Cambridge Partnership for Education

An analysis of cultural representations of India and the UK in English subject curricula

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Executive Summary

The Cambridge Partnership for Education (Cambridge) was invited by the British Council to conduct an analysis of representation in the English subject curricula of the UK and India. The aim of this research is to determine the extent to which the other country is represented and what form this representation takes, particularly in relation to diversity and contemporary life.

Guiding questions

The following are the guiding questions that have informed the methodology and analysis of the collected data:

- What are some current examples of representations of culture from either India or the UK in either country's English curricula?

- Where are there representations of culture? (i.e. national or state documents, curriculum or textbooks, primary or secondary education)

- What kind of representations are included? (e.g. what products, what practices, what persons, what perspectives)

- What is the diversity of representations of culture? (e.g. are there common stereotypes, are representations historical or contemporary)

- What opportunities exist for promoting representations of culture through English curricula design process?

Findings

What are the current examples of representations of culture?

The analysis team reviewed 4187 pages of text across a sample of 37 documents from Delhi, England, Maharashtra, Scotland, and Tamil Nadu. These included policy documents, curriculum materials and textbooks, with the majority of pages from the sampled textbooks (3752 pages).

Using Yuen's (2011) approach, the analysis focused on identifying representations of the following cultural aspects:

- Products (e.g. elements related to tangible objects)

- Practices (e.g. daily patterns of life)

- Perspectives (e.g. superstitions, myths, rituals)

- Persons (e.g. real people)

The analysis of the sampled textbooks from each jurisdiction identified the following number of representations across each cultural aspect.

	Delhi	England	Maharashtra	Tamil Nadu	Total
Products	188	41	279	194	**702**
Practices	77	9	6	28	**120**
Perspectives	9	3	2	6	**20**
Persons	105	27	129	91	**352**
Total	**379**	**80**	**416**	**319**	**1194**

Table A: Total number of representations identified in each jurisdiction delineated by cultural aspect

Where are the representations of culture?

No statutory guidance in the use of cross-cultural representations

From the review of both UK and Indian curriculum documents, it is clear that **there is minimal statutory guidance on the use of specific texts in the English classroom unless for the study of an external qualification.** Instead, the UK and Indian jurisdictions are similar in their overarching emphasis on studying texts from learners' own culture alongside notable world literature. This broad guidance leaves text choice open to publishers, teachers and learners.

It is worth noting that one of the prescribed texts in an India curriculum document could possibly be interpreted as a representation of the UK, but is a representation of Ireland. This example highlights the difficulty of accounting for the impact of shifting geopolitical realities during the periods covered by this review and the impact this has on a reader's view of the UK.

Representations of India and the UK in textbooks

There were comparable numbers of representations across the three Indian jurisdictions, with a notably lower number identified in the England textbooks.

Representations in UK primary reading books

In the UK there are no statutory textbooks. A review of primary resources identified 20 reading materials that contain representations of India and may be used in UK primary schools. A list of these 20 reading materials can be found in Appendix 1.

What kind of representations are included?

Across all jurisdictions, Products accounted for at least half of the identified representations.
In each jurisdiction, the representations of Products could be grouped thematically as:

- selection of texts
- places
- commodities and exports
- law and order
- other

Persons were the next most highly represented cultural aspect. The majority of represented Persons were authors of texts/text extracts included in the textbooks or authors of additional recommended or referenced texts. There were some notable exceptions, for example, Stephen Hawking is represented in all sampled Indian jurisdictions.

Practices were the next most represented cultural aspect. Representations of the UK included references to Christian practices (e.g. observing All Saints Day, Christmas) and drinking tea. Although these are not unique to the UK, they are strongly associated, which led to their identification by our analysts.

Perspectives were consistently the least represented. These representations included references to religion (i.e. Islam and Christianity), 'economic envy', and British eras (e.g. Victorian era).

The cross-jurisdiction analysis draws together the findings from the four jurisdictions to identify common content and themes. The outcomes from the survey of Indian teachers were used to triangulate the findings, which showed agreement that learners are exposed to representations of Persons (54%), Practices (64%) and Perspectives (74%) from the UK.

What is the diversity of representations of culture?

In addition to the cultural aspects, the analysis of the sampled textbooks from each jurisdiction also identified representations across:

- eras of history (i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional)[1]
- text type (i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction, other)[2]

The analysis found that **_the majority (61%) of representations were pre-1947_** (i.e. Historical and pre-1858), with Contemporary accounting for 16% of identified representations. This emphasis on pre-1947 texts appears to have had an impact on the number of identified stereotypical references.

Focusing on the text type, **_representations were most frequently identified in prose text_** (41%), followed by non-fiction (21%) and other (19%) respectively. The more limited use of dramatic texts (9%) and poetry (11%) may have accounted for their comparatively lower number of representations.

What opportunities exist for promoting representations of culture through English curricula design process?

There are limited opportunities for promoting representations of culture at a national level, and statutory guidance is either agnostic or nationalistic about the selection of texts. However, there are opportunities to promote more diverse representations in the development of textbooks. The first section of this report summarises our recommendations in full.

[1] This focuses on the era in which the content of the text is set, rather than the date of publication. These eras are defined as follows: Contemporary = post-2000, Recent = 1947 to 2000, and Historical = 1858 to 1947. Fictional includes any fictional texts where the content is era-agnostic, or it is not possible to accurately identify the intended era from the text provided.

[2] In regard to text type, 'other' refers to textbook content such as questions, activities, instructions, explanatory information, etc.

Recommendations

The recommendations from this review can be distinguished by those relating to curriculum development, cultural aspects identified in the analysis of the textbooks, and next steps for exploring this area of research further.

