

The Native Speaker Ideal in Textbooks: A Study of Spoken Varieties in the *New Insights* Series for Finland-Swedish Upper Secondary Schools

Olivia Holmberg

Master's thesis in English language and literature
Supervisor: Brita Wårvik
Faculty of Arts, Psychology and Theology
Åbo Akademi University
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Author: Olivia Holmberg	
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Supervisor: Brita Wårvik	Supervisor:
<p>Abstract:</p> <p>English is a global language, which is mainly used as a contact language or lingua franca. The non-native speakers of English vastly outnumber the native speakers, which has implications for how English is taught at schools. Due to its global status, it can no longer be viewed as simply a foreign language connected to the United States and Britain. Yet, English education still often favours American and British speakers and materials.</p> <p>This thesis aims to analyse the audio recordings of the textbook series <i>New Insights</i> used in Finland-Swedish upper secondary schools in order to see which varieties are the most frequent in the material. In addition, attention will be devoted to discussing how teachers can use the audio materials to introduce and familiarize students with different varieties of English as well as evaluating how well the audio recordings match the themes, topics, and goals of the National Core Curriculum.</p> <p>The study is a qualitative content analysis where Kachru's Three Circle model is used to categorize the speakers in the recordings. The Three Circle model consists of the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles and it is a way to categorize speakers of English based on geographical and historical criteria. Inner Circle countries are traditional strongholds of English, such as the US and UK, Outer Circle countries are largely former British colonies, such as Nigeria and Singapore, while the Expanding Circle encompasses the rest of the world, with countries such as Japan and Finland.</p> <p>In the study it was found that Inner Circle speakers are the most dominant in the material. There are, however, some positive changes compared to previous studies as Outer and Expanding Circle speakers are recorded on their own reading through lengthier texts. The audio recordings in the materials are somewhat suitable for introducing students to different varieties of English, but teachers do need to reach outside the textbook, if they want to provide students with a larger number of varieties or use a more ELF-aware pedagogy. ELF-aware pedagogy is realized by including elements of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in the classroom by presenting and discussing different varieties of English. When it comes to the National Core Curriculum's description of modules the materials align well, although it can be questioned whether the core goals are achieved using only the textbooks.</p> <p>More studies are needed in order to get a better understanding of the general situation regarding English as a lingua franca in textbooks. Even though there is some positive development more is still needed in order to help prepare students adequately for life after and outside school.</p>	
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List of Abbreviations

EFL English as a Foreign Language

ELF English as a Lingua Franca

L1 First Language

NS Native Speaker

NNS Non-Native Speaker

1. INTRODUCTION

There is no question that English is the most commonly spoken language on the planet today. It has spread rapidly due to the roles of Great Britain and America in politics, economics, and entertainment. English is also a language greatly used on the Internet and social media, making it a language for communication between people with different first languages. Several studies have shown that currently English is mostly used between non-native speakers, as such speakers vastly outnumber the native speakers.

As English is used as a means of communication, some scholars have pointed out that what is going on in the English classroom should reflect this. For quite some time English has been taught around the globe as the language spoken by the British and Americans. This has also set certain standards for language learners whose ultimate goal has been to sound like a native speaker. However, English is no longer a language that simply belongs to a few nations or certain types of speakers, and therefore the native speaker ideal should not be the goal for all language learners. Today English actually functions more as a lingua franca and therefore, several scholars talk about English as a Lingua Franca or ELF.

Within ELF, the focus is on communication, as English is viewed as a contact language. One aspect of successful communication is being able to understand what the other speaker is saying even though they may speak a different variety of English. This is something which can be addressed in classrooms by introducing students to other varieties than just British or American English. Especially Finnish upper secondary school students are very likely to encounter and use English both outside of school and after their studies. Therefore, it is beneficial for students to be familiarized with different ways of speaking English as it will help them later on in life. In addition, scholars have on a global scale pointed out the mismatch of only incorporating tapes with British or American speakers in the classrooms, as the students may not have any real-life connections where they would actually use English with for example an American. Instead, students may use English in other contexts and with other kinds of speakers, who are then in some cases completely overlooked at school.

This study analyses the different varieties of English spoken in the audio recordings of the textbook series *New Insights* produced by Otava. The textbook series is meant for Finnish and Finland-Swedish upper secondary schools and the books have been published in the years 2021 to 2023. This study will give the reader a general idea of the

state of ELF in the audio materials in one textbook series, which is currently used in several Finnish upper secondary schools. The findings from this study will also be compared with previous international and Finnish studies in an attempt to trace any possible developments or changes that have taken place. This study will also compare the analysed material with the themes, topics, and goals of the National Core Curriculum when it comes to English as a Lingua Franca to see how well the audio material in the textbooks support the skills students are supposed to learn. In addition, some time will also be devoted to discussing if and how teachers can use the material provided in the textbooks to familiarize their students with the concept of ELF and different varieties of English.

2. THIS STUDY

2.1. Justification

English as a Lingua franca is a global phenomenon that cannot be overlooked in education. According to Dewey: “The growing significance of ELF is such that it is becoming increasingly untenable for language teachers not to consider its particular relevance for their own teaching contexts.” (2012: 143). Therefore, a study which gives an insight into how textbooks, which are a commonly used tool in Finnish classrooms, incorporate ELF in the material is called for. Such a study can give insight into the general ideas surrounding ELF and shed some light on how common or uncommon the phenomenon is in Finnish classrooms. Textbooks can also be seen as a link between the curriculum and the practice in classroom. This means that even though it may not be possible to study the practices taking place in every single upper secondary classroom in Finland, this study can bring forth new information on the possible presence of ELF and different varieties in the classrooms.

In addition, the Finnish National Core Curriculum for upper secondary schools was updated in 2019 and the implementation of it started in the fall of 2021. This means that new textbooks have been produced to meet the criteria of the new Curriculum. Therefore, there is room for a study on the new textbooks. The new Curriculum also features mentions of English as a global language and English as a Lingua Franca, which makes the study at hand more salient, as such mentions in the Curriculum indicate that English as a Lingua Franca and different varieties of English are concepts that in one way or another should be present in the teaching materials.

2.2 Limitations of the study

Even though this study is justified and needed, there are some limitations which are worth bringing up. This study only focuses on one specific textbook series and therefore no absolute conclusions can be drawn on the presence of ELF and different varieties in Finland-Swedish upper secondary schools. Additionally, this study cannot comment on how the materials of the textbooks are actually used in the classrooms, as such usage can

vary greatly from teacher to teacher. It should also be noted that this study focuses only on the audio recordings found in the textbooks, which means that exercises and other content which may be relevant to the state of ELF are overlooked. Therefore, the findings of this study should not be perceived as the ultimate truth on how ELF is presented and incorporated in classrooms, but rather as an indication of the situation and as a contribution to the discussion about the role of ELF in today's English education in Finland-Swedish upper secondary schools.

2.3. Hypothesis

The objective of this study is to analyse the different varieties of English found in the textbooks of the *New Insights* series in order to see how well they represent the true usage of English in today's global world. As the reality is that English is spoken across the globe in today's world and the current Finnish National Core Curriculum emphasises the importance of familiarizing students with the concept of English as a lingua franca, the basic assumption is that the textbooks should feature other varieties than just those found in Britain or the United States.

However, I hypothesise that even though some other varieties are very likely to come up in the materials, the most dominant varieties will be the American and British ones, as the native-speaker ideal still holds a strong sway over English teaching. The textbooks may function as a base for teachers to introduce students to the fact that there are different varieties of English, but it is doubtful whether the textbooks will help students fully realize the extent and implications which English as a lingua franca communication entails. Additionally, students most likely also live in a reality where they hear, read, and might even produce English almost daily, through both traditional media and social media. In conclusion, the hypothesis leans towards the textbooks not adequately preparing the students for the realities they will face in the world outside of the classroom, which means teachers may have to add in their own materials if they want to conduct an ELF-aware pedagogy.

3. ENGLISH IN TODAY'S GLOBAL WORLD

3.1. Short overview of the historical spread of English

The English language has, according to historians, first emerged in the British Isles and at first, it was only spread there (Crystal, 2003: 30). However, at the end of the 16th century, with the first settlements in Northern America, English started a new phase of spreading through British colonialism (Crystal, 2003: 31). According to Crystal (2003: 59), the status English has today can largely be traced back to two factors, which are the colonial expansion of the British Empire, which peaked at the end of the 19th century, as well as the emergence of the United States as a leading economic power in the 20th century.

As Crystal puts it, English has repeatedly been “in the right place at the right time” (Crystal, 2003: 120), which has ensured the language’s spread around the globe. Crystal (2003: 120) points out that English was the leading language of Britain during colonisation in the 17th and 18th centuries and then, later, in the 18th and 19th centuries it was also the language of the leading force of the industrial revolution, Britain. In the late 19th century, the language was once again in the forefront as it was spoken by the leading economic power, the United States of America and later on in the 20th century it was the leading language of new technological advancements such as broadcasting, motion pictures, transport, communications and the Internet (Crystal, 2003: 120).

At this point it should be noted that Crystal has received some criticism for his way of portraying the spread of the English language. One of the critics is Mario Saraceni (2015: 139), who points out the sort of misleading use of the phrase “in the right place at the right time”. According to Saraceni (2015: 139), this phrase removes the human agency and portrays the spread of English as something the language has done, even though a language cannot act on its own. It is people who are responsible for the actions that led to the spread of English, and these actions, Saraceni (2015: 139) argues, should not be overlooked.

3.2. From Global Language to English as a Lingua Franca

However, the spread of English alone does not yet account for the fact that English has gained a status as a global language in today's world. According to Crystal (2003: 4), a language must be taken up by countries where it is not a first language and given a special place in the communities in order to become a global language. This can happen either if a language is made the official language of a country and is used in for example government, law courts, and the media, or if a language is made a priority in foreign language teaching, even though it has no official status in the country (Crystal, 2003: 4). Some countries, which have adopted English as an official language are Ghana, Nigeria, and Singapore (Crystal, 2003: 4). Many such countries are old colonies of Britain, which explains the usage of English as an official language, while other countries, often in the same region, simply first adopted English as medium of international communication and later the language gained an official status (Crystal, 2003: 53).

When it comes to foreign language teaching, English is the most widely taught foreign language in the world (Crystal, 2003: 5, Guera et. al., 2022: 135) and it has displaced several other languages, as for example French in Algeria, which was a former French colony (Crystal, 2003: 5). Since English has spread to so many countries and into so many domains, it has become a global language. When a language becomes global, one effect is that no one owns that language anymore and that everyone who has learnt the language has a right to use it the way they want (Crystal, 2003: 2-3, Toker, 2012: 113).

So, due to the spread of English and the fact that it has been picked up by several countries and governments, it has become a global language. In addition, English is no longer strictly viewed as a foreign language, but increasingly as a lingua franca. English as a lingua franca is a concept widely used especially when discussing English teaching. However, the term ELF is far from straightforward and is something which needs to be defined before moving on to further discussions regarding the role of English in teaching today.

One way to define ELF is as a “means of communication between people who come from different first language backgrounds” (Jenkins, 2012: 486). The main point with ELF, according to several scholars, is that it is a contact language, which is used for communication especially when speakers do not share a common first language (Mauranen, 2017: 7, Jenkins, 2000: 11, Kopperoinen, 2011: 72). It should be noted that ELF is not the same as English as a First Language (also called L1) and that even if

someone has learnt English as their first language, they still need to learn ELF too (Jenkins, 2012: 487). This indicates that ELF is not a set language variety (Mauranen, 2017: 12, Jenkins, 2012: 490), but rather a means of communication. The most important part, which many ELF scholars point out, is that speakers of ELF need to be able to accommodate the way in which they interpret and produce speech, as successful communication and mutual intelligibility is the end goal in ELF (Jenkins, 2012: 487, Jenkins, 2000: 17, Galloway, 2015: 471, Kopperoinen, 2011: 72).

As the main theme of ELF is set upon communication, a discussion of different English accents and varieties is often not far away. Due to the communicative goals, researchers have started to question if the so called Native Speaker, or NS, norm, really is the best goal to set for students who learn English as a second or additional language (Jenkins, 2002: 84-85). Today's students may not be learning English to be able to communicate with native speakers, but have different purposes, such as learning English for intranational and international situations (McKay, 2003a: 7). Critical voices have also been raised, saying that second language speakers (also called L2) of English should be regarded as just English speakers (Ranta, 2010: 157) and that as such, they should have the right to speak English in a way where for example their first language may affect the pronunciation, without it being seen as a language error, as long as communication still is successful (Jenkins, 2002: 85).

