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The Influence of Cultural Bias on Motivation to Learn English: The Case of Khoe Primary School Students in Eastern Botswana

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Abstract

This study investigated the influence of cultural bias in the teaching of English and in the books used to teach English in primary schools attended by Khoe students in eastern Botswana. The study also explores the link between cultural bias and the attitudes and motives of Khoe students learning English. One hundred and thirty seven students completed an attitude and motivation questionnaire adapted from Gardner's (1985) Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). In addition, five of the students and twelve teachers were interviewed in order to obtain their opinion on cultural bias in English textbooks. English language textbooks for Standards 4, 5, 6 and 7 were analysed for culture bias, using Ndura's (2004) investigation of such materials for *invisibility*, *unreliability* and *stereotyping* of learner cultures. The findings show that the English language books are not culturally diverse, but this does not affect the attitude and motivation of the students to learn English. The study recommends that English books should be reviewed to make them culturally inclusive, and teachers trained to adopt a multicultural attitude in their teaching of English.

Key Words: Cultural bias, attitude, motivation, teaching, learning

Cultural bias

Much research has been done on the role of cultural bias in language learning (Al-Issa, 2005; Ndura, 2004; Dlaska, 2000; Hirschfelder, 1982; Henry, 1970). It has been found that cultural bias hampers learning and affects the way one perceives oneself and others, particularly if it appears in instructional materials. Instructional materials have been found to contain bias, for example, by under-representing minority societies (Ndura, 2004; Hirschfelder, 1982). It is said that literature, which is rarely found in English textbooks, is nonetheless a very important component of culture (Al-Issa (2005) and provides information on societal values, assumptions and images (Ndura 2004). According to Ndura (2004), ESL (English as a second language) students trust instructional materials. Thus, these materials "have the power to positively or negatively influence immigrants' students' perceptions of their new culture and their ability to acculturate and succeed" (Ndura, 2004:143). Sadker and Sadker (2001) and Banks (2001) raise general issues concerning bias, and Ndura (2004: 145) evaluated six different ESL textbooks commonly used in US schools listing seven types of bias: invisibility, linguistic bias, stereotyping, imbalance, unreality, fragmentation and cosmetic bias (Ndura 2004: 146) Ndura concludes that instructional materials that exclude students' diverse life experiences in the teaching and learning process disempower them and stifle their voices. Vitz (1986) examined 60 grade 1-12 Social Studies textbooks and found that none of

them contained information on contemporary American religious life. He regarded this omission as disturbing, given the important role of religion in American life.

The Khoe

With the above in mind, this study analyses the teaching of English in Botswana primary schools to find out whether the instructional materials used to teach it are culturally biased against the Khoe students living in eastern Botswana. These students attend primary schools for the Rural Area Dwellers (RADs) together with other Botswana students from mainstream ethnic cultures. Since the schools teach the same curriculum and use the same books used by students in mainstream public primary schools in Botswana, it is necessary to find out whether the teaching of English in general, and the materials used to teach it, are biased against the Khoe. RADs are people of Botswana who live in remote areas irrespective of their ethnicity. These remote areas are socio-economically disadvantaged settlements, of less than 500 people, that lack basic services and facilities and fall outside the scope of villages or places that benefit from national development programmes (Mutanyatta, 1992). RADs are the poorest of the poor people of Botswana and are found in seven districts of Central, Ghanzi, Kgalagadi, Kweneng, Northwest and Southern Botswana. They have low levels of literacy, have little access to education and often speak a language other than the national language (Mutanyatta, 1992). He says there are less than 40 primary schools in RAD areas. Furthermore, employment or income in RAD areas is generated through hunting, arable agriculture and pastoralism, and in some cases fishing, handcrafts, bee-keeping and so on, all done on a small scale.

The Khoe living in eastern Botswana are part of the Khoesan ethnic groups made up of many language varieties. According to Batibo and Tsonope (2000), the Khoesan languages cover most of Botswana areas, including the whole of Kalahari district. Chebanne, (2002:147), citing Grimes (2000), notes that "the main languages of Eastern Khoe are Kua, Tshwa and Shua". He further points out that Eastern Khoe languages are found in or around Shase river, Serule, Mabesekwa and even further towards Serowe and Shoshong. Specifically, most of the Khoe students used in this study come from settlements near Serowe in the Central district and others come from Kweneng West and Kweneng North. However, these Khoe are not the majority of the people living in the settlements. It was for convenience only that these areas were chosen for the study, since Khoe students could be found in large numbers there. This is because there are more economic activities and towns and more chances of generating income in the east than in other parts of Botswana.