In making the following recommendations, we are mindful that representations of culture are an important part of textbooks. At the same time, *it is vital that textbooks are underpinned by well-researched learning theory and subject-specific content; clearly delineate content; are grounded in coherent learning progressions within the subject; support learner reflection; and include varied applications of concepts and principles.* Therefore, when implementing our recommendations, it is vital to also achieve the above characteristics of textbooks.

Recommendations relating to curriculum development

The current England National Curriculum was introduced in September 2014, and there are no plans for any immediate review or revision. However, there is currently a government consultation underway on the future of Scottish education[3]. Similarly, the Indian Government have recently released their 'National Education Policy 2020', and work has either yet to begin or be completed on curriculum and teaching and learning materials (including textbooks) that will align with this new policy. This suggests that there are currently opportunities in Scotland and India for the findings of this analysis to be applied.

Therefore, Cambridge recommends that if the aim of the British Council is to promote improvements in representation, efforts should be focused on Scotland and India. Evidence from this analysis can be used in supporting any advocacy work.

Recommendations relating to cultural aspects

The following are the recommendations resulting from the content, thematic and cross-jurisdiction analysis of the textbooks for Delhi, England, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Although they are the result of textbook analysis and refer to textbook developers, many of the recommendations will also be relevant to curriculum developers and teachers when designing or choosing supplementary teaching and learning materials.

Promote a greater balance of representations across the eras

Currently, Historical and pre-1858 references alone account for 61% of all identified representations, so this could be balanced with a greater number of Contemporary representations.

Promote a greater balance in the choice of themes

Avoid any potential for over-emphasis on a particular theme within a single textbook. This could include explicit content (e.g. texts about experiences of war) or more implicit content (e.g. moralistic texts).

Promote the use of inclusive language

There are examples of outdated language use in the identified representations, i.e. 'air hostess' rather than the more contemporary 'flight attendant'. Where possible, outdated terms should be avoided to promote equality, diversity, inclusion and belonging.

Provide guidance for teachers on supporting learners to critically analyse the use of representations in texts

The representation from Edward Said's 'Orientalism' in an England textbook provides a useful lens for A Level readers to critically engage with potentially sensitive or negative

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[3] Scotland's current curriculum, 'Curriculum for Excellence', was introduced in 2010.

representations. It would be useful to explicitly share this lens with all teachers (e.g. through targeted training) as this could allow them to support younger readers who are not yet capable of that level of critical analysis for themselves.

Encourage textbook authors to improve the diversity of Persons represented

In relation to representations of Persons, there are six areas, highlighted specifically by the findings of this analysis, in which the British Council could advocate for textbook developers and designers of other teaching and learning materials to improve the diversity of representations of Persons.

However, it is important to note that this list is not exhaustive, and the British Council should continue to *advocate for consideration of equality, diversity, inclusion and belonging to be explicit at all stages of material development.* Action in this area will support achievement of targets within the Sustainable Development Goals; particularly Goals 4, 5 and 10. In Goal 10, for example, there is a call to "empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status" (UN General Assembly, 2015).

Promote an increase to the number of representations of children

In textbooks, and other teaching and learning materials, it would be conducive to learning to include representations of a child's perspective, or of key young people.

Promote gender parity

Increase the proportion of female authors represented in textbooks and other teaching and learning materials.

Promote expansion of the number of representations of Persons who are not authors

Currently, the majority of references to Persons are authors and then British scientists. Stephen Hawking is a consistent figure across all jurisdictions. Continue to feature, and expand upon, a variety of professions in India and the UK (including increasing the number of representations of Indian scientists in England's textbooks). This will help to illustrate that the cultures and economies of both contexts are varied.

Promote the representation of Persons from all economic backgrounds

Include representations that depict the variety of wealth in any country.

Promote the use of examples of pertinent social issues in teaching and learning materials

Include examples of social issues in textbooks and other teaching and learning materials, as discussions of these issues can have a positive influence on learners' tolerance levels.

Encourage the provision of guidance on incorporating representations of Perspectives into teaching and learning materials

Perspectives are least represented across all sampled textbooks. Therefore, the number of representations of Perspectives should be increased, if the aim of the British Council is to promote cultures through education.

In relation to representations of Perspectives, the British Council could advocate for textbook developers and designers of other teaching and learning materials to consider providing guidance for teachers and learners about how they can acknowledge and explore representations of Perspectives from their experiences in life and from what they notice in media.

Encourage an increase in the number of representations of Practices

In relation to representations of Practices, the British Council could advocate for the provision of a greater number of representations of Practices to balance against the representations

of the other cultural aspects.

With the high number of Persons represented in comparison to Practices, representations of clothing offer one way to increase the number and variety of Practices in textbooks and other teaching and learning materials.

When adding any additional Practices, care should be taken to ensure that diversity within the socio-economic spectrum is represented. Developers may find that this is intrinsically linked to the recommendations around ensuring representation of Persons from all economic backgrounds.

Encourage an increase in the number, and provide a greater variety, of representations of Products

In relation to representations of Products, the British Council could advocate for textbook developers and designers of other teaching and learning materials to consider increasing the number, and provide a greater variety, of representations of institutions. These should be institutions within the experience of the general public.

The British Council could also advocate for an increase in the number of texts for UK readers that focus on representations of Indian life in India, rather than the experience of Indian immigrants in other countries.

Recommendations for further research

The scope of this analysis was specific and limited to particular jurisdictions, a particular subject, and a sample of documentation. Therefore, additional research could build upon this analysis and add further facets to enrich the findings and recommendations. This could include:

- An expansion of this analysis to include other curriculum grades.
- An expansion of this analysis to include other jurisdictions.
- An expansion of this analysis to include

textbooks from other subjects.