These discussions mainly take their starting point in the fact that there are far more non-native speakers than native speakers of English in the world today (Jenkins, 2000: 1, Jenkins 2002: 83) and in the problems of the term *native speaker* (Andreou & Galantomos, 2009: 201-202). As stated earlier, English has become a global language, and it is the most widely taught foreign language in the world (Crystal, 2003: 5, Guera et al., 2022: 135). This has led to a situation, where someone who learns English is much more likely to use it with someone else who has also learnt it as a second or additional language, than with for example someone from Britain or the US (Jenkins, 2002: 83). Therefore, the needs of English learners have changed.

The term native speaker (NS) is difficult, and in fact, almost impossible to define. The main issue is the question of who a native speaker is. A simple answer may be someone who speaks English as first language, such as someone from Britain or the US. However, very few regard for example Singaporeans to be native speakers, even though many of them only speak English (Toker, 2012: 114) and therefore really should have an equal claim over the English language and not be viewed as somehow lesser non-

native speakers (NNS). Instead, the typical native speaker is portrayed as someone speaking British or American English, and sometimes Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders are also counted into this portrayal, as these countries are all viewed as traditional strongholds of English (Seidlhofer, 2017: 86). Even if one agrees that a person from one of these countries presents an example of a native speaker, the question of who it would be remains. Would it be a college professor or a bus driver and what style or register would they use are just a few of the complicating factors in picking out a native speaker as a representative for a standard version of English (Andreou & Galantomos, 2009: 202). For example, Halliday (2006: 350) points out that no standard language has a value in itself as it is always the society and the people who create value for the variety, therefore setting it apart from the rest.

It should also be noted that the usage of the term NNS as a contrast to NS is equally problematic. The term NNS suggests that the speaker is somehow lacking in her knowledge of the language, even though she may in fact use it daily and be very proficient (Jenkins, 2000: 9).

For the purposes of this thesis the terms NS and NNS will be used when discussing speakers from different backgrounds in order to show a distinction between them. However, it is noted that these terms are fluid and flawed, but as they are commonly used in studies when discussing different varieties presented in textbooks, they will also be used in this one. The term NS will here denote those speakers who are seen to be linked to the traditional strongholds of English mentioned before, whereas the term NNS will apply to the rest of the speakers. This means that the connection here is based on geography rather than the speaker's actual proficiency in English. Next the attention will be turned to Kachru's Three Circle Model, which is also largely based on geography and the problems of this approach will also be discussed. After that, the focus will shift to how the idea of ELF and the problems related to the native speaker fit into the classroom.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Kachru's Three Circle Model

The theoretical starting point for this study is in the Three Circle Model proposed by Kachru (1985). According to Kachru (1985), the spread of English can be modelled using three Circles, which he has named Inner, Outer and Expanding. These circles are based on the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used (Kachru, 1985: 12).

The Inner Circle consists of countries in which English traditionally has been seen as the first language. Such countries are for example USA, UK, Australia, and Canada (Kachru, 1985: 12). The Outer Circle consists of countries where English has spread quite early, due to colonialization, and where English has an important institutional function (Kachru, 1985: 12). Examples of countries belonging to the Outer Circle are Nigeria and Singapore (Kachru, 1985: 12). The Expanding Circle consists of countries where English is viewed as an international language and where the entry of English has not necessarily come to pass through colonialisation (Kachru, 1985: 13). Countries in the Expanding Circle for example include Japan, Greece, Indonesia, Korea, and Taiwan (Kachru, 1985: 13). It should, however, be noted that this is just a model and that Kachru, for example points out that there are grey areas between the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1985: 17). Kachru also emphasises that native speakers have lost control over the standardization, or at least the right to such control, due to the spread of English (Kachru, 1985: 30).

Kachru's Three Circle Model is a useful tool in trying to categorize English without placing each distinctive variety in its own category. However, the model has faced a fair share of criticism, which will be discussed next. Two critics of Kachru's Three Circle model are Jennifer Jenkins and Paul Bruthiaux.

The main criticism from both scholars takes as its starting point the fact that the model is based on geographical, political, and historical views and therefore it does not match reality (Jenkins, 2003: 17, Bruthiaux, 2003: 159). Both Bruthiaux (2003: 163-164) and Jenkins (2003: 18) also point out that the model places the native speaker in the centre and therefore seems to idealize that norm, even though it was originally designed by Kachru to counteract that phenomenon. In addition, there are problems within the circles,

as the model for example presents the Inner Circle varieties as monolithic and standardized, as it does not take into account the different social and geographical varieties spoken in different Inner Circle countries (Bruthiaux, 2003: 161-162).

The fact that several countries are lumped together in the same circle also suggests that the situation of how and where English is used is similar in all those countries, which, of course, is not the case (Jenkins, 2003: 17). English usage in for example Finland and Japan are two completely different things, even though both countries are part of the Expanding Circle. The model also fails to take into consideration multilingual speakers and the fact that their actual L1 might be difficult to pinpoint (Jenkins, 2003: 17). Another important aspect, which the model ignores is the proficiency and communicative competence of speakers (Bruthiaux, 2003: 169, Jenkins, 2003: 17). Even though English would be someone's second or third language, it does not mean that their competence is any less than an L1 speaker's competence (Jenkins, 2003: 17).

In addition to the criticism presented above, it should also be noted that the model is from 1985, which means it is almost 40 years old. Therefore, it does not take into account the linguistic changes of the past decades, which have taken place due to technological advancements.

But even though the model has some shortcomings, it is useful for the study at hand, as long as one keeps in mind that it is a model and that it is not meant to completely describe the world, but rather provide a framework, which one can use to understand the spread and perhaps usage of English. Bruthiaux for example points out that "it offers a useful shorthand for classifying contexts of English world-wide" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 172). Therefore, Kachru's Three Circle Model will be used to categorise the different spoken English varieties present in the textbooks in this study.

As all of the previous Finnish and international studies have also used Kachru's Three Circle Model as a theoretical framework, the findings of this study will be compared and contrasted with those, to see if there are any similarities or differences.

At this point, someone who is involved in teaching English may be wondering how the idea of ELF and the problems related to the native speaker fit into the classroom, and that is what will be discussed next.

4.2. Textbook analysis

Textbooks are important tools for the promotion of the curriculum, and they can have a huge impact on classroom practice (O’Keeffe, 2013: 1). Because of this, textbooks are a salient source to investigate in order to gain an understanding of how the intended curriculum is realised in the classroom. Of course, the role of the textbook varies from classroom to classroom and is largely dependent on the teacher’s choices (O’Keeffe, 2013: 2). However, studying textbooks gives us a general idea of how the teaching of a subject is structured. In addition, a lot of language teaching is done through teaching materials, both by departing from them and working with them (Siquiera, 2015: 241). In the context of English in Finnish upper secondary schools studying textbooks can show us for example what the situation of teaching ELF might look like in the classroom and which tools the teacher is given to conduct such teaching.

From a student’s point of view, textbooks are important tools that assist in learning and through them students get in touch with the curriculum (O’Keeffe, 2013: 2). The textbook functions as a link between the intended curriculum, or the intentions, aims and goals, and the implemented curriculum, which are the strategies, practices and activities used in the classroom (O’Keeffe: 2013: 3). In this sense, the textbook becomes a part of the potentially implemented curriculum (O’Keeffe, 2013: 3) and therefore it may largely impact how for example language teaching and learning is structured in the English classroom. The textbooks in English also function as linguistic models for the students. Due to the importance and impact of textbooks, they are an item that can and should be studied, as they offer valuable insight into how the curriculum may be realised in the classroom and what students actually are supposed to learn when it comes to English.

5. ENGLISH IN EDUCATION AND ENGLISH IN FINLAND

5.1. English in the classroom: Questioning the native speaker ideal

In the traditional English as a foreign language, or EFL, classroom, the native speaker still has a strong position (Jenkins, 2002: 84, Jenkins, 2012: 487). Typically, students are offered British or American English models, even though these speakers are completely absent from the learning context (Jenkins, 2012: 487). In many instances NS are seen as the ultimate keepers of the language and as the best models (Jenkins, 2006: 43, Seidlhofer, 2017: 93). However, as previously mentioned, L2 speakers of English outnumber the L1 speakers (Jenkins, 2000: 1) and therefore one can ask why learners should be presented with NS pronunciation goals and standards, when they are more likely to actually use English with someone who has learnt it as a second or additional language (Jenkins, 2002: 83). This means that students may have far greater use for learning, or at least becoming aware of, ELF, instead of just NS norms. At this point it should be noted that in some instances a NS pronunciation may in fact be a hinder in NNS communication (Jenkins, 2002: 84). For example, when learners are encouraged to adopt NS features of pronunciation such as elisions, contractions, assimilation, and weak forms, these may hinder their communication with other NNS, as the features are a part of NS English, not NNS English (Jenkins, 2002: 84). These features have made their way into teaching settings through corpora in which they have been recorded as descriptions of NS English and therefore promoted to learners as good models (Jenkins, 2002: 84). This shows that pedagogical proposals cannot solely be based on descriptions about NS speech (Jenkins, 2002: 84).

Changing how English is taught in the classroom and steering away from NS norms seems quite reasonable when looking at the realities students will face outside of school. However, there are some challenges with this concept. The main problem is that ELF is not a codified variety (Jenkins, 2006: 48), as it is a fluid means of communication and as such it mainly functions in spoken contexts. In a language classroom, however, students are expected to learn all areas of a language, not just speaking. Teaching a variety that has no set rules is challenging, as educators often rely on different tests to measure students' knowledge and progress (Newbold, 2019: 211). Therefore, making a drastic change from teaching EFL, where the NS is in a central role to teaching ELF, where there

is no codified variety, is not a viable option, at least right now. This has led to scholars talking of integrating ELF within the existing EFL framework instead (Siquiera et.al, 2019: 134), in order to enrich the curriculum and provide students with a larger base of knowledge of different varieties of Englishes that are used around the globe. This could be called an ELF-informed perspective.

Incorporating an ELF-informed perspective in the classroom opens possibilities for discussions about language and how students use the language, about students' opinions and reactions to different speakers, introducing students to different cultures and it also allows the teacher to familiarize students with different varieties of English (Kordia, 2019: 58). This does not mean that for example grammar and spelling are completely ignored, but instead the discussions revolving around ELF function as an enrichment to the classroom (Kordia, 2019: 56). Presenting students with different varieties of English may boost their motivation as learners and also help them feel more comfortable speaking English with their own accents (Galloway, 2015: 476). Removing the NS as the ultimate goal may relax the feeling in the language classroom, thus enabling the students to focus more on intelligible communication, instead of getting everything they say grammatically correct (Ranta, 2010: 165). As English is used for various functions around the globe, such as a home language, as a medium for education, in trade and media, speakers need to be able to perform several different speech acts, such as persuading, apologizing and negotiating (Kachru, 2006/2020: 349). This means that only focusing on vocabulary, grammar and correctness will not be enough and neither is being familiar with just one variety of English, as learners may need to adjust to different situations and different interlocutors in their lives.

However, it should also be noted that not all students may need or want to be able to use English in all the ways listed earlier, while other students may need an even broader linguistic repertoire and therefore, it is unfortunately not possible for schools to take into account every single student's future needs for the English language. But a majority of students will most likely need English in some communicative contexts throughout their life, and therefore, introducing more ELF content may help all students, regardless of their future needs, to navigate those situations.

5.2. English in Finland

According to Kachru's Three Circle Model, Finland is part of the Expanding Circle. However, to state that English purely has the function of a foreign language in Finland today would be oversimplifying the situation.

In the past, English was traditionally seen as just a foreign language (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007: 334, Leppänen et.al., 2009: 15) and it was learnt and used mainly to communicate with people from other countries (Leppänen et.al., 2009: 15). In the 1960's the spread of English in Finland experienced a boost, as Finland started to associate more with the western and Anglo-American world (Leppänen & Nikula: 2007: 339). This meant an influx in the cultural, political, and economic influence from both USA and the UK (Peterson & Beers Fägersten, 2023: 6), which made English an even more important language. In addition to this, the introduction of the comprehensive school system in the 1970's led to an increased number of English learners as entire age groups began learning English at the age of 9 (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2008: 31).