As Chebanne (2002) points out, historically, the Khoe were encroached upon by the Wayeyi, Bakalanga and Bakhurutse ethnic groups, and as a result some of them moved out and the remaining ones were integrated into the language and culture of their pastoral masters. However, it is important to note that the culture of the Khoe is socially, economically and linguistically distinct from that of other mainstream Botswana ethnic groups and from other Khoesan ethnic groups (Batibo, & Tsonope, 2000) although it is to a certain extent influenced by other nearby mainstream Botswana ethnic cultures. Also vital to realize is that some of the students in this study are not wholly Khoe because one

of the parents is not a Khoe. This is because, as Batibo and Tsonope (2000) point out, the number of inter-ethnic marriages has been growing in Botswana, and this has resulted in many of the Khoesan, such as the Khoe in this study, adopting Setswana as a compromise language.

As indicated above, the Khoe students attending RAD schools in eastern Botswana follow the same curriculum, write the same examinations and use the same books. There are seven years of official primary schooling in Botswana starting from Standard 1 to Standard 7. The medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school is Setswana (the national language). English then takes over from standard 3 – 7 and beyond. English is compulsory for all students in Botswana and Setswana is a compulsory subject for citizens of Botswana throughout their primary and secondary education. In addition, it is important for Botswana students to pass English to progress to upper levels of education and to increase the chances of getting a formal job. Therefore, it is important to investigate the opinions of the Khoe students about the inclusiveness of the Botswana education system with regard to their culture, given that they are integrated with mainstream Botswana students.

Attitudes and motivation

Attitudes and motivation have been found to be important in learning second languages (See Cooper, 1974; Shuy & Fasold, 1973; Clement, 1980; Krashen, 1981; Gardner, 1985; Sure, 1991; Adegbija, 1992; Baker, 1992; Webb, 1992; De Klerk & Bosch, 1993). In the case of language learners, it is useful to distinguish between integrative and instrumental motivation (Gardner, 1985; Schmied, 1985). Integrative motivation is when “the aim of the language study is to learn more about the language group, or to meet more and different people”, and instrumental motivation is “when the reasons reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement” (Gardner and Lambert, 1959:267). Also, according to Feuer (2006, p. 267), the term attitude . . . encompasses facets of language learning motivation as well”. Cooper (1980) investigated the attitudes of Jordanians towards English instruction and recommended change of English language policy, curriculum change, teacher training and research. In South Africa, Dalvit and De Klerk (2005) investigated the attitudes of isiXhosa-speaking students at the university of Fort Hare towards the use of isiXhosa as a language of learning and teaching (LOLT). The findings confirmed the results of similar research elsewhere. Respondents wanted English-medium policy to be retained because the use of isiXhosa as a LOLT would result in lower levels of English proficiency.

Attitudes and motivation have also been found to be influenced by the content of instructional materials. According to Ndura (2004: 143),

The content of instructional materials significantly affects students' attitudes and dispositions towards themselves, other people and society. This is particularly so with students of English as a Second Language (ESL) whose success in a new environment is conditioned not only by their mastery of the new language, but also, and especially, by their ability to negotiate the new culture.

With this in mind, the study investigates the attitude of Khoe students in eastern Botswana toward learning English. The possibility of cultural bias influencing these students' attitude towards learning English is explored in order to gain a better understanding of the conditions under which they learn it. Batibo and Tsonope (2000), have observed that the attitude of Khoesan people towards their own languages is unfavourable because these languages are not associated with social promotion, socio-economic advancement or better living. For the same reason, the Khoe students in eastern Botswana might be expected to have a negative attitude towards learning English because, as Sonaiya (2002:114) points out, "in the case of a negative reaction towards the discovery of some particular aspect of the target culture, the learner may end up even turning off the language completely". In addition, Witenberg (1978) claims that schools have failed to combat the marginalization of minority groups but have promoted it instead by providing distorted information about their cultures in the textbooks they provide.

