 380). Although losing in integration, global textbooks could be designed in a more open and flexible fashion, providing resources organized thematically or according to speech acts for teachers to design their own activities.

Having exposed the numerous flaws inherent to global textbooks, the author hopes that educational stakeholders will take up the challenge of local textbooks and commit to invest important funds that will pay back on the medium term.

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