- Research into any accompanying Teacher Guide for each of the sampled textbooks to explore the guidance (or lack of) given to support teaching and learning in relation to the identified representations.
- A survey of Indian and British learners to explore how they receive and respond to cultural references in their teaching and learning materials.
- A survey of British learners to explore how widely read the British literary references, identified in the Indian textbooks, are in the UK.
- Further research could be undertaken to investigate how often, and in what way, other countries are represented in India's and England's textbooks.
- Using the findings from this analysis and applying a different lens to explore how that impacts on a reader's engagement with, and interpretation of, the identified representations. This could be an economic lens, a geographical lens, a gendered lens, etc.
- Research into the impact the status of English language has on the inclusion of representations by policy makers and textbook developers, and the interpretation of those representations by readers (both teachers and learners) in Indian contexts. In this case, status of language refers to whether the materials are developed for first or second (or even third) English language speakers, what the language policy of the state and school are, and the language profile of teachers and learners. This could look at examples of where these different aspects of language status are coherent and where they are conflicting.
- Research into the prevalence of these considerations around cultural representations in initial teacher training and in-service teacher professional development.

Introduction

As part of the India/UK Together, a Season of Culture, the English Programmes team in India has designed a project, "Celebrating a shared heritage", to demonstrate commitment to strengthening cultural bilateral relations between India and the United Kingdom in English language teaching, learning and assessment.

The Cambridge Partnership for Education (Cambridge) has been invited by the British Council to conduct an analysis of representation in the English curricula of the UK and India. The aim of this analysis is *to determine the extent to which each country is represented in the other's English policies, English curriculum and textbooks, and explore what form this representation takes,* particularly in relation to diversity and contemporary life.

Textbooks occupy a unique role in comparison to other texts learners may encounter in the classroom. Generally, textbooks are a highly visual and visible realisation of a curriculum. Unlike other curriculum materials, learners will continually revisit a textbook and spend a significant proportion of their learning time engaging with the content (Blumberg, 2008). In India specifically, textbooks are considered to encapsulate the official and taught curriculum, as well as the boundaries of examination content (Kumar, 2001). Those designed to support state or national curricula are frequently written by government organisations and reach teachers and classrooms in a way that policy documents may not. Conversely, in the UK, textbooks are written and published by non-government organisations, often with the express purpose of aligning with the national curriculum or relevant high stakes examinations. This alignment highlights the importance of having high quality textbooks (Oates, 2014)[4].

It is for these reasons that textbooks, as well as curriculum, and associated policy, documents are the focus for this study.

We have used an approach drawing from multimodal content analysis and elements of structural analysis (Krippendorff, 1980; Weninger, 2012). Through this process we addressed the following guiding questions:

- What are some current examples of representations of culture from either India or the UK in either country's English curricula?

- Where are the representations of culture? (i.e. national or state documents, curriculum or textbooks, primary or secondary education)

- What kind of representations are included? (e.g. what products, what practices, what persons, what perspectives)

- What is the diversity of representations of culture? (e.g. are there common stereotypes, are representations historical or contemporary)

- What opportunities exist for promoting representations of culture through English curricula design process?

In the following sections, we outline the methodology used to structure this analysis and present the findings.

The findings section is split into seven sub-sections. One of these sub-sections focuses on representations of India and the UK in curriculum documents of India and the UK; one provides a comparative analysis of the findings from each jurisdiction; four focus on representations of either India or the UK within a sample of textbooks from a specific jurisdiction; and one focuses on the representations in UK primary reading books.

Methodology

Design

A comparative multimethod study was undertaken incorporating content analysis and thematic analysis of curriculum documents and textbooks, along with a survey of teachers in India. The content analysis and the survey were underpinned by the same theoretical framework, and therefore shared strong commonalities, thus enabling triangulation between the data collected via the survey and the analysis of textbooks.

Moran (2001) explains a theoretical framework for learning and teaching English language with a focus on culture. The framework comprised aspects of culture including 'cultural Products' (e.g. elements related to tangible objects), 'cultural Practices' (e.g. daily patterns of life), 'cultural Perspectives' (e.g. superstitions, myths, rituals), 'Persons' (e.g. real people) and 'communities' (e.g. groups of people). He explains how aspects of culture can be recognised in teaching, how they connect and how they can be used in teaching. Yuen (2011) used Moran's theoretical framework, with the exception of communities, to study representations of culture in textbooks. Yuen's approach has been used in multiple studies, e.g. Baleghizadeh & Shayesteh (2020), Astiandani & Purwati (2021). Yuen's framework was deemed appropriate as a basis for this research as it is well-established and is relevant to analysing representations of culture in teaching and in documents such as textbooks.

Samples for analysis

There were four areas of review: the identified jurisdictions, national/state curriculum documents, a sample of textbooks used in classrooms and a sample of surveyed teachers.

Jurisdictions

England and Scotland were selected to represent the UK. England was chosen as most learners in the UK attend school in England. Scotland was chosen to ensure that one of the devolved nations was included. The Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland is somewhat different to the National Curriculum in England and therefore offered a useful contrast. Delhi, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu were chosen as they differ geographically and have varied approaches to applying India's national education policy and curriculum.