Today the presence of English can be noted almost everywhere. TV shows and movies from English speaking countries are never dubbed, but instead subtitled, several English songs play on the radio, not to mention the growth of the internet and especially social media (Leppänen, 2007: 150, Leppänen & Nikula, 2007: 339, Beers Fägersten, 2023: 68-69). English has integrated into the Finnish society very much through a bottom-up movement, especially through culture and social media (Peterson & Beers Fägersten, 2023: 17). The English language does also show up in the media, as some media use English-based loanwords and some large companies have also chosen English as their official language for business (Ranta, 2004: 33), meaning that English can now be found across a variety of domains in Finland (Peterson & Beers Fägersten, 2023: 17).

According to a study conducted by Leppänen et.al in 2009 (22, 48), almost 80 per cent of the 1495 respondents between the age of 15 and 79 stated that they see or hear English in their daily surroundings. Perhaps not very surprisingly, young people tend to use English more frequently than older people when at home, hanging out with friends, participating in hobbies, or travelling (Leppänen et.al., 2009: 42). In their study Leppänen et.al. (2009: 74) also found that most of the respondents like British and American English best, while Indian and Finnish English were least liked. The popularity of British English can probably be traced back to the fact that it was traditionally the variety taught in schools, while American English has spread due to popular culture (Leppänen et.al, 2009:

74). These results show that Finns view a good English speaker as someone who is native-like and that even though Finns are willing to use English, they may not be happy with their own production (Leppänen et.al., 2009: 74-75, 115). This shows that at least in 2009 there was still a strong native-speaker ideal present among Finns.

At this point it could be noted that Finland is an officially bilingual country and has been that since 1919 (Peterson & Beers Fägersten, 2023: 5). The official languages are Finnish and Swedish, with Finnish being the majority language as only approximately 5 per cent of the population has Swedish as their L1 (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2022a). Since Finnish and Swedish are vastly different languages, with bases in different language families (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2008: 28), English is sometimes used as a means of intercultural communication between speakers whose L1 is Swedish or Finnish (Leppänen, 2007: 149). In 2020 some Swedish speakers responded to a survey, which showed that a majority felt that the role of English as a service language has grown and some even felt that English speakers receive better service than Swedish speakers (Lindell, 2021: 111-112).

The role of English in Finland is still developing and may change in the future. For now, it is safe to say that English is visible in many different areas of Finnish life and that it even functions as a contact language between Finnish citizens, who speak one of the two official languages.

5.3. Teaching English in Finland

As mentioned in the previous section, English teaching in Finland kicked into high gear in the 1970's with the introduction of the comprehensive school system. However, even before the 1970's English was taught in schools. In the National Core Curriculum from 1944, the focus of English language learning is correct pronunciation and knowledge of national characteristics (Ranta, 2004: 35). This indicates that there was a heavy reliance on the NS ideal. From the 1960's through the 1980's the curricula mainly promoted British English (Ranta, 2004: 36), which takes the NS ideal even further. The curricula from the 1990's and early 2000's do not mention a specific variety, but even there a section can be found about students being able to communicate in ways that "are typical of the target language and its culture" (Ranta, 2004: 36). In addition to this, the evaluation criteria show that the goal is to reach native speaker fluency (Ranta, 2004: 36). From the

1970's onward American English was also introduced to students at all levels and even the first mentions of other native varieties, such as for example Australian English, surfaced for upper secondary schools (Ranta, 2004: 36).

All of this indicates a history of heavy reliance on the native speaker ideal in the old Finnish curricula. Before turning to the current National Core Curriculum, to see what it says about English education in Finland today, the attention will briefly be turned to how many students currently choose to study English in upper secondary school and what students in 2014 knew about the concept of ELF and different English varieties.

A vast majority, 99,8 per cent, of Finnish upper secondary students studied English in 2022 (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2023b). It should be noted that studying English at upper secondary school is not obligatory (Opetushallitus, 2024). However, as English is the most popular choice for a foreign language all the way from primary school, as for example 89 per cent of 3rd graders and 96,9 per cent of 9th graders in Finland studied English in the academic year 2022/2023 (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2023c), it makes sense that such a vast majority of upper secondary school students continue with their English studies. In comparison, only 12,9 per cent of upper secondary school students studied Spanish in 2022, which is the second most popular foreign language, and in third place in 2022 came German with 12,6 per cent of students studying it (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2023b).

So, English is a very popular subject in Finnish upper secondary schools today. But what can be said about upper secondary student's knowledge of English as a lingua franca? According to Emmi Jokilehto's study from 2014, 97 per cent of the students interviewed did not know what the term English as a lingua franca meant and less than half of the students, 44,5 per cent, were able to name one or two varieties of English that were not American or British English (Jokilehto, 2014: 56-57). The most frequently mentioned varieties were Australian English, Irish English, and Scottish English, and, in total, 16 different varieties were named, including for example Dutch English (Jokilehto, 2014: 57-58). Jokilehto (2014: 58) points out that her findings about the students' knowledge about English as a lingua franca is contradictory to previous studies, but that it may be because the term itself is unfamiliar and different terminology has been used when discussing the phenomena in the classroom. It should be noted that Jokilehto's study was conducted under a previous National Core Curriculum, which has been updated quite a few times since then, and in the current one, the term English as a lingua franca is explicitly mentioned, which may suggest that student's knowledge of the term has

increased. Next, the attention will be turned to what precisely the current National Core Curriculum says about English studies in upper secondary schools today.

5.4. The Current National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools (and English as a Lingua Franca)

The current National Core Curriculum, from here on called Curriculum, was implemented in the fall of 2021 for first year upper secondary school students. The Curriculum is a national regulation issued by the Finnish National Agency for Education and provides a base for providers of upper secondary education to make decisions regarding the local curriculum (Opetushallitus, n.d.). The Curriculum is intended to promote equality and equity in education in Finland (Opetushallitus, n.d.), as it sets up the same goals and stipulations for all upper secondary schools and students. However, local curricula are also needed, as the everyday reality of a school with 50 students in a more remote part of the country is very different from a school with 400 students in the centre of Helsinki. The general goal of upper secondary education, which is laid out in the Curriculum, is to give students a broad general education and to foster values, knowledge, skills, attitudes, and a will for students to become critically and independently thinking human beings (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 15).

The Curriculum offers descriptions of each module of each subject that students can study in upper secondary school. In addition to descriptions, the Curriculum also features goals and central content for each module. A module could be seen as a larger study unit with a specific theme. It is worth noting that the Curriculum in a sense is quite vague and for English there is for example no mention of when students should learn specific vocabulary or grammatical features, as such details are decided on in the local curricula. Regarding languages the Curriculum also features a framework of reference, which is based on the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001), to provide teachers and students with a common baseline in assessment. In addition, the Curriculum specifies how many credits each module is worth, as students need a total of 150 credits in order to graduate. For example, in English module 1 is worth 1 credit, while module 2 is worth 3 credits and the rest are worth 2 credits each (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 17, 185-189). Since the first module is worth only 1 credit,

many upper secondary schools have chosen to combine modules 1 and 2, as the material for the first module is not enough to cover a standard 8 week period.

The Curriculum for English consists of six mandatory modules, which will briefly be presented next. The first module is called “Study skills and language identity”, and as the name suggests, it focuses on introducing students to language studies in upper secondary school and lifelong learning (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 185).

The second module is called “English as a global language” and the focus is to review how English as a lingua franca has evolved in global contexts and communicative situations, in which English may not be anyone’s first language. Some of the goals for the module are to learn skills for constructive communication and to deepen one’s knowledge about the position of the English language, regarding the cultural and linguistic diversity. The Curriculum points out English as a mother tongue, second language, official language, global language, international contexts in everyday life, speakers of different backgrounds, and different varieties of English and comparisons with other languages as central contents of the module. (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 186).

The third module is called “The English language and culture as a creative mode of expressions” and the focus is to deepen students’ cultural understanding as well as to present linguistic and cultural diversity. A goal of the module is for students to be able to produce versatile texts about cultural themes and phenomena that are important to them, and perhaps not surprisingly, a part of the central content of the module is creative activity (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 186-187).

The fourth module is called “English as a tool of influence” and the focus is on developing thinking and study skills, as students are supposed to practice critically reading sources and finding information, as well as applying this to producing information themselves. Some goals of the module are for students to familiarize themselves with current topics in the media and their background as well as using different sources. The central contents of the module consist of for example human rights, equality, and freedom of speech (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 187)

The fifth module heavily builds on the fourth and is called “Sustainable future and science”. The focus of the module is to deepen the students’ skills in seeking information, checking the credibility of a source as well as to strengthen their skills in understanding and producing texts. Some of the goals are to learn to use suitable learning strategies and to practice summarizing. Some parts of the central content are fields of knowledge and science that are interesting to the student, innovations that create a

sustainable future, and English as a language for science. (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 187-188)

The sixth, and last compulsory module, is called “English in further studies and working life”. The focus of this module is on deepening students’ perception of language skills as a part of skills for work life, and discussions and plans regarding future studies and career. Some central contents of the module are planning future studies and career, national or international organizations as employers, and how young adults manage everyday life and personal economy. (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 188)

For the purposes of this study, module two is perhaps the most interesting, as the entire topic revolves around English as a global language and therefore, an assumption could be made that at least some different varieties of English would be present in the textbook for that module. As the Curriculum is quite vague there is, however, also room for different varieties in all of the other textbooks.

5.5. Matriculation Exam

In order to graduate from upper secondary school, students take the Matriculation Exam. The exam consists of at least five different subjects, which students choose themselves. The only compulsory subject is mother tongue and literature, which is taken in Finnish, Swedish or Sami. As noted earlier, English is studied by almost all upper secondary school students and therefore a majority also chooses English as one of the subjects in the Matriculation Exam.

The English Exam tests listening and reading comprehension, written production as well as students’ knowledge of vocabulary and linguistic structures (Ylioppilaslautakunta, 2024). The tasks in the exam can vary quite a bit and some tasks may test students on several areas of their linguistic knowledge (Ylioppilaslautakunta, 2024). The tasks can contain texts, images, maps, videos, or recordings and some possible task types are multiple-choice questions, cloze tests, and free production (Ylioppilaslautakunta, 2024). In an article in Helsingin Sanomat upper secondary school teacher Eija Venäläinen states that a new type of task which has surfaced in the exams, is checking students’ knowledge of synonyms, as they are supposed to choose a synonym for an underlined word in a sentence (Niemi, 2023).

In the same article Katja Mäntynen, who is a University Lecturer, states that 50 per cent of the tasks in the Matriculation Exam for English are on the upper secondary school target level, while 25 per cent are above that level and 25 per cent are below (Niemi, 2023). This is done as several students have such a good knowledge of English, that it surpasses the target level for upper secondary school (Niemi, 2023). However, if a student is below or on the target level, taking a test which is designed with more advanced learners in mind, might feel quite daunting. At this point it is also worth noting that the Matriculation Exam is a high-stakes exam, as approximately half of applicants to universities and universities of applied science are admitted based on their Matriculation Exam results (Opetushallitus, 2023). Therefore, one of the tasks of teachers in upper secondary schools is to prepare students for the exam, and this may mean that focus on other skills, such as English as a lingua franca or communication, may be lacking.

6. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON DIFFERENT VARIETIES FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

As textbooks are an integral part of language learning and teaching (Selvi and Yazan, 2013: 17, Galloway, 2015: 468), their impact on how English is presented in the classroom is substantial. Therefore, the attention will now be turned to previous studies conducted on textbooks. First some international studies will be presented before moving on to studies conducted in Finland.

6.1. Previous international studies

Over the years, several studies of English teaching materials have been conducted and many of them have focused on the presentation of English accents and ELF in the materials. In this section a select few international studies will be presented, to give an overview of the field. A varying selection has been chosen, focusing on different geographical regions, age groups, and materials produced for either local or international contexts.

Takashi published a study on textbooks for 7th and 10th graders in Japan in 2011. In total 16 textbooks and 11 CDs were analysed for the study (Takashi, 2011: 92). Takashi (2011: 100-101, 110-111) found that even though the textbooks presented different characters, such as characters from the Inner Circle, Japan and other Outer and Expanding Circle countries, the audio recordings were all read in a General American variety. Takashi (2011: 112-113) noted that all the recordings had been conducted in a studio in the U.S. and quite notably, he stated that not even characters from different Inner Circle countries were represented by their variety, for example, a Scottish character did not have a Scottish accent at all.