In particular, the study addresses the claims of Al-Issa (2005), Ndura (2004) and Dlaska (2000) that textbooks are biased. For instance, Ndura (2004:150) claims that "textbooks do not reflect the growing diversity of students' life experiences and perspectives. This study extends the research to the learning of English in Botswana.

The Study

The specific questions asked by this study are:

1. Is the teaching of English language, and the books used to teach it, biased against the culture of Khoe students attending RAD primary schools in eastern Botswana?
2. What is the attitude or motivation of Khoe students towards learning English?
3. Does culture bias influence the attitudes and motivation of the Khoe students towards learning English?

Data

Different methods were used to collect data for the study. A questionnaire was administered in various schools with the help of a research assistant, and further data were gathered by interview. A textual analysis was conducted on books used to teach English to determine the main elements of cultural content that they contained.

Participants

Data were collected from 137 Standard 7 primary school students. The 137 students completed a questionnaire and 6 of them were interviewed. Standard 7 students were selected because they would have a better understanding of cultural bias than students in lower grades. They came from 7 RAD schools in Kweneng West, Kweneng North, and Central District regions of Botswana, all of which are in eastern Botswana. A breakdown of the final sample by Gender, Age and Ethnicity is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic information on the sample of learners

Gender	Age		Age		Ethnicity	Ethnicity		
	n	%	n	%		n	%	
F	84	61.3	11-15	118	86.8	Khoe	82	59.9
M	53	38.7	16-20	17	12.5	Other	55	40.1
			21-25	1	0.7			

Since most Khoe are nomads and those in eastern Botswana live in small scattered settlements. Out of the 137 RAD students only 82 identified themselves as Khoe. So, the focus on this study will be on the 82 only. In addition, 12 teachers were interviewed from different schools and 5 of these teachers held a Primary Teachers (PTC) certificate, 6 a diploma in Primary Education and 1 a bachelor's degree in education. Each interview lasted for about 1 hour. The interviews were transcribed and relevant themes selected and compared.

Questionnaire

Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) was adapted to collect information concerning the Khoe students' attitude and motivation towards learning the English language. Some questions were omitted from the original AMTB. Only those measuring the value of English and its important functions in Botswana were included. Also included were those that measured the role of English as an international language; the role of English in education in Botswana; the instrumental value of English; the integrative value of English; and attitudes towards English in general. So, in all 10 questions from the AMTB were used in this study. The AMTB has been used in many attitude studies and Gardner (1985) points out that it yields reliable results. Although the questions were in English, I also translated them into Setswana before the students responded to them, since all the Khoe students used in this study claimed to understand Setswana.

Analysis of Textbooks

The following Standard 4 to Standard 7 books were reviewed:

- Standard 4 *English for Everyone*,
- Standard 5 *Heinemann English for Standard 5: Pupil's Book*,
- Standard 6 *Collegium English: Pupils' Book Standard 6*,
- Standard 7 *Collegium English: Pupils' Books Standard 7*.

The Standard 4 book *English for Everyone* (Solomon et al., 2006) is a core textbook prescribed for all primary schools. It is a multi-authored book and most of the authors are local, and it is also a local publication, published by MacMillan Botswana Publishing Company. It was first published in 2004 and revised in 2006. *Heinemann English for Standard 5 Pupil's book* (Phirie et al., 2005) is also a core book prescribed for all primary schools. Two of the four authors are locals, and it was published by Heinemann Botswana Educational Publishers in 2005. The publishing Manager indicated that it is the only educational book produced in Botswana by her company. Finally, the Standards 6 books, *Collegium English Pupils' Book Standard 6* (Ratsoma et al., 2006) and *Collegium English Pupils' Book Standard 7* (Banks et al.,

2006) are also published by Collegium Educational Publishers and most of their authors are locals.

The books were examined for *Invisibility* and *Unreality* as defined by Ndura (2004) *Invisibility* refers to the omission of information regarding any of the main elements that make up our individual and collective cultural identity, and of the influence that they exert on our everyday life. *Unreality* refers to the avoidance of controversial topics such as discrimination and prejudice in favour of a more idealistic and traditional view of national history or current issues. Unreality also results from another form of bias, imbalance, which applies to textbooks that present only one interpretation of an issue, situation or group of people, avoiding subtleties and complexities.