National and state curriculum documents

The national and state documents provided an overview of the expectations in each jurisdiction. When there was no national or state curriculum it was supplemented with examination specifications, which may bias the sample. The sample included:

England

- National curriculum in England, English programmes of study: key stages 1 and 2 (Department for Education)
- National curriculum in England, English programmes of study: key stage 3 (Department for Education)
- National curriculum in England, English programmes of study: key stage 4 (Department for Education)
- English literature GCSE: a myth buster (Department for Education)

Scotland

- Literacy and English: experiences and outcomes (Education Scotland)
- Benchmarks: Literacy and English (Education Scotland)
- National 5 Course Specification: English (Scottish Qualifications Authority)
- High Course Specification: English (Scottish Qualifications Authority)
- Scottish texts for National 5 and Higher English courses (Scottish Qualifications Authority)

India

- National Education Policy 2020 (Ministry of Human Resource Development)

- Learning Outcomes at the Elementary Stage (National Council of Educational Research)
- Learning Outcomes at the Secondary Stage (National Council of Educational Research)
- CBSE Syllabus for Classes 9 and 10 English Language and Literature Code No.184 2021-22
- CBSE Syllabus for Classes 11 and 12 English (Core) - 301; 2021-22
- CBSE Syllabus for Classes 11 and 12 English (Elective) - Code No.001; 2021-22

Textbooks

A purposive sampling approach was used. Purposive sampling is when the sample is chosen through the judgement of researchers and experts. It is acknowledged that purposive sampling has limitations, such as potential biases in researcher judgements in selecting the sample. The textbooks were selected which fitted as many of the following priorities as possible:

- Written for the national/state curriculum in English Language and/or English Literature. Literature was included as Language and Literature are often combined at some stages of education.
- Currently used by government funded schools in Classes 4, 8, 10 and 12 in India[5].
- Currently used by government funded schools in key stages (KS) 2 and 3, GCSE and A level in England[6], and the equivalent in Scotland.
- Accessible by researchers.

The selection chosen by Cambridge and the British Council can be seen below in Table B.

Jurisdiction	Number of textbooks	Levels of education in which the textbooks were used
Delhi	4	• NCERT Class 4 • NCERT Class 8 • CBSE Class 10 • CBSE Class 12
England	6	• KS2 textbook (Scholastic) • KS3 textbook (Heinemann) • GCSE English Language (Cambridge University Press) • GCSE English Literature (Collins) • A Level English Language and Literature (Cambridge University Press) • A Level English Literature (Cambridge University Press)
Maharashtra	4	• MSB (Balbharti) Class 4 • MSB (Balbharti) Class 8 • MSB (Balbharti) Class 10 • MSB (Balbharti) Class 12 • Marathi-medium Class 4 • Marathi-medium Class 10
Tamil Nadu	4	• SCERT Class 4 • SCERT Class 8 • SCERT Class 10 • SCERT Class 12

Table B: List identifying the sample textbooks

[5] Typically, Class 4 learners are aged 9-10; Class 8 learners are aged 13-14, Class 10 learners are aged 15-16, and Class 12 learners are aged 17-18.

[6] Typically, KS2 refers to learners aged 7-11 and KS3 refers to learners aged 11-14. GCSEs and A Levels are typically studied by learners aged 14-16 and 16-18 respectively.

England textbooks are often made available for key stages of education and for specific qualifications rather than identified grades or classes as is the practice in India. This has the impact of skewing the UK sample to higher levels of education, though textbooks designed for key stages 2 and 3 are also included.

Textbooks in common use in Scotland were not found.

Content analysis

Analysts read all documents in the sample and identified where they were able to identify a valid representation. To be included, the material had to mention or depict culture obviously connected to the country of analysis (i.e. an obvious connection to the UK in Indian documents and vice versa). For instance, this could include a person with traits that signified their origin, or materials originating from, or unique to, their origin. Where these were located, the following data was captured:

- document, e.g. textbook, syllabus
- jurisdiction
- location of the material, e.g. page number
- aspect of culture, i.e. Perspective, Practice, Persons or Products
- short description of the material coded
- specific standardised terms from the description
- reference material used to help make the decision, e.g. a website
- type of material, i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction or other
- era of material, i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 or Fictional

Note that the process was applied to the textbooks. This included the content of reproduced text extracts, but not to the content of external sources referenced in the textbooks. An identified representation was recorded once per page, for example, if Stephen Hawking was mentioned twice on a page he was only counted once in Cambridge's data and analysis.

There were six analysts undertaking this work. Their decisions were co-ordinated through discussion of examples and judgements, as well as a lead analyst reviewing sections of work and providing feedback as needed. Furthermore, standardised keywords were agreed between the analysts in one of these meetings. The keywords were standardised after some data capture had been undertaken to ensure that the keywords were derived from the data.

Thematic analysis

The analysts became familiar with the data from involvement in the content analysis. The data was thematically analysed to consider how the representations portray culture. The data was scrutinised for patterns (using the key words and further reading of the data). Similar data were gathered together into themes, often encompassing several keywords or other codes. Themes were validated through discussion between the analysts and confirmation through literature, such as Kumar (2001). The thematic analysis was qualitative, and the patterns mentioned were impressionistic, informed by expert opinion.

It is important to note the impact of having multiple analysts, even within the structured methodological framework. Each analyst will come to the materials with their own knowledge and experiences that will inform their interpretations, just as each reader of the curriculum documentation and textbooks (including teachers and learners) will. Each representation can have multifaceted analyses made of it depending on who is reading. Therefore, the findings of this analysis (and any analysis with a subjective element) will always be fluid, constructed and contested.

UK primary reading books

Cambridge engaged an expert in primary school reading lists in the UK to identify a selection of books available to young learners in which there are representations of India.

Survey

A survey was not initially part of the identified scope of the data collection. However, the British Council offered to supplement the data collection with a survey of Indian teachers, which was administered using their own databases and messaging systems. The survey asked the respondents not to share any identifying information. In this way, the Cambridge researchers had no access to the personal details of the respondents and the data was anonymous.

Teachers

The survey was answered by 35 English Language and/or English Literature teachers in India. All these teachers were from a group who are in contact with the British Council.

Teachers in the UK were not surveyed. This was for two reasons: teacher responses were not a direct focus of this analysis, and the databases and messaging systems in place in India do not exist in the UK context.

Instrument

The survey asked about teachers' level of influence on the textbooks and teaching resources used in classrooms and whether these exposed learners to aspects of UK culture. The content of the questionnaire drew from a theoretical framework (Yuen, 2011, Moran 2001) discussed in more detail in the section on content analysis. The survey included a process of informed consent and specifically asked respondents not to share identifying information.