In 2015, Siquiera published a study on three textbooks for international purposes. The study was originally conducted in 2011 (Siquiera, 2015: 249). The first textbook contained 84 oral elements, the second textbook 100 oral elements and the third one 31 oral elements, which Siquiera (2015: 249) divided into Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle categories. Siquiera (2015: 249) found that in the first book, 94 per cent of the oral elements were from the Inner Circle, 6 per cent from the Outer Circle and none from the Expanding Circle. For the second book Siquiera's (2015: 249) findings were that 89 per

cent of the oral elements were from the Inner Circle, 10 per cent from the Expanding Circle and 1 per cent from the Outer Circle. In the third textbook all of the oral elements were from the Inner Circle, and they were all spoken in American English (Siquiera, 2015: 249).

Siquiera, Vasconcelos, and Matos (2019: 134) conducted a study on three textbooks for high school students in Brazil in 2019. Brazil itself is a country in the Expanding Circle and according to Siquiera et. al. (2019: 138-139), English is not used much outside of the classroom and it is viewed as low prestige language, along with other foreign languages. The study focused on how the materials are linguistically, methodologically, and ideologically oriented in the textbooks and whether they include references to ELF (Siquiera et.al. 2019: 140). The findings of the study were that American English was the default in all three textbooks and there were no references to ELF (Siquiera et.al., 2019: 141). Siquiera et.al. (2019: 141-142) even note that in one of the textbooks where speakers are supposed to come from Brazil, Egypt, or Chile, they speak American English. However, the researchers do note that there are some activities in the materials that teachers can use to foster ELF-awareness even though the textbooks themselves are not ELF-aware (Siquiera et.al., 2019: 151).

Guerra, Cavalheiro, Pereira, Kurt, Oztekin, Candan, and Bayyurt (2020: 139) studied and compared coursebooks used in Portugal and Turkey in 2020. They selected one locally and one internationally published textbook that were used in each country, in total 4 textbooks (Guerra et.al., 2020: 139). In Portugal, textbooks for year 10 were analysed and in Turkey textbooks for year 9 (Guerra et.al., 2020: 139). Guerra et.al. (2020: 140) analysed how many instances of American English, British English and other varieties or accents were presented through spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. In addition, they also looked at cultural elements (Guerra et.al., 2020: 143). The cultural elements will not be summarised here, as the focus of this study is linguistic. The locally published textbooks for both Portugal and Turkey included several instances of British and American English, whereas other varieties and accents were only used 6 times (Guerra et.al., 2020: 140). Two of these instances were found in the Portuguese textbook and they were both examples of Indian vocabulary (Guerra et.al., 2020: 140). The four instances found in the Turkish textbook were examples of Japanese English (Guerra et.al., 2020: 140). The researchers found a similar pattern in the two textbooks produced for international purposes. A clear majority of the instances analysed consisted of British or American English while other varieties and accents were only used

12 times (Guerra et.al., 2020: 141). These instances included for example South African English, Indian English and South Korean English in the Portuguese book and Scottish, Australian, and Canadian English for the Turkish book (Guerra et.al., 2020: 141). The researchers also point out that their study only focused on textbooks and did not take into account how teachers actually use the materials and what complementing materials, such as songs, movies, newspapers et cetera the teachers may use in the classroom (Guerra et.al., 2020: 148-149).

All the studies summarised show that there is a strong preference for Inner Circle, and specifically British and American varieties in textbooks produced and used around the globe. According to Kirkpatrick (2006: 72), this may be due to the fact that NS models are codified and therefore the correct answer can be found in a grammar or dictionary, which means there are norms students can be tested against and thus NS models are an easy and safe option to use. For publishers and international English teaching institutions there is also a strong commercial reason for favouring a NS norm, because if a textbook is printed using a NS norm, it can be distributed around the globe (Kirkpatrick, 2006: 71). As was noted in the study conducted by Takashi (2011), all of the audio recordings had been recorded in a studio in the U.S. This was probably done to keep the production cost effective and even though none of the other studies mention how the audio materials were gathered, it is likely that they are studio recordings. So, even though as discussed in section 3, several scholars point out the disadvantages of only presenting students with examples of British and American varieties, this seems to still very much be what is happening in classrooms all over the globe, at least if teachers only stick to the textbooks.

6.2. Previous Finnish studies

Few studies have been conducted in Finland on the topic of English accents in teaching materials for students in primary or secondary education. In this section one such study conducted by Anne Kopperoinen will be presented. Attention will also be given to Elina Ranta's study on upper secondary school students' and teacher's views on English and how English teaching supports the skills students need outside of school.

The study conducted by Anne Kopperoinen in 2011 focused on the first five courses of two textbook series, *Culture Café* by Otava and *In Touch* by WSOY, used in

Finnish upper secondary schools. Kopperoinen (2011: 76-77) analysed all recorded texts and listening exercises in the materials and classified them according to specific descriptions of accents based on different source materials such as Trudgill and Hannah's *International English* (2002) and *Learner English* edited by Swan and Smith (2001). These instances were then further categorized as Inner, Outer, or Expanding Circle (Kopperoinen, 2011: 80).

The total recorded data was over eight hours for each of the textbook series (Kopperoinen, 2011: 80). Kopperoinen (2011: 81) found that in the *Culture Café* series 14 minutes of the speech was in an English accent placed in the Outer or Expanding Circle, while the same number was 3 minutes for the *In Touch* series. The same Outer Circle accents that occurred in both series were African, Indian, and Jamaican (Kopperoinen, 2011: 82). In the *Culture Café* series Expanding Circle accents such as Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, and Spanish were also found, although more than half of the Expanding Circle accents consisted of the Finnish accent (Kopperoinen, 2011: 82). These accents stood for a total of 10 minutes and 6 seconds of the recorded material for the *Culture Café* series (Kopperoinen, 2011: 82). In the *In Touch* series Expanding Circle accents consisted of Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, and Spanish (Kopperoinen, 2011: 82). In addition, Kopperoinen (2011: 82) noted that the Outer and Expanding Circle extracts tended to be very short, approximately only 5-20 seconds.

From the results it is clear that Inner Circle accents are very dominant in Finnish textbooks. Kopperoinen (2011: 88) also notes that the accents presented are quite Eurocentric, even though Finns in real life do travel much further than that. One aspect which may explain the heavy reliance on Inner Circle accents is the fact that the recording for both series was conducted in a studio in London, to which both publishing companies had sent a tape script in advance with definitions of which speakers and accents they wanted for each text (Kopperoinen 2011: 78). Another explanation Kopperoinen (2011: 89) presents can be found in the outline of the Finnish matriculation exam, as the exam has traditionally only included native speakers and there is only one instance where a NNS has been included in the exam. In addition to this, textbook production has its limitations, as only a certain amount of time and effort can be put into them, which usually results in using studios and actors for the recordings (Kopperoinen, 2011: 91).

Elina Ranta (2010) studied 108 students' and 34 English teachers' opinions and attitudes on teaching targets and practical goals in Finnish upper secondary schools. The study was conducted using two questionnaires with both quantitative and qualitative

questions (Ranta, 2010: 156). Some noteworthy points that came up in the students' answers were that 62 per cent responded that instances in which they had need to use English in order to communicate with a foreigner either in Finland or abroad had been ELF situations, over half thought that they would need English more with other NNS in the future, and 89 per cent thought getting the message across was more important than using correct grammar (Ranta, 2010: 161-162, 165). In addition, 67 per cent of the students thought that English teaching in school focused more on grammatical correctness than communication skills and 60 per cent of the students did not think teaching provided information on any other varieties than BrE and AmE (Ranta, 2010: 165-166).

However, a majority of the students, 79 per cent, did think that the English education in Finland provided them with good abilities to use the language outside of school (Ranta, 2010: 166). This satisfaction with the Finnish education was also evident as they appreciated being taught normative grammar, composition, reading, and listening comprehension, as they knew that was what they were going to be tested on in the matriculation exam (Ranta, 2010: 167). Here, one could perhaps argue that the role of Finnish upper secondary school is perhaps not only to prepare students for the matriculation exam, but for life after school. Ranta (2010: 167) notes that introducing ELF to the classroom might help those students who felt anxious using English in the classroom due to fear of making a mistake as, according to the survey, approximately one third of the students did not always answer questions in class due to the fear of making a grammatical error.

Some relevant answers from the teachers' survey were that 52 per cent stressed English's role as a lingua franca and/or encouraged students to use English without worrying about grammatical correctness and that 76 per cent indicated that other native varieties came up in class occasionally, while 53 per cent stated that non-native varieties seldom came up in class (Ranta, 2010: 169, 171). In addition, almost all teachers, 94 per cent, agreed with the statement "In upper secondary school teaching, the goals set by the Matriculation Examination Board strongly direct the goals the teacher set for their students." (Ranta, 2010: 173). Ranta (2010: 174) also notes that teachers and students both seem to have a division between "school English" and "real world English", which may be due to the expectations both hold of the matriculation exam. The answers presented here seem to indicate that students and teachers would be ready for a more ELF aware approach and Ranta (2010: 175) concludes that an ELF approach would suite many of the students' needs and attitudes. However, as Ranta (2010: 176) notes, teachers cannot

change the divide between “school English” and “real world English” on their own, as testing must first change drastically.

Both of the studies presented show that there is a greater need for an ELF aware perspective in Finnish upper secondary schools. It should be noted that both studies were conducted under a previous National Core Curriculum, which means that there have been some major changes on that front. This also indicates the need for a new study, to see if and how factors around ELF have evolved in Finnish textbooks.

7. METHODS AND MATERIALS

7.1. Research questions

Considering the aim of this study and the theoretical framework, the following research questions were chosen:

1. Which varieties of English can be found in the textbooks, and what is the distribution of the different varieties?
2. How are the themes, topics, and goals of the curriculum, with regards to the role of English as a global lingua franca, present in the textbooks?
3. What opportunities and resources to introduce and familiarize students with different varieties of English do the materials provide a teacher with?

7.2. Materials

The material in focus for this study is the *New Insights* textbook series published by the Finnish publishing company Otava. The textbooks have been produced for the new National Core Curriculum, which has been implemented in Finnish upper secondary schools since the fall of 2021. The textbooks in the *New Insights* series have originally been published in Finnish, but I chose to use the Swedish versions, which have been translated by Elisabeth Ekstrand, as I had access to those versions through my pedagogical studies. The contents in the Finnish and Swedish textbooks are the same, and the only difference is that the vocabulary lists and some instructions are in Swedish in the textbooks I have looked at. However, that does not impact my study, as my primary focus is on the audio files and the learning objectives, which are both always in English.

For this analysis the e-versions of the textbooks were used, as most upper secondary schools in Finland today purchase the e-licenses for their students. The purchase of e-licenses has become more popular since 2021, when upper secondary

education became compulsory and free of charge for everyone (Leponiemi, 2022). This means that schools in some cases may need to choose the cheapest way to provide textbooks for their students, in addition to laptops and other materials students may need for their studies. And as students already need to be provided with laptops it may in some senses be easier to provide them with e-books than physical books. The electronic textbooks of course also feature videos, audio clips and various exercises that cannot be included in physical textbooks, which means they can be especially useful in English language teaching and learning.

The textbooks are all structured in the same way and are divided into four parts; chapters, learning to learn, extra tasks and grammar. The chapters contain the texts and exercises. The learning to learn section varies a bit from book to book, but it always contains a section of self-evaluation and in addition it may contain information and exercises connected to different text types or pronunciation or other aspects of language, which do not fit logically into any of the regular chapters. The extra tasks contain repetition tasks, that can be used to revise for exams. And the grammar section contains information and exercises connected to grammar.

In my analysis I chose to focus on the textbooks for modules 1-6, as those are the compulsory modules that all upper secondary school students need to take in order to graduate. The textbooks are titled *New Insights 1-2*, *New Insights 3*, *New Insights 4*, *New Insights 5*, and *New Insights 6*. So, even though there are 6 modules there are only 5 textbooks, as module 1 and 2 have been merged into one textbook, which however, is still divided into two parts. In this study modules one and two will be treated as two separate entities, even though they are found within the same textbook, as the goals and aims of the modules are relatively different in the curriculum.

As the main focus of this study is on the audio files, a choice was made to narrow the study down to the core chapters of each module. This means that the chapters regarding learning to learn, extra tasks, and grammar were excluded. Those chapters mainly consist of written exercises and the focus is on the production of English, instead of listening. The learning objectives of the core curriculum are also somewhat more closely related to the contents of the core chapters, which is why those were chosen for this study.