Results

The findings of this study show that Khoe students, who are the subjects of this study, come from poor families. The results show that 65.9 % (n = 54) of the fathers and 72.0% (n = 59) of the mothers were not employed. Furthermore, 62.2% (n = 51) of the fathers and 56.1% (n = 46) of the mothers were illiterate. Even the mothers who had been to school ended at primary school level (40.2%, n = 33), leaving them with a qualification with which one does not easily get a job in Botswana.

The findings further show that Khoe students think that their English language books address their culture, and that their teachers use examples from their culture and their local environment. Furthermore, the AMTB results show that the students were instrumentally motivated to learn English. On the other hand, their teachers thought that there was some cultural bias in the books although they admitted that it was not easy to satisfy all cultures in teaching English. The findings further show that the books reviewed in this study are not necessarily biased against any particular culture, but neither are they culturally diverse.

Cultural bias

Students Interviews

Five students were interviewed on the subject of cultural bias. The term 'bias' was explained to the students and they were given examples of biased situations or things. Then they were asked whether English instruction in their school was biased against their culture or not, and in particular, whether the English syllabus and examinations were biased or not. One student said, "*I like it. Yes I think the way we are taught is fine*" and another "*I am happy with the way I am taught English*". and a third said, "*My studies are fine*". Each of the students was asked further to explain what they meant by their responses and they indicated that they did not think the teaching of English or the way it was examined was a problem to them. A follow up question was put to the students, whether they thought the English syllabus or curriculum was designed for culturally diverse students and whether they think it is relevant to their context. One student said, "*They include us*", and another, "*They take into consideration all ethnic groups*". Only one student did not respond to this question. On whether they thought the actual teaching of English in class was biased or not, one said, "*. . . our teacher teaches us about our people*", and another, "*My teacher teaches us well and she sometimes uses our language*". Yet another said, "*She gave an example of our ancestors who used to move from one place to another hunting for animals and fruits*". However, it is important to point out that, even though the students were generally satisfied that English instruction was not biased against their culture,

they differed on whether their teachers understood Khoe culture. One said that the teacher, *“does not discuss Khoe culture because she does not understand it.”* although another said, *“Yes, we sometimes discuss Khoe cultural issues. For example, we sometimes talk about the food that was eaten by the Khoe in the past, such as ‘kgengwe’”.*

When students were asked whether their books contained some bias or not, one said, *“I think they are fine. For instance I can understand pictures in books. My culture is included. For example one of the books has pictures of people getting food rations from government irrespective of their ethnicity. Everybody in that village is given food.”*. Another said, *“They satisfy me. The pictures and conversations in them include my people”*.

Teacher interviews

Twelve teachers were interviewed to find out whether they thought the English language instruction, curriculum and materials were biased against the culture of the Khoe students or not. One teacher replied, *“I think there is cultural bias because here and there the emphasis is on the culture of the white people . . . ”*. The second teacher felt that the books were fine, but some of the exercises required students to write about things the students were not familiar with, such as a birthday party, which is not relevant to the students insofar as their culture is concerned. The third teacher claimed that the books were culturally biased, because they showed pictures depicting lifestyles or cultures different from that of the Khoe. For example, despite the fact that most of the Khoe students had not been to urban areas, the teacher said *“pictures in books show urban houses and tennis courts”*. The teacher added, *“Even the exams are just the same, because they talk about modern things”*.

Generally, the teachers claimed that their teaching was culturally biased against the Khoe and other cultural groups because they had not been trained to teach students from specific ethnic groups because their training was general. They pointed out that they tried their best to reflect the culture of the Khoe in their teaching but, unfortunately, they were also not familiar with the Khoe culture. One of them said, *“I think teachers do try but even us we come from different ethnic groups so we tend to rely on what is in the books. The problem is that we have different cultures, the child knows this and you know that, but we do use the little knowledge we have about Khoe language to help them”*.