The questionnaire was not piloted. However, it was reviewed by subject experts and by experienced education researchers before it was administered.

Impact on analysis

Information from the survey results was used solely to triangulate the findings of the cross-jurisdiction analysis. Further information regarding the survey results can be found in Appendix 3.

Findings

Comparison between jurisdictions

Introduction

This section is a comparison of the representation of India's cultures in textbooks from England, and UK cultures in textbooks from three states in India. The overall structure of this section is to discuss the findings for each cultural aspect in turn: Persons, Perspectives, Practices and Products. For each aspect, comparisons are made drawing first from the content analysis (using Yuen and Moran's frameworks), and then from the thematic analysis (which includes how cultures are represented).

Language and cultures are fused, and therefore it is important to learn all cultural aspects (Moran, 2001). Consequently, it is key that all cultural aspects are reasonably evenly represented across textbooks (Kim & Paek, 2015; Nur, 2021). *If a cultural aspect is relatively scarce in textbooks then it may be that it is, or would ideally be, more represented in teaching or other teaching materials.*

Findings

Regarding all cultural aspects, the concentration[7] of representations of cultures is highest for Delhi, lower for Maharashtra, lower again for Tamil Nadu and lowest for England. This may be because England's national curriculum intends to depict England as part of a multicultural Britain, that is depicting a variety of cultures from around the world and not just India. It is outside the scope of this study to investigate this point. By contrast, teaching English Literature or Language outside the UK is likely to have many representations of UK cultures as language and cultures are fused; some refer to this as linguacultures (Moran, 2001). Another potential explanation for this finding is that England's textbooks are written neutrally, to facilitate diversity and inclusion.

A textbook could, for example, say "Alfred and Vedant are buying tickets" or "two pupils are buying tickets". The former phrase is arguably inclusive of males potentially with Anglo-Saxon and Indian heritage, but the second phrase may include any gender and heritage. We recommend that:

- textbook writers consider whether representations of cultures or neutral language best achieves the intended aims of the curriculum
- further research is undertaken to investigate how often, and how well, other countries are represented in England's textbooks.

Persons

Turning first to representations of Persons (real people) from India in England's textbooks and Persons from the UK in India's textbooks. Textbooks from all three states in India have a higher concentration of representations of Persons than Perspectives or Practices. This accords with the results of our small survey showing that 54% of teachers of English agree (or strongly agree) that learners in their school are exposed to representations of real people from the UK. The concentration of Persons represented in England's textbooks was low, as is the case for all cultural aspects. In short, Persons are a recurring feature of textbooks, and learners are exposed to real people.

The bulk of the Persons represented are adults. Notable representations of children include a textbook from Delhi featuring Tilly Smith, a British girl who saved lives in the Asian tsunami; images of children in a textbook from England; and a textbook from Tamil Nadu mentioning the childhood friends of Sir Isaac Newton. Emphasising the adult world is unsurprising as many of the Persons are authors of literature (more on this later), or achieved a lot in science. Also, the older people are, the more

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[7] Concentration was calculated by counting each representation of cultures on a page once, summing the number of representations (overall as well as per aspect of cultures), and expressing each of these totals as a percentage of the number of pages in the textbooks for a jurisdiction.

chance they have had to attain achievements or become famous. In teaching (materials) and textbooks it may be conducive to learning to include representations of a child's perspective, or of key young people.

Many of the depicted Persons are authors of literature. This is unsurprising given that the sampled textbooks are English Language and/or English Literature textbooks. Keats, Shakespeare and Wordsworth are all noted in at least one textbook in each state in India. The authors are often male. The exceptions include Victoria Sackville-West (in a textbook from Delhi), Jamila Gavin (in a textbook from England), Christina Rossetti (in a textbook from Maharashtra) and Enid Blyton (in a textbook from Tamil Nadu). Interestingly, some of the Delhi textbooks refer to a male author's family, such as Anne Hathaway (who married Shakespeare), illustrating that the authors are multi-dimensional characters. Clearly there is room to increase the proportion of female authors in textbooks, while ensuring the represented authors are canonical where relevant to the chosen context. It may be that teachers and other teaching materials are drawing attention to female authors.

There are an appreciable number of scientists or mathematicians in India's textbooks, for example, Hawking (in Delhi and Maharashtra textbooks) and Newton (in Delhi and Tamil Nadu textbooks). There were fewer representations of India's scientists or mathematicians in England's textbooks, e.g. Sugata Mitra. There are two possible explanations for this observation. Firstly, this echoes that there is a lower concentration of cultural representations in England's textbooks compared with India's textbooks. Second, historically there have been systemic barriers to non-White Western populations gaining entry into the science community, evidence for which includes an analysis of the authorship of millions of articles (Kozlowski, 2022). It is also possible that UK teaching materials and classroom activities place more emphasis on India's scientists and

mathematicians than the researched textbooks. Cambridge recommend that more of India's scientists could be included in textbooks.

A further theme is representations of a variety of further professions or parts of working life. All the jurisdictions offer some variety. England's textbooks mention "police" and "colleagues", for example. Delhi textbooks included an air hostess, labourers, Mary Quant (fashion designer) and Tom Finney (footballer). Maharashtra textbooks included an actor (Charlie Chaplin), a military and political leader (Oliver Cromwell), a dancer (Gillian Lynne), and a composer (Andrew Lloyd Webber). Tamil Nadu textbooks also mentioned Charlie Chaplin, as well as including, for example, a surgeon (Joseph Bell), and a philosopher and stateman (Francis Bacon). It is recommended that textbooks continue to feature a variety of professions in India and the UK. This helps to illustrate that the cultures and economies of both contexts are varied.