At this point it should be noted that also some audio files from the core chapters were excluded from the study from the start. The audio files that were excluded consisted of only one word utterances, which was the case with for example word lists and exercises

focused on stress. These one word utterances were excluded as it would not have been possible to analyse and categorize them within the framework used in this study.

It was also noted that every text and listening exercise started with a person reading out the number and name of the chapter as well as giving a short introduction to what the text is about or what the student is supposed to do in the exercise. All of these introduction and instruction segments were read by a person who would be categorized as speaking an unmarked Inner Circle variety. A decision was made to exclude these segments from the study as they were not a core part of the texts or exercises. The focus of this study was narrowed down to the main content of the audio files. Furthermore, the videos did not include any similar introduction or instruction segments and so the decision to exclude those also places all the findings on the same starting line. This means that in total 110 audio recordings were selected and analysed for this study.

7.3. Methods

The study of textbooks is typically done through a qualitative content analysis. When conducting a content analysis, the first step is to decide what is interesting or important to the study, in the material, in order to narrow down the material one has to sift through (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009). The next step is to go through the material and pick out the interesting instances, while leaving everything else out (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009). The interesting instances then need to be categorised and perhaps subcategorised, so that different patterns can be noticed and discussed (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009). In short, these are the steps that were used to conduct the analysis in this study.

At first, all of the files containing audio in the selected chapters in the textbooks were identified and sifted through. These files consisted of texts being read on tape, videos, and different listening comprehension exercises. Each audio file was then listened through and every individual speaker in the file was categorized as a member of one of the three Kachruvian Circles presented in the Theoretical framework section. The categorisation was made mainly based on contextual clues, such as names, context of the audio, lexical choices, and information about the author of a text or producer of a video. For example, a text about the fictive character Kevin, who was told to be a Mexican American boy who never learned to speak Spanish was categorized as being read by an Inner Circle speaker based on the contextual clues in addition to the fact that the original

author of the text is a Latinx writer based in Los Angeles. The speaker in the audio file also spoke in a way that could be described as American English, which was used to support all of the contextual clues mentioned above.

In some cases, there were no definitive contextual clues to suggest which category the speaker would belong to. The speakers in these cases typically spoke an unmarked English, which was free from pronunciation features which would be expected from speakers from the Outer or Expanding Circles, and therefore the speakers of unmarked English were placed in the Inner Circle category. In some cases, the speaker would also be placed in the Inner Circle category if their pronunciation for example included identifiable British English features, even though there were no contextual clues to support this.

When it came to the videos, the categorization was a bit simpler as the speakers in some instances introduced themselves with their name and homeland, which meant they could be placed in a category based on that information. Some of the videos included in the textbooks were real newsclips produced by BBC or CBS, where each speaker always had a box show up in the video with their name and for example profession or other relevant information. If the contextual clues and the way the person spoke did not add up to a definitive category in those cases a quick Google search of the person was conducted, to find out where they were from. This could be done as the people featured in the news clips were undeniably real people being introduced with their real names and professions.

All of the findings from the audio clips, which were finally used for this study, were recorded in an Excel document. Each textbook was placed in a different Excel sheet, consisting of 5 columns, The first column contained the name of the audio file, the second column the name or other identification of the speaker, the third column the Circle which the speaker was categorized in, the fourth column any comments supporting the categorization, and the fifth column any other notes that were important to document.

8. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

8.1. New Insights 1-2

As previously noted, module 1 is in itself a very short unit, which is why it is commonly combined with module 2. This is probably why the textbook producers have chosen to incorporate both modules in the same textbook. As the students view the study unit as one entirety, it would not make sense for them to have two books that they would need to alternate between. However, as the National Core Curriculum lays out different contents and goals for both modules, they will be treated separately in this study. Since the second module also is the one where English as a lingua franca is explicitly mentioned in the curriculum a closer study of the materials is warranted.

8.1.1. Module 1

Module 1 only consists of five chapters in the textbook. Some topics which figure in module 1 are reflecting on one's own abilities in English and other languages, cultural identity, and living on your own. Out of the five chapters, the first one does not contain any audio recordings or videos of any kind. There is a total of 10 audio recordings in the material for module 1. Out of these, two are videos, four are texts being read and four are listening comprehension tasks. In these different audio materials, there are 20 different speakers, as for example both videos contain two speakers and some of the listening comprehension tasks feature multiple speakers to differentiate between sections.

The analysis shows that three of the speakers belong to the Expanding Circle, while all the rest are part of the Inner Circle, with no representatives from the Outer Circle present in the material. In addition, all three Expanding Circle speakers speak Finnish English. From the students' perspective hearing Finnish English may be beneficial, as it probably is quite close to how they or their classmates' sound. All three Finnish English speakers are also introduced as upper secondary school students, which further promotes them as indirect role models for the students. Two of the speakers are featured in the videos, which further shows that the speakers also in fact look like upper secondary students, thus making the videos more credible.

Yet, it is worth noting that all three Finnish English speakers are paired with a speaker from the Inner Circle. In a listening comprehension task (2 e) Annika, who is introduced as a 16-year-old student from Vasa, speaks about the languages she knows and uses daily. Annika is paired with an interviewer, who comes from the Inner Circle. Even though Annika's English is very fluent, there is a clear difference in pronunciation between the two speakers.

Both videos featured in the materials are produced by Otava. In the first video (4 f) Connor and Samu talk about bullying. Here Samu speaks Finnish English while Connor speaks American English, which is evident for example by his usage of words such as middle school and high school. The video starts with Samu asking Connor a question and then it turns into more of a discussion. One feature which is worth noting is that even though the video is surely scripted, both speakers speak quite freely. For example, next is an excerpt of one of Connor's utterances, which is even provided in the tapescript for the video: "I think the best thing to do is, obviously you should go to teachers and adults, and that's not always gonna help. It might actually hurt in some cases. *I can give you,* [pause] going to your friends and try to get people to stand up for you, is helpful." (copied from tapescript, italics and pause notation added). The sentence "I can give you, going to your friends..." is not grammatically correct and it gives the impressions that Connor was actually going to say something else, before deciding to talk about going to your friends for help. Doing so is completely normal for people while they are speaking freely.

In the second video (5 Engage) Leea and Nicole discuss going to college and living on their own for the first time. Leea speaks Finnish English while Nicole speaks American English. The video is a mixture of them asking questions of each other and just simply reacting to what the other person said. Once again, it is evident that they speak quite freely, which for example can be seen when Leea asks Nicole: "What do you think is going to be most like, the bestest thing [kinda], about living alone?". Here the filler word *like*, the conjugation of the word *best* into *bestest* as well as the general wording of the sentence strongly indicate that Leea speaks freely and is not reading the question from a paper, as such language would seldom be written down.

What makes these three instances especially noteworthy is the question why a speaker from the Inner Circle had to be included? Why could not for example two Finnish students discuss bullying? Including an Inner Circle speaker seems to suggest that Finnish English may be lacking in some way and that the NS norm perhaps still is something one

should strive for. Overall, the materials in the entire module rely heavily on Inner Circle speakers. It should also be noted that all three Finnish English speakers speak English very fluently.

Another interesting finding in the materials concerns the use of different Inner Circle varieties. For example, text 4 *Nobody should have to sit alone* is cited as an excerpt from a blog entry by Mark McCormack, who is introduced as a British sociologist. According to the textbook, the text is based on McCormack's interview with boys in a British high school on what makes someone popular. The interesting part here is that the speaker reading the text is doing so in American English. In the text itself words such as high school and school bus are also mentioned, which are much more frequently associated with American education. So, the text and audio recording of it send a little bit of mixed messages.

8.1.2. Module 2

Module 2 consists of 10 chapters, with topics such as English as a global language and a lingua franca, multiculturalism, using 'they' as a nonbinary pronoun, mental health, and money management. All chapters contain at least one audio recording, with some chapters containing up to three. In total, module 2 contains 22 audio recordings. Out of these audio recordings two are videos, ten are texts being read, eight are listening comprehension tasks, one is a pronunciation task, and one is a list of expressions on agreeing or disagreeing being read. In total 59 different speakers are present in the audio materials, which is the largest number in any of the textbooks. As discussed before, module 2, is the one with explicit mentions of English as a lingua franca in the National Core Curriculum, which raised the hopes for the findings in this textbook.

However, out of the 59 speakers, only four are from the Outer Circle and six from the Expanding Circle. Half of the Expanding Circle speakers speak Finnish English, but Portuguese, Italian and Ethiopian English do also figure in the materials. The Outer Circle is represented by Indian and Caribbean English speakers. The rest of the speakers are mainly speaking different varieties of American or British English. There are also two clear instances of Australian English featured in one chapter, which coincidentally, has to do with travelling to Australia. These results show a clear reliance on Inner Circle varieties.

Just like in Module 1, speakers from the Expanding Circle are always accompanied by an Inner Circle speaker, at least to some extent. However, there are three instances where an Outer Circle speaker speaks alone. Two of these are single speakers in listening comprehension exercises, which means that their utterances are only a few sentences long. But there is one instance where an entire poem (Engage 12) is read by an Outer Circle speaker. The speaker choice for the poem is interesting, as it was originally written by Wendy Cope, who is a British author, born in 1945 (Poetry Foundation, 2024). As it is doubtful that students would be familiar with Wendy Cope, the choice for a very different speaker is perhaps not that strange and probably something most students and teachers who work with the materials will not even think about. Therefore, it is a quite good way to include an English variety from the Outer Circle. Additionally, when thinking about poetry in English, many people are likely to go straight to famous American or British poets and their poetry readings, which makes this speaker stand out in a positive light.

Two noteworthy instances with Expanding Circle speakers are found in an excerpt from Benjamin Zephaniah's *Refugee boy* (text 10) and a video featuring three exchange students (10 f). *Refugee boy* is written in third person, and it is almost completely read by a speaker from the Expanding Circle. The story is about Alem, who is half Ethiopian and half Eritrean and has just arrived in London as a war refugee, although he does not know that yet. Since the story is about Alem, it makes sense that the narrator would be an Expanding Circle speaker. The narrator does the voices of both Alem and his father, as well as narrates the story. However, the story does also feature a British customs officer and a cab driver, who both are voiced by Inner Circle speakers. In a sense changing the speaker may make it easier to follow along in the story and notice which character is talking. Yet, in the text *First Amendment* (text 9), which also contains different characters, they are all voiced by the same Inner Circle speaker. So, when the main speaker is from the Inner Circle no additional speakers for different characters are needed. Once again, this seems to suggest that Expanding Circle speakers are somehow lesser, as they need to be paired up with speakers from the Inner Circle.

The video featuring three exchange students (10 f) is produced by Otava. The exchange students introduce themselves as Laura from Italy, Gab from the French part of Canada, and Miguel from Portugal. They talk about their experiences as exchange students in Finland in a relatively free manner. This is evident for example when Miguel says: "I'm seventeen and have been in Finland for six months and I like sports – like

especially in the sea – traveling and meeting new people also, and music also. I like music a lot.” (copied from tapescript). The repetition of liking music, the word ‘also’ and mentioning sports in the sea are such utterances that they would be quite unlikely if the sentence was simply read from a piece of paper. In this video, two Expanding Circle speakers are once again paired with a speaker from the Inner Circle. However, as Gab is from the French part of Canada, English is probably not his first language but rather a second or additional language that he has learnt. This is not stated anywhere in the video, but it is an educated guess, since most people in the French part of Canada, especially in Quebec, where Gab says he is from, are French Canadians, meaning that French is their first language. Therefore, this video is the closest instance to having three speakers who have all learnt English, or are so called NNS, talking together. Yet, due to the classification system of this study this is not visible in the numbers. Therefore, this video exemplifies one of the main problems with the Kachruvian Three Circle Model, as the model is based more on geography, than actual first or second language knowledge (Jenkins, 2003: 17).

One final exercise, which is worth mentioning, is the pronunciation practice exercise (7 e). In the exercise students are supposed to read given sentences out loud with a pair to practice pronunciation and intonation. Afterwards they are supposed to compare their pronunciation with the recording. Even though it is not stated anywhere that the students should try to mimic the pronunciation of the record, it is sort of implied. The speaker is, perhaps unsurprisingly, from the Inner Circle, which further promotes a NS norm in pronunciation.