Furthermore, teachers were specifically asked whether the English syllabus was designed for linguistically and culturally diverse students. In response, they indicated that the syllabus was not designed for specific ethnic groups but for all the people of Botswana. They felt all Botswana students, irrespective of their ethnic groups, had different learning problems and, for that reason, it was difficult to conclude that students from a certain ethnic group had more problems than those from other ethnic groups. Asked whether the Botswana education system maximized the benefits of cultural diversity in education, the teachers responded that, *“the issue is that we may integrate the culture of different ethnic groups but when it comes to setting the examinations it does not matter whether you a Mokgalagadi or a Khoe, it is general. Sometimes we may use relevant examples to make the students understand but the examination questions ask general questions.”* But, they cautioned that sometimes the wording of the examination questions favoured some ethnic groups. They also felt that it seems that authors disregard the fact that their readers come from different cultures. They suggested that authors should put vernacular words in brackets synonymous to the ones that had been used.

Analysis of Textbooks

Invisibility

In the Standard 4 *English for Everyone* the Khoe culture is invisible. Illustrations and/or pictures consist of post box, public telephone, robots, parking metre, nurse, child playing ball, modern family and house, family eating on a round table, climbing trees, swimming, ploughing oxen, a picture of a town with tall buildings, streets, bank, hospitals, coffee shop and a birthday cake. There is also a picture of a mother doing shopping with a child in the trolley. Except for climbing trees, ploughing with oxen and eating as a family, none of these illustrations represents the cultural identity of the Khoe. The restaurant menu comprises a pie and chips, hamburger, steak and roll, sausage roll, egg and bacon, ice cream, chocolate, milk shake, tea and coffee and cold drinks. These types of food are foreign and not available to the Khoe students, at least in their cooked state. The students are used to eating ordinary meat and starch. Names were also checked and the results show that Setswana names are used. No Khoe names appear in the book. However, this is a partial omission only because some of the Khoe students have Setswana names. All modes of transport are represented in the book – which at least covers the Khoe culture.

Unreality

The exercises in the book are *unrealistic*. One exercise asks students to write a letter to a friend where they use all the words: party, thank you, present, new, beautiful, birthday, and joyful. Although to a certain extent these words represent some of the activities and behaviours of the Khoe, they are not realistic. The Khoe do not have formal parties which require students to write thank you letters, and to give new birthday presents wrapped in beautiful paper, as is the case in Western cultures. Another exercise asks the child to work with a partner, and to read the menu below: pizza, salad, toasted sandwich, hot dog, hamburger, chips, milkshake, fresh fruit juice, tea, cold drink. One question asks the student to tell his or her partner which food he or she likes and which food he or she does not like and to choose something to eat and drink. Another question asks the student to design and draw a menu of his or her own and an example shows Khumo putting sandwiches into his school bag and watching television after supper. These questions, in reality, do not depict the life of a Khoe child in a rural village. In essence, the book is mute on sensitive issues of discrimination and prejudice, to which the Khoe are subjected in general. In other words, it is unrealistic. In so far as *stereotyping* is concerned, the book does not portray any stereotypes or values or behaviours peculiar to the Khoe.

The Standard 5 *Heinemann English for Standard 5 Pupil's book* was also reviewed. Just like with the Standard 4 book, this book does not make the culture of the Khoe visible, except where it shows a village with domestic animals, and a picture of the 'borankana' (traditional dance) during Botswana Independence day. The rest of the pictures show: a street with robots, a factory polluting the environment, a tennis court and an invitation card. The exercises are also unrealistic, at least for the Khoe students, because they ask the students to interpret road signs correctly, write invitation cards, post cards and school notices. The closest to reality is where the students are asked to make items using recycled cans. Another example of unreality is represented by the fact that the students

are told to tell the story of Noah, which is a Christian story, but nothing is said about the religion of the Khoe.

The Standard 6 *Collegium English Pupils' Book* contains formal and informal conversations, dolls and dancers. All these do not specifically depict the culture of the Khoe. The Standard 7 book *Collegium English Pupils' Books* shows a picture of computer and the internet, a map of a town, and shampoo. All these are foreign to the Khoe. Most exercises cover conversations, punctuation, and comprehension. They also give examples of interjections such as *ouch, wow, well, oops, hooray, oh my goodness, now way, oh dear, good gracious, yippee, cheers*. These interjections are not found in the Khoe culture. However, some of the exercises give the students the opportunity to interact with their culture or real life situations. For example, students are asked to relate text to real life experiences. All in all, the Standard 6 and Standard 7 books do not make the Khoe culturally visible, nor do they truly manifest the reality of hardship and discrimination that the Khoe people are subjected to in their daily lives. On the positive side, the books do not include any stereotypes associated with the Khoe.