There are representations of people in India living in poverty, for instance, "Children came running out of the nearest slum and glued themselves to the computer". This is offset by representations of the working world in India and mentions of India's scientists and literary authors. It is recommended that textbooks aim to depict the variety of wealth in any country.

A theme in the data is British rule, the Freedom Struggle and Independent India. At the outset it is important to state that colonisation per se is negative. Also, there is important prior work in this area. How India and Pakistan's History textbooks depict Britain's colonial rule, the freedom struggle, and the Partition were analysed in detail in Kumar's (2001) seminal work. Elder (1971) analysed language textbooks from two parts of India from 1962 to 63 and 1970 to 71. Elder concluded that the textbooks were decolonised by stressing the cultural glories of India prior to colonisation, focusing on Independent India, and skipping over British colonial rule. Elder (1971) sees silence about British rule as a successful decolonisation

of textbooks. Advantages of silence about British colonial rule are that there is less risk of depicting one race as superior to another, and it limits the number of difficult issues to tackle in textbooks and class. A disadvantage of silence is the reduced likelihood of discussing social and political issues in class, which a key study (of 28 nations) found has a more positive influence on learners' tolerance levels, their intentions of being an informed voter, and their intentions for civic and political engagement when compared with many other factors (Torney-Purta et al, 1999, 2001; Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2003). This suggests that representations of social issues in teaching and in teaching resources can be beneficial.

There are representations of British rule and Independent India in Delhi's textbooks. It is beyond the scope of English Language and English Literature textbooks to offer a full history of various time periods, therefore, any depiction of colonial rule or the Freedom Struggle is inexhaustive. At the same time, it is important that English Language and English Literature textbooks do not depict Indian or British people as monolithically superior. In terms of representing British colonial rule negatively, there is a reference to a Secretary of the British Landlord's Association in 1917 who is unhelpful and patronising. British cultures have had some positive influence, for example, Governor-General Bentinck (Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835) contributed to abolishing sati and suppressing female infanticide. Furthermore, people from both India and the UK furthered the struggle for India's freedom, for example, Mangal Pandey (Indian) and Rev. Charles Freer Andrews (British).

Perspectives

The concentration of Perspectives is low in all jurisdictions. A possible explanation is that Perspectives are often tacit, and may be tricky to write into textbooks or discern in a content analysis. Greater efforts are needed to ensure that Perspectives occur more frequently in

textbooks if the aim of education is to promote cultures.

Despite the lack of Perspectives in textbooks, 74% of surveyed teachers of English in India agree (or strongly agree) that learners in their schools are exposed to UK Perspectives in teaching resources. Perhaps these are teaching resources used in addition to the textbooks. In terms of teaching, Perspectives can be uncovered by considering cultural differences that teachers and learners experience in life or notice in media (Moran, 2001).

There are instances of negative Western views of people from other areas. One of England's textbooks refers to 'Orientalism' by Edward Said, which argues that orientalism is a negative Western attitude to people and cultures of the East, which sees the East as unchanging and underdeveloped, and which can be used to argue for Western imperial power. The same textbook includes "British" perspectives on people from India between 1765 and 1836; namely that people from India were scorned, considered unworthy of trust, and incapable of honesty; that debtors should go to jail; and that goods from England should not be subject to import duties. The same scenes frame the British, or the East India Company, as merchants who wanted quick profits, which ruined some Indian businesses and led to some Indians starving. Some argue that negative portrayal of particular ethnic or racial groups can perpetuate unhelpful stereotypes (Lebeloane, 2017). Overall, the key issue is how the perspectives are handled in the classroom.

Practices

With regards to representations of Indian Practices in England's textbooks and UK Practices in India's textbooks, the concentration of Practices is low for all jurisdictions except Delhi. The content analysis does not offer a clear reason for this difference, and this is explored further in the findings of the thematic analysis. It is possible that the low

representation of Practices in some textbooks is offset by teaching in schools, as 57% of our surveyed teachers agree (or strongly agree) that learners in their school are exposed to UK Practices. Given these findings, it is suggested that textbook developers boost the representation of Practices. An example of using Practices in textbooks and teaching is describing a wedding or other ceremonies, their significance to people's lives, and the meaning of the ceremony (Moran, 2001).

Practices such as tea-drinking, (religious) festivals, and sport are in the textbooks from each jurisdiction. The representations of the UK tend to be related to Christian festivals/traditions[8], the tradition of tea-drinking, and various colloquialisms. This offers some variety, but also leaves room for increased diversity in this area.

Class and/or socio-economic status appears in the textbooks. The representations of India's cultures tend to emphasise the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. Representations of the UK include links with low socio-economic classes as well as references to monarchy and aristocracy, which offers variety. Arguably, featuring monarchy and aristocracy offers a dated picture of the UK, but the royal family are often in the news in a variety of countries, the UK still has a House of Lords, and there is a market for buying aristocratic titles. We recommend that textbook developers continue to ensure that the diversity within the socio-economic spectrum is represented.

Clothing is another represented theme. Instances include a boy wearing Scottish clothing, i.e. a kilt, sporran and wellingtons; and formal dress for meeting royalty. Interestingly, there is a depiction of World War II uniforms which may be inaccurate. Although there is some variety in the UK clothing that is depicted, there is less variety amongst the depicted clothing from India. In one sense this echoes the headline finding that there is a lesser concentration of representations in England's textbooks than in India's textbooks. In short, clothing is one Practice which could be represented more frequently in textbooks. Alternatively, teaching may already incorporate community members and their representations of clothing.

Products

This section concerns representations of Products of India's cultures in England's textbooks and vice versa. Of all aspects of cultures, Products yielded the highest concentration in all jurisdictions. This finding is corroborated by the survey result that found 64% of teachers agree (or strongly agree) that learners in their school are exposed to UK Products, and by Yuen (2011) who found more representations of Products than other cultural aspects in language textbooks in Hong Kong. An implication is that there could be scope for a reduction in the proportion of representations of Products and an increase in the proportion of representations of other cultural aspects.