8.2. New Insights 3

New Insights 3 consists of 11 chapters with four additional glossaries about music, visual arts, theatre and film, and literature in between the chapters. The focus of *New Insights 3* is culture in different forms. Most space is given to literature, but music, video games, art and Finnish culture do also figure as topics in the module. All chapters, except the first one and the glossaries, contain audio recordings. In total, *New Insights 3* contains 27 recordings, out of which four are videos, 16 are texts, six are listening comprehension exercises, and one is an exercise for practicing differences in emphasis.

There are 47 different speakers in the material, but only one is from the Outer Circle while just three are from the Expanding Circle. The Outer Circle is represented by a Nigerian English speaker, while the three Expanding Circle speakers all are speaking Finnish English. There is a drastic drop in the amount of Outer and Expanding Circle speakers compared to *New Insights 1-2*. When it comes to Inner Circle varieties, there are samples of speakers of at least British, American, Canadian, and Australian English.

In contrast to *New Insights 1-2*, all three Expanding Circle speakers in *New Insights 3* are recorded on their own, without being paired up with a speaker from the Inner Circle. All of the Expanding Circle speakers are, however, clearly reading from scripts, so there is no free speech present in their instances. In a listening comprehension exercise (3 i), the speaker is introduced as a teenage filmmaker Anton from Lovisa who then talks about making movies. As the audio file is a simple voice recording the reading of the text is clearly rehearsed as there are no pauses or filler words, which typically characterise free speech.

The two other instances of Expanding Circle speakers are found in chapter 6, which is titled *Insights into Finland* and the whole theme of the chapter is talking about Finland and Finnish culture in English. Therefore, including only Expanding Circle and especially only Finnish English speakers is a good way to anchor the material to reality, as a person who would talk about Finland in English is very likely to be from Finland themselves. This is also the first instance thus far where an Expanding Circle speaker speaks alone in a listening comprehension exercise (6 g). In the exercise, different traditional Finnish dishes, such as carrot casserole and mämmi, are being described on the tape and students are supposed to guess what the dish is.

The videos in the material are also worth mentioning. Two of the videos are real news clips, produced by BBC. One of the videos (4 h) is about the Cleveland Orchestra, which has started performing at a local bar, instead of just giving concerts at the concert hall. The other video (Engage 8) is about Execution Labs, which is a company that provides space and funding for newcomers in the game development industry. The video also features Lateef Martin, who is creating games at Execution Labs. As both videos are produced by BBC, it is not surprising that all speakers are from the Inner Circle.

The other two video instances are both parts of the same video, which is produced by Otava. The videos feature Kerry and Kailyn, who both live in Edmonton, Canada. Kerry's grandmother was part of First Nations and in the first segment of the video (Engage 7) she tells Kailyn about how her grandparents met and in the second

segment (7 b) the focus shifts to Kerry and Kailyn discussing the difficulties that Aboriginal people and First Nations have faced both in the past and the present. Even though both speakers are from the Inner Circle the topic allows students to familiarise themselves with using English when talking about oppression and minorities, which is a crucial skill. However, as there are similar minorities of aboriginal people in many different countries, one cannot help but wonder if it would not have been possible to find two speakers from some other aboriginal people minority group. For example, there are Sámi people living in Finland, Sweden, and Norway, which means, possible English speakers from the Sámi people are not geographically that far away. Of course, the reason to not use Sámi speakers may not have anything to do with linguistics and more with the social and political climate of Finland when it comes to Sámi people, or even with cost effectiveness or not being able to find Sámi people who would be willing to be a part of such a project. It is also worth mentioning, that chapter 7 does also feature a quiz (7 g) on Sámi people and their culture and in a group project (7 h) Sámi people, alongside several other aboriginal people, are mentioned as groups whose history students could choose to take a closer look at, so the Sámi people and other aboriginal people are in no way overlooked in the textbook.

As mentioned earlier, literature plays a huge part in the materials in *New Insights* 3, and ten different authors works are present in the material. Examples of some of the authors are William Shakespeare, Virginia Woolf, Emily Dickinson, Kate Chopin, Stephen Crane, and Donna Tartt. All of the authors featured in the material come from the Inner Circle and all of their works are read by Inner Circle speakers. It is understandable that in an English textbook a choice is made that all literary excerpts should have English as their original language. However, there are plenty of authors, especially in the Outer Circle, who write in English. And even if the textbook producers had not been able to include authors from any of the other Circles this does not mean that all of the excerpts need to be read by Inner Circle speakers. These instances portray not only a linguistic reliance on the NS norm, but it also indicates to students that English literature is written solely by authors from traditional native English speaking countries.

8.3. New Insights 4

New Insights 4 consists of ten chapters, with themes and topics covering areas such as social injustice, health care, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, and advertising. There are also three glossaries in the textbook that deal with society and health care, politics, and crime. In total there are 17 audio recordings in *New Insights 4*. Out of the recordings five are videos, seven are texts and five are listening comprehension exercises.

There are 36 different speakers in the material. Yet only two speakers are from the Outer Circle and none from the Expanding Circle. This shows a continuation in the trend of favouring Inner Circle speakers. The two Outer Circle speakers can be found in the text *Come in, come in!* (text 3) and in a listening comprehension exercise (8 g). Both instances are recordings, which means that they do not contain any free speech and are structured according to Inner Circle English grammar rules.

Come in, come in! is an excerpt from the fictional autobiographical story *What is What* about Valentino Achak Deng written by Dave Egger. In the story, Valentino is forced to leave his home village in Sudan at the age of seven due to political unrest and he eventually ends up in the United States. Even though the story is fictional, as it is narrated from the perspective of Valentino, who is Sudanese, it meets the listener's expectations that the speaker sounds like he is from the Outer Circle.

The listening comprehension, which features the other Outer Circle speaker is a retelling of five different crimes that have gone wrong. Each crime is read out by a different speaker, probably to make the difference clearer to students, as they are supposed to write down what the crime was and how it went wrong, based on what they hear.

In terms of ELF, the material in *New Insights 4* does unfortunately not have a whole lot to offer. However, out of the five videos two are produced by CBS and one is a documentary, which means that they at least tie the learning to certified real world usage of English. The documentary, *Somalinimo* (Text 2, 2 b, 2 e), which is produced by The Guardian, is about four girls with Somali heritage who are attending or planning to attend the University of Cambridge in the UK. The girls talk about their experiences and how their Somali heritage has influenced their lives. The documentary gives an insight into what it is like being Black, Muslim, and Somali at one of the world's most elite institutions. The video itself is split into three sections, as it is over 18 minutes long. All

three sections are accompanied by different listening comprehension exercises. Even though all four speakers are from the Inner Circle and clearly speak British English, this video still manages to shed light on the diversity among English speakers. The documentary also features some Somali words and expressions, which gives visibility to multilingualism and mixing other languages with English.

One of the CBS videos (7 h) is a news clip about online doctor visits, which have become increasingly common. The other video is from CBS Health Watch (6 f), and it features the CBS host and Jennifer Harstein who talk about if money can make you happier. Both videos contain pretty rapid speech and are somewhat connected to health and wellbeing. As the speakers know they are being recorded and aired on national television, they take care to speak clearly in order to make themselves understood. However, all speakers, excluding the interviewers, who ask predetermined questions or read up an introduction to the topic, speak freely. So, even though the videos only feature Inner Circle speakers, they at least portray a somewhat natural English language.

As *New Insights 4* features so many Inner Circle speakers one cannot help but feel like there are some missed opportunities. There are so many sections in which it would have been possible to include speakers from the Outer and Expanding Circles. It is also worth noting that in *New Insights 4* and in Module 4 in general heavier and more serious topics are being introduced. Therefore, it would be interesting to know if the topics and themes also in some ways have influenced which speakers were chosen for different texts and exercises.

8.4. New Insights 5

New Insights 5 consists of ten chapters, with topics that focus heavily on different fields of science, and therefore English as a language of science. This focus on science can be directly traced to the National Core Curriculum. In addition to the regular chapters, *New Insights 5* also features three glossaries, that are titled traffic, psychology, and science and technology. All but two of the chapters contain audio recordings and in total 17 recordings can be found in the material. Out of those nine are texts, four are videos, and four are listening comprehension exercises.

In total, there are 29 different speakers in the material, which is the least amount in all of the textbooks analysed. Only one of the speakers is from the Outer Circle and

there are just two Expanding Circle speakers, while all the rest represent the Inner Circle. As the topics rely so heavily on science and on English as a language of science, it seems odd that so few speakers from different circles are represented. It seems to give students the picture that science is only conducted in English in Inner Circle countries, which could not be further from the truth. English is the dominant language of science, which means it is used around the globe by speakers from all Circles, and therefore, further exposure to speakers speaking English in different way could be beneficial to students.

The Outer Circle speaker is featured in a listening comprehension exercise (Engage 9), where students are supposed to listen to speakers talking about power cuts and then answer questions. The listening comprehension exercise is the Engage task of chapter 9, which means that is a task to get students to think about the topic at hand and familiarize them briefly with the concept the main text will talk more about. This means that the listening comprehension exercise is not very scientific, as it focuses more on people's experiences than actual research, which is more prominent in other parts of the textbook.

The two Expanding Circle speakers, however, are featured in what could be called more scientific contexts. The text *Why we do what we do* (text 3) is read in its entirety by an Expanding Circle speaker. The text is an excerpt from the Criminology Web blog and it is written by Margit Averdijk. Below the text, the textbook producers have added a box with information about the author, where she is presented as a research associate at The Jacobs Center for Productive Youth Development at the University of Zurich. The box also features a picture of Margit Averdijk, who is a white female. This creates some expectations for the listener as to what the speaker would sound like. The speaker is undoubtedly from the Expanding Circle, but it is worth mentioning that a native speaker informant had difficulty placing the speaker in a precise geographical location. It should be noted that the informant did not have any knowledge of the author's name, where she works or what she looks like.

The other Expanding Circle speaker is found in a video (7 f) produced by the Guardian. The video presents and problematises the enormous amounts of satellites and junk that orbits earth in space. The video features several speakers, who get a varying time of coverage. Some only utter one sentence, whereas others are included for longer segments. The Expanding Circle speaker is Holger Krag, who is introduced as Head of the Space Safety Program at the European Space Agency. According to the European

Space Agency's website, Krag acquired his master's degree at the University of Braunschweig, which would suggest that he is German.

Both Expanding Circle instances showcase that science is conducted by people who are not from the Inner Circle. However, they are only two speakers out of 29. In addition, they both promote science conducted in Europe, which still excludes most of the world.

One text (text 7), which does not have a direct connection to ELF is still worth bringing up, as it shows a challenge textbook producers face. The text titled *Do you really need it?* talks about the new iPhone 13 and if consumers really need to buy it, as it does seem quite similar to past iPhones. Here the word 'new' will probably catch the reader's attention, as in the fall of 2024, iPhone 16 will be released, which means that iPhone 13 is almost ancient history on the phone market. This exemplifies the difficulty textbook producers face if they include materials that are very specifically connected to a certain time or product, as it can make the textbook feel out of date even in just a few short years. However, it is worth noting that the text also focuses on planned obsolescence and why that is an issue for consumers, which of course is a problem that still have not disappeared. This example goes to show that there is a complex network of concepts that needs to be considered when producing a textbook and therefore, one can perhaps have a greater understanding for the lack of different kinds of English speakers.

8.5. New Insights 6

New Insights 6 consists of 10 chapters, like most of the other textbooks in the series. In addition, there are three glossaries titled education, working life, and economy. The glossaries showcase the main themes of the textbook, which are studying at university and work life. Some topics also include procrastination, working abroad, and temporary jobs. All chapters except for the first one contain audio recordings, some chapters have several. In total there are 17 audio recordings, of which seven are texts, three are videos, and seven are listening comprehension exercises.

There are 53 different speakers present in the material, which is quite close to module 2, which has the largest number of speakers. Yet, there is only one Expanding Circle speaker while speakers from the Outer Circle are completely absent. This shows

the trend of continued decline in Outer and Expanding Circle speakers after *New Insights 1-2*.

The Expanding Circle speaker is found in a listening comprehension exercise (2j). The female speaker is paired up with an Inner Circle speaker, who asks her why she has moved to Canada. The female speaker replies that she has moved so that she can receive a better education than she could get at home in Guatemala. The exchange is quite short, so not much room is given to the one Expanding Circle speaker in this textbook.

In some instances, it seems as if the textbook producers have missed opportunities for including more Expanding and Outer Circle speakers. For example, the text *Gig economy* (text 10) is read by an Inner Circle speaker although the text features a short author presentation, which tells the reader that the author is Arun Sudararajan, who is an Indian professor teaching at the New York University's School of Business. The author presentation awakens expectations of not hearing an Inner Circle speaker on the tape. However, there is of course no absolute need for the author and the reader of the text to match in any way. Yet, it feels like a somewhat missed opportunity by the textbook producers.