Learner Attitudes and motivation

Table 2 gives the percentage of students whose response to 8 statements about English was "disagree strongly", "disagree", "agree" or "agree strongly". A large majority of students agreed with all of the statements, and in some cases the percentages disagreeing are quite small, while strong agreement is common. Generally the Khoe students have a positive attitude towards English. 82% of them agree or agree strongly that it is a beautiful language, 89%, that it is necessary, and the figure rises to 91% in the context of higher education.

Table 2

Attitudes of Khoe students towards English

Item	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	%	%	%	%	n
My language is better than English	35	27	17	21	81
English is a beautiful language	4	14	30	52	80
Learning English is necessary	5	6	30	59	81
English is necessary for higher education	5	4	38	53	81
I should not learn English too early in life because that can make me forget my language	31	35	22	12	81
We need English to speak to foreigners from other parts of the world	5	19	24	52	81
English is the greatest language in the world	12	15	20	53	81

You are considered a very important person if you speak my language	23	31	37	9	81
English is important to get a job	11	2	40	47	81
English should be taught all over the world	10	5	38	47	81

In response to the interview question asking students whether it was important for them to learn English, all of them said yes. Most of them indicated that they needed English so that they could communicate with foreigners and so that they can get a job. They also claimed that they were committed to learning English because they read English books a lot and also ask for help. However, most of them indicated that they do not speak English at home because their parents and siblings do not know it. For example, one of them said, *"I use English only at school. I never use it at home"* and another said, *"I try to speak English at school. Nobody speaks English with me at home"*. It is also important to indicate that the Khoe students were motivated to learn English for instrumental reasons. 81% of them agreed that English is important for getting a job. However, they were not integratively motivated to learn it because they did not understand the English culture. Asked if they understood English culture, their responses were, *"I do not understand the English culture. I only understand my own culture"*, *"I just study English but I do not understand the English culture"*, *"No. I do not understand the English culture because I never meet the English people"* and *"No. I have never been exposed to the English culture"*.

Cultural bias and attitude

The study also sought to find out how strong the association is between cultural bias in learning materials and the attitudes and motivation of the Khoe students towards learning English. As already indicated, the students generally thought the teaching of English and the curriculum and materials were fine and were not biased against their culture. The interviews findings further showed that they had positive attitudes and motivation towards learning English. The students were asked whether it is important for them to learn English and one of them said, *"Yes, it is important to learn English. Because you learn English so that in future you can get a job"*. The second one said, *"Yes, it is important to learn English. Because when I learn English when the whites come I am able to speak with them"*. The third one said, *"Yes, it will help me to get a job"*. The students were further asked whether they were happy with learning English or whether they thought they did like it because it was biased against their culture. One said, *"I am happy with the way I am taught English. My teacher uses examples of, trees, cattle and clothes which I know. I have never seen a train"*. Another one said, *"Learning English is fine"*. So, in short, these results suggest that the students' attitude and motivation to learn English are not affected by perceived cultural bias.

Discussion

The principal finding is a lack of cultural diversity in English language books used in Primary school in Botswana from standard 4 to Standard 7. The findings also show that the students and teachers are not well equipped with knowledge of cultural diversity in relation to English instruction. On the other hand, the findings show that students are highly motivated to learn English, although the motivation is not integrative because the

learners do not understand the culture of English people. Surprisingly, these students' attitudes and motivation are not affected by the lack of cultural inclusiveness in the learning materials they have to use.

While the English language books reviewed in this study were not found to be culturally biased against the Khoe, they exclude their culture and perhaps other minority cultures too. This supports Ndura's (2004) conclusion that ESL textbooks under-represent minority societies. In other words, these books are not culturally diverse. English language books used in the Botswana primary schools do not address the culture of specific ethnic groups. For that reason, one cannot conclude that they discriminate against one culture and favour another. If necessary, one can argue that the pictures, illustrations and items used, to a certain extent, represent foreign culture and/or modern life in the context of Botswana. For example, the food items mentioned in the books are mainly found in towns and are not found in Khoe culture.