Given much of the data is categorised as Products, it can be further divided. Moran (2001) divides Products into sub-aspects of culture: artefacts (objects/material culture), artforms (language and its creative manifestations), institutions (organisations and organised systems), and places (physical settings). All these sub-aspects are evident in the textbooks. An exception is that Cambridge did not detect institutions from India in England's textbooks. Much of the data is categorised as artforms, which is to be expected given that the textbooks included English Literature. Therefore, it is not that meaningful to compare the balance of artefacts, artforms, institutions and places between the different jurisdictions. Instead we focus on the nature of the artefacts and so on.

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[8] As mentioned previously Christian festivals in the textbooks are often framed as UK traditions. However, it maybe that there have been Christians in India since AD52 (Frykenberg, 2008).

Artefacts

The UK's representations of artefacts included Sellotape (in Delhi's textbooks), pennies (in Maharashtra's textbooks) and a tollgate (in Tamil Nadu's textbooks). England's textbooks included food, a rickshaw and slums. Some of the artefacts feature in summaries of English Literature, such as where a textbook speaks of the book 'Black Beauty' and mentions a bridge. The above indicates that there are a range of artefacts and they do not necessarily show particular cultures in a certain way.

Artforms

Many of the artforms are literary works because Cambridge analysed textbooks on English Language and English Literature. To look at this in detail would likely be to research curriculum content and coherence rather than representations of cultures. Also, many of the representations are of fictional characters. Reading through the names and traits of the characters suggests that the England and Maharashtra textbooks have more male than female characters. All jurisdiction's textbooks tend to depict adult-life rather than a child's world. These findings are likely a function of English Literature as a subject rather than the actions of the textbook developers. Literary work from India's cultures is represented in one of England's textbooks, for example Jhumpa Lahiri's 'The Lowland'.

Institutions

Cambridge found no representations of Indian institutions in England's textbooks. This echoes the finding that England's textbooks have relatively few representations of India's cultures. Representations of institutions in Delhi's textbooks include a sports club and education organisations; Maharashtra textbooks include education organisations and learned societies; and Tamil Nadu textbooks include

a public library. The institutions detected give a taster of a variety of institutions in the UK, including organisations that the British public may experience. This aligns with Crisp and Greatorex's (in submission) view that, when providing contexts in which learners apply subject knowledge, it is good practice to use contexts which the public are likely to experience. At the same time, some textbooks offer representations of specialist groups which are not part of everyday experience, but which are important nonetheless. We recommend that textbooks and teaching (materials) offer learners a mention of a variety of institutions, and that these are frequently within the experience of the general public.

Places

Delhi's textbooks note a variety of (particularly urban) places in the UK, but not representations of the North of England. England's textbooks also mention various places, both urban and rural. Maharashtra's textbooks highlighted London, which seems London-centric, but in mid-2019 the population of London was greater than the population of Wales and Scotland combined[9], so arguably London deserves attention. Many of the places in Maharashtra's textbooks are cities, rather than towns or countryside. References to universities and the Prime Minister's office also exist. Tamil Nadu's textbooks flag cities as well as the countryside and refer to places in Scotland and in many areas of England. Places in Northern Ireland or Wales are not mentioned in India's textbooks. Although it is possible to point to areas of the UK and India which are omitted, there is evidence of some variation in the places mentioned in the textbooks. Cambridge recommends that developers of textbooks and teaching materials, and teachers themselves, continue to refer to cities, towns, and countryside, from various parts of the two

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9 National Statistics Office (2020), Population estimates for the UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, provisional: mid-2019, Table 2, https:// www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2019

countries. Additionally, we recommend that the places included should reflect the purposes of the language being taught. For instance, if the purpose of language education is to encourage overseas study there is good reason to mention overseas universities, whereas if the purpose is to teach a language for use in industry, then it is important to focus on places with industrial connections.

Representations of India and the UK in curriculum documents of India and the UK

Introduction

This section focuses on the learning from reviews of the national curriculum documents of the UK and India. It also reflects on some policy decisions that influence representation in English teaching and learning.

Representation of India in the UK national curriculum

None of the England or Scotland curriculum documents analysed by Cambridge contain specific references to India. However, the England documents clarify the broad scope for teachers and learners to choose their own texts for key stages 1 to 3. Although this means there are no specific limitations barring the use of texts from or depicting representations of India, the only explicit reference to non-British texts is the suggestion to read "seminal world literature" (key stage 3). This term is not defined, and no examples are given in the curriculum documents.

In key stage 4 in England, learners are required to study at least one Shakespeare play, works from the 19th, 20th, 21st centuries, and poetry since 1789. Exam boards provide a list of texts to choose from based on this minimum. There is currently no existing driver to include texts containing representations of India.

All set texts listed in the Education Scotland documents are from Scotland. Further guidance suggests that learners are recommended to study a variety of texts, but no further detail or examples are given. Similarly, some of the set texts for National 5 and Higher English courses reference non-Scottish places, but none of them reference India.

Representation of the UK in the India national curriculum

The Maharashtra curriculum has been identified from the relevant sections published in the Balbharti textbooks.

There are no references to the UK in the National Education Policy 2020, though there are references to English as a medium of instruction and as a subject in its own right. References to texts either focus on linguistic access or, more thematically, focus on young Indians' awareness "of the rich and vast array of language of their country, and the treasures that they and their literatures contain" (National Education Policy: Multilingualism, p14). This is unsurprising as the Policy addresses the whole curriculum, not just the English curriculum, and its vision "is to instil among the learners a deep-rooted pride in being Indian" (National Education Policy: Diversity, p5).