And since the textbook producers have shown that the nationality of the author of a text does not matter when choosing a reader for the tape, one cannot help but wonder why almost no texts by Inner Circle authors have faced the same fate. For example, the text *Just don't do it!* (text 3) is a reprint of the blog post *Ig Nobel Prize WINNER: The Power of Effective Procrastination*, which is written by the screen name Scicurious. Scicurious is presented as a female researcher in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine in Philadelphia. As procrastination is a quite global, and human, phenomenon, the text could be read by almost anyone. Yet, a choice has been made to include an Inner Circle speaker.

Another noteworthy discovery in the analysis is that all three videos in the material are produced by Otava. This means that there would have been a greater opportunity to include Outer and Expanding Circle speakers compared to when using news clips or documentaries produced by other companies or people. Especially in a video (3 h) where a man and a woman discuss procrastination and what could be done about it, one cannot help but wonder if it would not have been possible to include speakers from one of the other Circles.

However, in some instances it is of course also very good and relevant to use Inner Circle speakers. For example, in one video (4 a) Lydia and Caleb discuss further

studies. They are both presented as students on exchange in Finland. Lydia is from Australia, while Caleb is from Canada. They discuss their plans following high school and talk about the application systems and costs for universities in their home countries. Here it makes sense to see two Inner Circle speakers, as they talk about studies in their home countries and therefore the listener can assume that they know what they are talking about. As the National Core Curriculum lays out that students should learn to discuss and plan further studies (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 188), this video gives them an insight into studies abroad. Studying abroad at a university may often be an option that is not talked as much about in upper secondary schools as further studies in Finland. Therefore, it is quite a nice inclusion in the textbook as it may give some students new thoughts and ideas for what they would like to do after graduating.

9. DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis show that there is a clear preference for Inner Circle speakers in the *New Insights* textbook series. When looking at the numbers for the series as a whole this becomes even more evident. In total there are 244 speakers in the material. Out of those 8 are from the Outer Circle and 15 from the Expanding Circle. In percentages this means that 3 per cent of the speakers are from the Outer Circle, and 6 per cent are from the Expanding Circle, while 91 per cent of the speakers are from the Inner Circle.

These results are somewhat similar to the results of the international and Finnish studies presented earlier. The *New Insights* series does, however, fare a bit better than for example the Japanese textbook series analysed by Takashi (2011: 112-113), as that series only included Inner Circle speakers. Yet, it could be argued that it would be possible to include more Outer and Expanding Circle speakers in the material.

At this point it is also worth noting that this study does not take into account where the speakers are actually from and if multiple speakers are voiced by the same person. A good voice actor can use a variety of different accents. Unfortunately, information about the speakers was not available for the recordings in the *New Insights* textbooks. Therefore, some of the speakers may be from an Inner Circle country and only speaking in a different variety in the recording. As previously mentioned, all the materials in Kopperoinen's (2011: 78) study, had been recorded in a studio in London and the publishing companies had sent definitions of which speakers and accents they wanted for each text. So, it is likely that something similar may have been done by Otava.

One result, which shows some progress in textbook production when it comes to ELF since Kopperoinen's study is that the instances where Outer or Expanding Circle speakers speak are longer. Kopperoinen (2011: 82) noted in her study that Outer and Expanding speaker utterances were typically only 5-20 seconds long. In this study the instances were not timed, but some of the findings presented earlier show that Outer or Expanding Circle speakers in some cases read an entire text or poem, which takes considerably longer than 20 seconds. Yet, it is worth noting that Kopperoinen categorized different varieties based on a specific set of phonological features, which means that these two studies are not completely comparable, as such specific categorization was not done in this one. But it still seems like some development has been made when it comes to ELF in Finnish upper secondary textbooks.

Even with the development and progress, the Inner Circle speaker and native speaker ideal still reigns supreme. The main varieties spoken in the *New Insights* series are British and American, with some instances of quite unmarked speech, which is still quite close to a general British or American variety. If one only looks at the Outer and Expanding Circle speakers, the variety with the biggest number of speakers is Finnish English as a total of nine out of the 15 Expanding Circle speakers can be recognized as Finnish English speakers. This shows that the material is quite limited on a global scale as there are only 6 Expanding Circle speakers from a country other than Finland while the Outer Circle speakers are, as previously mentioned, eight in total. These findings match the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this study.

When comparing the findings to the module descriptions in the National Core Curriculum, there are few surprises. The materials for module 2 contain the largest number of Outer and Expanding Circle speakers, which was to be expected, as the module's focus is in English as a Lingua Franca. However, even in the materials for module 2, the Outer and Expanding Circle speakers are a clear minority. But they still appear much more frequently than in the materials for the later modules.

None of the other module descriptions in the National Core Curriculum contained mentions of ELF and that may be why it has been somewhat overlooked by the textbook producers. Yet, when one looks at the common part of the Curriculum, it states that after upper secondary school students should be prepared to meet the future as well as have the tools for lifelong learning (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 15). An argument could be made that these goals are perhaps not fully met if teachers only use the textbook materials. As students are most likely to use English with other NNS (Jenkins, 2002: 83), their exposure to it could be greater in order to prepare them for real life scenarios.

Thus, a teacher can use the audio recordings in the materials to introduce students to ELF in a quite superficial manner, but if a teacher wants to truly incorporate ELF in their classroom, they will have to look beyond the textbook. This is especially true for the later textbooks as they contain less and less Outer and Expanding Circle speakers. At this point it is also worth noting that there is not a single upper secondary school classroom where absolutely all texts and exercises from the textbooks are utilized. This is due to the time restraint put in place by the schedules in upper secondary schools. This means that some teachers may strive to include all the audio materials that feature speakers from different Circles, while others may choose a different approach. So, when looking at the materials from a student's point of view, some may find that their English

teaching contains several different varieties of English, while others may feel like they only hear general British or American varieties, even though they use the same textbook.

Luckily, in our modern world it is possible for teachers to move beyond the textbook, as the internet is full of different audio materials that can be used. In addition, it is possible to invite different guest speakers from Outer and Expanding Circle countries, which makes ELF a more hands on experience for students. Some schools may face geographical difficulties when it comes to inviting guest speakers but with today's technology, it is possible to use different video conferencing tools even in remote locations.

One factor which is good to keep in mind when analysing textbooks is that the producers are publishing the books in order to make money. This means that they face some serious limitations in time and effort, as each textbook should bring in more money than the producers spend on making it. Therefore, it may not be feasible to record different people speaking unique varieties, as that would increase the costs and time spent on the textbook. In addition, the textbooks also need to cover the other topics and themes found in the National Core Curriculum, as well as include sections on grammar or instructions on how to write certain texts, which as pointed out earlier is not something that the Curriculum specifies.

In addition, students and teachers probably expect that the textbooks should help prepare students for the matriculation exam. Even though the purpose of upper secondary school is to provide students with a foundation for lifelong learning, so many students choose to take the matriculation exam in English that it without a doubt shapes the expectations of English education. As the exam is quite normative, with for example right and wrong answers in multiple choice and close questions, those norms may also transfer into the English classroom and into the textbooks. It is also worth keeping in mind that as discussed earlier the exam is high-stakes and that Ranta (2010: 167) in her study found that a majority of the students were satisfied with the normative English they were taught as they knew that is what they were going to be tested on. Therefore, a drastic change in textbooks is unlikely unless testing and especially the matriculation exam changes first.

Yet, even with this understanding of the different constraints and expectations textbook producers face, one cannot help but wonder about the drop in Outer and Expanding Circle speakers after *New Insights 1-2*. As students get further in their English studies the content and vocabulary are supposed to get more advanced, which raises the question does the need for more advanced material somehow deter textbook producers

from Outer and Expanding speakers? In a way the material seems to indicate that Outer and Expanding speakers cannot be given as much space when it comes to serious topics, such as for example science. This once again subtly promotes the NS norm as the NS is presented as the ultimate goal when speaking about serious or demanding topics.

10. CONCLUSION

When simply looking at the numbers of Inner, Outer, Expanding Circle speakers in the materials it seems as if ELF does not have a very strong presence in English textbooks for Finnish upper secondary schools. Yet, when taking a closer look at the instances in which Outer and Expanding speakers do speak, it is possible to trace a slight positive change. The Outer and Expanding Circle speakers are at least in some instances speaking on their own, which indicates that perhaps their English is regarded as just as good as the English of Inner Circle speakers. Some of the Outer and Expanding Circle speakers are also allowed to hold the floor for an entire text.

However, the audio recordings do also leave room for improvement when it comes to ELF. All textbooks could feature more Outer and Expanding Circle speakers. Especially *New Insights 4* and *6* feature so few Outer and Expanding Circle speakers that if the teacher simply chooses to skip a few chapters students may not hear anything else than Inner Circle varieties during the entire module.

Some students may come into contact with a wide variety of speakers from Outer and Expanding Circle speakers in their free time, for example through social media. Therefore, one may be tempted to say that students already get the input they need for ELF communication outside of school. However, this does not apply to all students, even though a vast majority of students in Finnish upper secondary schools encounter and use English on a daily basis. The contact for some may be limited to American or British English speakers, which means that the NNS piece is completely missing. In addition, it is dangerous to let assumptions about what students may or may not encounter in their free time dictate what the focus of textbooks and education in school should be.

At this point it should be noted that this study did not take into account the other exercises in the textbook and the cultural elements and topics of texts were also largely disregarded due to working within a narrow scope of focus. Therefore, the textbooks may actually contain exercises and other materials that promote ELF awareness and further study is needed in order to determine that. More information about the specific varieties spoken in the material could also be gained by studying the utterances of speakers using predetermined phonological features. Such an in depth study might also shed more light on the current situation for English varieties in the *New Insights* textbook series. As *New Insights* is not the only textbook series which can be used in Finland-Swedish upper

secondary schools, a comparison could also be made between different series. Therefore, as it often is with studies regarding education, there is always more that can be done.

SWEDISH SUMMARY – SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

Engelskan är ett globalt språk med det största antalet talare på denna planet. Detta betyder att engelskans traditionella roll i klassrummet som ett främmande språk börjat ifrågasättas, då engelskan globalt inte längre kan sägas tillhöra endast ett eller ett par utvalda länder. Syftet med denna studie är att analysera läromedlen *New Insights* ljudfiler för att öka förståelsen kring vilka olika engelska dialekter som gymnasie studerande kan få ta del av via läromedlen. Dessutom diskuteras också hur den nationella läroplanens teman, samtalsämnen och mål, speciellt med tanke på engelska som en lingua franca, syns i läromedlen, samt hur lärare kan använda läromedlen för att introducera studeranden till olika engelska dialekter.

I studien presenteras först engelskans roll i en global värld, innan fokuset förflyttas till den teoretiska bakgrunden, varefter engelskans roll i Finland lyfts upp. En sammanfattning över tidigare liknande studier presenteras också för att placera denna studie i ett bredare nätverk. Studiens metoder och material presenteras också innan en övergång till själva analysen och en diskussion av forskningsresultaten

Engelskans roll i en global värld

Enligt Crystal (2003: 59) kan engelskans nuvarande status som ett globalt språk ses som ett resultat av två faktorer: expansionen av det brittiska kolonialväldet och uppgången av USA som en ledande ekonomisk makt under 1900-talet. Engelskan har enligt Crystal (2003: 120) befunnit sig på rätt plats vid rätt tid flera gånger under historiens gång och därmed har språket kunnat sprida sig runt världen. Denna spridning i sig förklarar dock inte ensam engelskans globala roll. Crystal (2003: 4) menar att ett språk behöver tas upp och användas aktivt av länder var det inte är ett modersmål för att det verkligen ska kunna bli ett globalt språk. Detta kan ske till exempel ifall språket görs till ett lands officiella språk eller ifall det ges en särställning som främmande språk i skolan (Crystal 2003: 4).