It is true that "No language-teaching . . . can truly claim universality or neutrality with respect to promoting specific cultural values, regardless of what its proponents might claim" (Sonaiya, 2002: 115). However, this does not suggest that instructional materials should not be made culturally diverse. For example, the primary school English language books in this study do not cater for the culture of the Khoe, either in their texts or in their pictures and/or illustrations. They do not even address, in any way, the reality of poor living conditions, ill-treatment and servitude to which the Khoe are exposed daily.

The study also wanted to find out if the teaching of English was biased against the culture of the Khoe or not. The results showed that although the teaching of English was not tailored to suit the culture of the Khoe, the teachers did their best to include the Khoe culture in their teaching. However, they were limited by the fact that their teacher training did not specifically train them to teach specific cultural groups. Therefore, they rely on the experience they get in the field.

Furthermore, most of them did not understand the Khoe language. For example one of them pointed out that they came from different ethnic backgrounds and relied on books to teach English to students from different ethnic groups. The lack of understanding of Khoe language coupled with lack of training on specific cultures does not accommodate the students' diverse ethnic backgrounds and experiences. The findings of this study also indicate that the students think their culture is included in the English instruction and that the books are fine. However, it is possible the students do not understand the subtleties of cultural bias in education and they may also not be aware of the importance of cultural inclusiveness or diversity in education.

Surprisingly, the students have positive attitude and motivation to learn the English language despite the fact that they are culturally excluded. This supports the findings from (Dalvit & De Klerk, 2005) that Xhosa-speaking ESL students are also motivated to learn English. The results show that the students are instrumentally motivated to learn the language but are not integratively motivated to do so. These findings might suggest that these students value their culture and would not trade it off for another one. On the other

hand, as they pointed out, the students do not understand the English culture, and therefore, for this reason, are not expected to identify with it. The instrumental motivation of the students to learn English is based on the fact that English can help the students get jobs when they finish school. One might even argue that the pictures and illustrations which show Western culture and/or modern life in urban settings play an important part in motivating the students to learn the language, hoping that if they pass they will get jobs and live such lives. What this study makes clear is that the Khoe are well aware of the value of English language education, and realise also that the reason they do not perform well is because their efforts are not adequately supported in the learning environment or in the home. Contrary to the stereotype that the Khoe lack academic aspirations, they themselves pointed out that they could perform better than students from other ethnic groups if they had an opportunity to study in an environment that was equally as supportive as theirs.

One of the implications of the findings of this study is that the teaching of English language and English language materials in Botswana primary schools should be made culturally diverse in order to address the lives and experiences of students from different ethnic backgrounds. According to Hirschfelder (1982) instructional materials affect students' development of knowledge. It also affects the way they perceive themselves and others. The books and materials should be reviewed to make them more relevant to the context of the Botswana's culturally diverse environment. They should be further examined to find out if they contain ethnic or cultural bias. Teachers should be trained at both pre-service and in-service to be aware of the cultural diversity in the Botswana education system, and to adapt their teaching to specific cultural situations. This is in line with Sonaiya's (2002: 115) suggestion that "it is crucial that language practitioners be aware of *cultural diversity* and that their decisions, in particular about which teaching methods to employ, are made on a consciously informed basis" (italics mine). Students themselves should be educated to become culturally sensitive so as to prepare them for the future and for dealing with people from different cultural backgrounds in this ever shrinking global world. Botswana is a multicultural society, and therefore multiculturalism should be infused in the Botswana education system particularly in teaching English. Grady (1977) points out that the notion of inclusive instruction should be taken to the next level.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will make Botswana educators and students aware of the cultural inequality and lack of inclusiveness that exists in the materials used to teach English, and help to promote greater acceptance of cultural diversity. Botswana is a rich multicultural country and this resource can be utilized for the benefit of the people of Botswana. According to Ndura (2004:150) "Even though some progress has been achieved towards making textbooks inclusive along gender, racial and ethnic lines, textbooks do not reflect the growing diversity of students' life experiences and perspectives." Ndura further recommends that students should be enlightened about textbook biases and how they affect learning, self-image and society. As Otlowski (2003) notes, textbooks are the most important mediators between the student's culture and that of the language he or she is learning. Therefore, it is important to make them, as well as English instruction, culturally diverse.

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