Eftersom engelskan spridit sig runt hela världen och idag används av flera länder och statsmakter kan det inte längre ses som endast ett främmande språk då det i facto används som ett lingua franca. Engelska som ett lingua franca är en term som allt oftare används vid diskussioner om global engelska och engelska inom skolvärlden. Den främsta definitionen av engelska som ett lingua franca är att det handlar om ett

kommunikationsmedel eller kontaktspråk mellan människor som talar olika förstaspråk eller modersmål (Jenkins, 2012: 486). Det är dessutom bra att vara medveten om att engelska som ett lingua franca är en annan sak än engelska som modersmål eller förstaspråk och även om en person har engelska som modersmål behöver hen lära sig engelska som ett lingua franca (Jenkins, 2012: 487). Detta indikerar att engelska som ett lingua franca inte är någon egentlig dialekt (Mauranen, 2017: 12, Jenkins, 2012: 490) utan mer av ett verktyg för kommunikation mellan människor.

En majoritet av människorna som talar engelska idag har lärt sig det som ett andra eller främmande språk, vilket betyder att modersmålstalarna egentligen är en minoritet (Jenkins, 2000: 1, Jenkins 2002: 83). Därför har forskare börjat ställa frågor kring engelskundervisningen där modersmålstalare ännu allt som oftast används som den eftersträvarvärda modellen (Jenkins, 2002: 84, Jenkins, 2012: 487) även om det är mycket mer sannolikt att eleverna faktiskt kommer att använda engelska med en annan person som också lärt sig språket som ett andra eller främmande språk (Jenkins, 2002: 83). Dessutom finns det belegg för att elever känner sig mer motiverade och bekväma i språkklassrummet ifall de får ta del av olika dialekter och sätt att tala engelska, eftersom det minskar pressen på att det egna uttalet borde likna modersmålstalare (Galloway, 2015: 476). När engelskan dessutom används inom olika områden globalt, till exempel som hemspråk, undervisningsspråk, inom handeln och media där talare förväntas kunna använda olika språkliga strategier som att övertala, be om ursäkt och förhandla (Kachru, 2006/2020: 349) räcker inte enbart kunskaper inom vokabulär, grammatik och språklig korrekthet.

Teoretisk bakgrund

Den teoretiska utgångspunkten för den här studien är Braj Kachrus (1985) modell för engelskans spridning. Modellen består av tre sfärer, som baserar sig på hur engelskan spridits, mönstren av hur engelskan förvärvats av talarna och de olika områdena inom vilka engelskan används (Kachru, 1985: 12). Den inre sfären består av de traditionell engelskspråkiga länderna så som USA, Storbritannien och Australien (Kachru, 1985: 12). Den yttre sfären består av länder dit engelskan spridits på grund av kolonialism och där engelskan har en viktig institutionell funktion, så som Nigeria och Singapore (Kachru, 1985: 12). Den växande sfären består av länder där engelskan anses vara ett internationellt

språk och där kolonialismen inte spelat en lika stor roll i språkets spridning (Kachru, 1985: 13). Länder som hör till den växande sfären är bland annat Japan, Grekland och Korea (Kachru, 1985: 13).

Det är värt att notera att modellen inte är absolut. Redan Kachru (1985: 17) medger att det finns en del diffushet mellan till exempel den yttre och växande sfären. Andra kritiker poängterar att modellen inte är förenhetligad med verkligheten eftersom den är baserad på geografiska, politiska och historiska aspekter (Jenkins, 2003: 17, Bruthiaux, 2003: 159). Trots problemen kring modellen används den flitigt i studier som liknar denna, eftersom den erbjuder ett ramverk för att kategorisera olika typer av engelska.

Engelska i Finland

Enligt Kachrus modell befinner sig Finland i den växande sfären. Det är dock ett grovt förenklande att antyda att engelskan endast fungerar som ett främmande språk i Finland. I dagens Finland figurerar engelskan i de flesta kontexter och finländare möter engelska bland annat via filmer, tv program, radio, på internet och speciellt via sociala medier ((Leppänen, 2007: 150, Leppänen & Nikula, 2007: 339, Beers Fägersten, 2023: 68–69). Dessutom visar en studie av Leppänen m.fl. från 2009 (42) att ungdomar använder engelska i ännu högre grad än äldre människor, vilket visar att engelskans roll i det finländska samhället växer.

Därmed är det föga förvånande att engelska är det populäraste valet för studier i främmande språket i skolorna. Under skolåret 2022/2023 läste 96,9 procent av niondeklassarna engelska (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2023c), medan hela 99,8 procent av alla gymnasie studeranden läste engelska (Suomen virallinen tilasto, 2023b).

Den finländska utbildningen i engelska, så som all utbildning, bygger på den nationella läroplanen som tagits i bruk under hösten 2021. För denna studie gjordes lyft ur Grunderna för gymnasiets läroplan 2019, som bland annat beskriver teman, mål och centralt innehåll för varenda en av de sex obligatoriska modulerna inom engelska. Den viktigaste noteringen var att modul 2, *Engelskan som ett globalt språk*, har ett fokus på engelskans ställning som ett lingua franca och konstruktiv kommunikation (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 186)

Tidigare studier

Flera studier som fokuserat på hur olika engelska dialekter och engelska som ett *lingua franca* presenteras i läromedel har utförts på ett internationellt plan. I studien ges en överblick av fyra studier som utförts med läromedel ämnade för bland annat Japan, Brasilien, Portugal och internationella kontexter (Takashi, 2011, Siquiera, 2015, Guerra m.fl., 2020, Siquiera m.fl., 2019). Alla studier visar att det finns en tydlig preferens för dialekter från den inre sfären i läromedel. Enligt Kirckpatrick (2006: 72) kan detta delvis förklaras med att dialekterna av engelska som modersmål, så som brittisk och amerikansk engelska, har kodifierats och därmed finns det tydliga normer inom till exempel grammatiken som lärare kan bedöma eleverna efter.

I Finland har en liknande studie utförts av Anne Kopperoinen år 2011. Kopperoinen fokuserade på två läromedelsserier som användes i gymnasiet och analyserade deras ljudfiler genom att använda sig av specifika beskrivningar av olika dialekter och sedan placera in dem i Kachrus modell för engelskans spridning (Kopperoinen, 2011: 76–77, 80). Det Kopperoinen kom fram till var att även i Finland dominerade den inre sfären i läromedlen. Dessutom brukade talarna från den yttre och växande sfären tala i väldigt korta snuttar på cirka 5–20 sekunder (Kopperoinen, 2011: 82).

Metoder och material

Med tanke på studiens syfte och teoretiska bakgrund formulerades följande forskningsfrågor:

1. Vilka engelska dialekter finns i läromedlen och hur ser fördelningen av de olika aksenterna ut?
2. Hur syns den nationella läroplanens teman, samtalsämnen och mål, med tanke på engelska som *lingua franca*, i läromedlen?
3. Vilka möjligheter och resurser erbjuder materialen åt lärare för att introducera och göra studerande bekanta med olika engelska dialekter?

Materialet som analyserades i studien var läromedlen *New Insights*, som publicerats av Otava, för de obligatoriska engelska modulerna (modul 1 till 6) i gymnasiet. Totalt analyserades ljudfilerna från stycken böcker, då läromedlet för modul 1 och 2 finns i samma bok, *New Insights 1–2*. Båda modulerna behandlades ändå skilt, eftersom modul 2 var den modul som redan i läroplanen innehöll en beskrivning om engelska som ett lingua franca. Fokuset lades på kärnkapitlens ljudfiler, som dessutom reducerades ytterligare till antalet då ljudfiler där endast ett ord åt gången lästes upp uteslöts ur studien. De ljudfiler som innefattas av studien består av texter, hörövningar och videon. Alla texter och hörövningar innehöll också en person från den inre sfären som läste upp en kort introduktion eller instruktioner. Dessa instanser uteslöts ur studien för att behålla fokuset på själva texternas och hörövningarnas innehåll. Dessutom innehöll inte videorna i materialet några introduktioner och därmed kunde materialet lättare jämföras med varandra. Totalt analyserades 110 ljudfiler i studien.

Metoden som användes i studien var en kvalitativ innehållsanalys. Detta betyder att man först bestämmer vad som är intressant och relevant för studien och sedan går man igenom materialet och letar efter dessa instanser för en närmare analys (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009). I denna studie var fokuset ljudfiler, som det fanns tre typer av, nämligen texter, hörövningar och videon. Alla ljudfiler lyssnades igenom och de kategoriserades med hjälp av Kachrus modell för engelskans spridning. Kategoriseringen baserade sig på kontextuella ledtrådar så som namn, ljudfilens kontext, ordval samt information om författaren till en text eller producenten av en video. I vissa fall saknades tydliga kontextuella ledtrådar, men dessa talare talade oftast en neutral standard engelska och därmed placerades de i den inre sfären.

Analys och diskussion

Totalt fanns det 224 olika talare i materialet. Av dessa var åtta från den yttre sfären och 15 från den växande sfären medan resten var från den inre sfären. Siffrorna visar tydligt att modersmålstalaren dominerar med god marginal i materialet och därmed kan det anses att läromedlet åtminstone delvis porträtterar modersmålstalare som normen. Utav läromedlen var det modul 2 som innehöll mest instanser av talare från den yttre och växande sfären, vilket var väntat. I modul 2 var fyra av talarna från den yttre sfären och sex från den växande sfären. Resten av läromedlen innehöll färre talare från den yttre och

växande sfären. Till exempel *New Insights 4* innehöll endast två talare från den yttre sfären medan *New Insights 6* endast har en talare från den yttre sfären. Alla andra talare i läromedlen var från den inre sfären.

Av talarna från den yttre sfären identifierades nio stycken som finländare och talade engelska med en finsk dialekt. Fyra av dessa talare fanns med på videon producerade av Otava och var introducerade som gymnasiestuderande. Det som tydligt märktes i videorna var att personerna talade rätt så fritt och därmed uppstod ibland språkliga fel, som är naturliga då man talar. Dessa instanser kan hjälpa gymnasiestuderanden som använder läromedlet att bli bekvämare med att tala engelska med sin egen dialekt. Det som dock noterades med alla videon som innehöll talare från den växande sfären var att de i de flesta fall parades ihop med en talare från den inre sfären. Detta gav intrycket av att talare från den yttre och växande sfären på något sätt är sämre och behöver en god språklig rollmodell med sig. Det fanns ändå några texter och delar av hörövningar där talare från den yttre eller växande sfären talade ensamma, vilket tyder på en positiv utveckling då man jämför med resultaten från Kopperoinens (2011) studie.

Från och med modul 4 blir innehållet i läromedlen mer tematiskt och språkligt komplext. Speciellt *New Insights 5* och *6* fokuserar långt på vetenskap. Att dessa komplexa saker främst tas upp av talare från den inre sfären ger en skev bild av forskning i den globala världen, då vetenskap bedrivs i så gott som alla länder. Dessutom uppstår frågan om varför de yttre och växande talarna exkluderas här? Intrycket blir att talarna helt enkelt inte är tillräckligt bra för att diskutera vetenskapliga fenomen.

Analysen visar tydligt att talare från den inre sfären, och speciellt amerikaner och briter, dominerar i materialet. Det kan också ifrågasättas ifall läroplanens alla mål faktiskt uppfylls ifall en lärare endast använder sig av läromedlen. Läromedlens innehåll stöder de enskilda modulernas beskrivningar och mål, men de allmänna målen så som att studeranden ska få beredskap att möta framtiden och vägleda till kontinuerligt lärande (Utbildningsstyrelsen, 2019: 15) stöds inte i lika lång utsträckning av det analyserade materialet. För att studerande ska få en beredskap att möta framtiden kunde man anse att de behöver få en chans att höra fler olika dialekter av engelska. För lärare betyder detta att de kan använda läromedlen i fråga för att introducera studeranden till engelska som ett lingua franca, men ifall de verkligen vill exponera studeranden till ordentliga mängder behöver de hitta material utanför läromedlen eller till exempel bjuda in internationella gäster.

Slutsats

Även om studien tydligt visar att modersmålstalaren ännu verkar som en kraftig förebild, förekommer ändå en del talare från den yttre och växande sfären. Att en del av dessa talare dessutom får tala ensamma i en hel text tyder på att deras engelska kanske kan börjas ses som tillräckligt god. Dock kan ännu flera framsteg göras för att inkludera mer av den engelska som studeranden möter i den verkliga världen i läromedlen.

Denna studie tog inte fasta på de övriga övningarna i läromedlen eller de eventuella kulturella elementen och därmed kan det hända att läromedlen de facto innehåller mer materialen som stöder studerandes exponering för engelska som ett *lingua franca*. Fler studier och till exempel jämförelser av olika läromedelsserier behövs ännu för att kartlägga det exakta läget kring engelska som ett *lingua franca* i den finlandssvenska skolan.

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