The findings from the NCERT and Maharashtra documents were similar to each other. This is likely due to the similarities between the relevant sections of the documents themselves[10]. There also appears to be a range of priorities in the NCERT and Maharashtra curricula that could potentially impact on the scope of teachers' and learners' chosen texts, for example, as with the National Education Policy, there is a desire to focus on the "uniqueness of Indian culture, heritage and its contribution to world knowledge" (NCERT Secondary, p14), but there is also a requirement to read "comparative literature and get insights into other cultures and their value systems" (Maharashtra, Class 12, pX).

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[10] Our review found that the pedagogical processes are identical in both in NCERT and Maharashtra documents, but that the learning outcomes were different.

Although there are no specified set texts that are from a UK context in either the NCERT and Maharashtra documents, learners in Classes 6 to 8 are instructed to "become familiar with songs/poems/prose in English" (NCERT Elementary, p34) and "watch/listen to English movies, serials, educational channels with sub-titles, audio-video material, teacher reading out from materials and eminent speakers" (NCERT Elementary, p36). Due to the language medium (i.e. written in English), it is likely that many of the texts teachers and learners identify to address these instructions will either be texts from the UK, written by British authors or contain references to the UK.

Unlike the documents discussed so far, the CBSE does have prescribed texts and aims to "provide extensive exposure to a variety of rich texts of world literature as well as Indian writings in English" (CBSE English Elective, Code no.001). Only one of the prescribed texts is likely to be interpreted as a representation of the UK, "Arms and the Man" by George Bernard Shaw, yet the author self-identified as Irish and the play is not set in the UK. This particular example highlights the difficulty of *accounting for the impact of shifting geopolitical realities during the periods covered by this review* and the impact this has on a reader's view of the UK.

Conclusions

From the review of both UK and Indian curriculum documents, it is clear that there is minimal statutory guidance on the use of specific texts in the English classroom unless for the study of an external qualification. Instead, *the UK and Indian jurisdictions are similar in their overarching emphasis on studying texts from learners' own culture alongside notable world literature.* This broad guidance leaves text choice open to publishers, teachers and learners.

Representations of the UK in textbooks from Delhi

Introduction

Cambridge's review of textbooks from Delhi included four textbooks for the following classes:

- NCERT Class 4
- NCERT Class 8
- CBSE Class 10
- CBSE Class 12

Results

A total of 567 pages were analysed from across our four sampled Delhi textbooks. The sections below outline the content and thematic analysis of the representations identified in this sample.

Content analysis

The frequency of representation of UK cultures in our sample of Delhi textbooks is shown in Table C. In total, Cambridge identified 379 representations of UK cultures. Products are the most frequently depicted and Perspectives the least.

Cultural aspect	Frequency
Products	188 (50%)
Practices	77 (20%)
Perspectives	9 (2%)
Persons	105 (28%)
Total	**379**

Table C: Frequency of representations of UK cultures in Delhi textbooks

In these representations, we found Products are often places and fictional characters; Practices focus on Christmas, World War I, and aspects of British rule in India; the majority of the representations identified as Perspectives are taken from a single source and focus on perceptions of the British in the first half of the 19th century; and Persons are often identified as writers and poets, but there are also references to scientists and notable Historical figures. These representations are considered in more detail in the results of the thematic analysis.

Types of materials including representations

Table D shows the frequency of representation of UK cultures for each type of material (i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction and other). In our sample of Delhi textbooks, we found that over 60% of representations were depicted in prose text. On the opposite end of the scale, we identified one representation from a drama text.

Cultural aspect	Drama	Poetry	Prose	Non-fiction	Other
Products	1	24	118	1	44
Practices	0	1	49	1	26
Perspectives	0	2	2	0	5
Persons	0	10	64	13	18
Total	**1**	**37**	**233**	**15**	**93**

Table D: Frequency of representations of UK cultures for type of material in Delhi textbooks

As seen in Table D, the representations identified in the prose most closely reflects the overall frequency of each cultural aspect identified in these sampled textbooks: with Products most frequently represented and Perspectives represented the least. This is unsurprising given the proportionality of representations in prose content when compared to the four remaining text types, as seen in Table C.

There are no representations of cultural Practices, Perspectives or Persons in the drama content used within the sampled textbooks and one representation of a cultural Product. However, this low number (in comparison to the other identified text types) could be due to the limited use of drama texts within the sampled textbooks.

The poetry content has frequent representations of Products and Persons, but has a nominal number of representations of Practices and Perspectives. Similarly, there is a clear distinction in the type of cultural aspects represented in the non-fiction content.

The majority are representations of Persons, while there are single representations of Products and Practices, and no representations of Perspectives.

The 'other' content accounts for around 25% of the identified representations, with all cultural aspects accounted for. The majority of representations are of Products, and Perspectives are the least represented.

Products, Practices and Persons are most frequently represented in the prose content, but Perspectives is most frequently represented in the 'other' content. This is despite Perspectives being the least identified cultural aspect in the 'other' content.

Eras represented

Table E contains the frequency of representation of UK cultures per era (i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional). In our sample of Delhi textbooks, we found that the majority are identified as Fictional, meaning that the representation was either era-agnostic or the era could not be identified from the given text.

Cultural aspect	Contemporary	Recent	Historical	Fictional	pre-1858
Products	42	17	29	100	0
Practices	18	22	35	2	0
Perspectives	0	0	6	2	1
Persons	37	39	25	4	0
Total	**97**	**78**	**95**	**108**	**1**

Table E: Frequency of representations of UK cultures per era in Delhi textbooks

Although Fictional representations are the most frequent, the number of Contemporary, Recent, Historical and Fictional representations are relatively close. The only real outlier is the number of representations of pre-1858, which accounts for one representation of Perspectives.

Fictional Products are the most frequently represented sub-set of era-specific cultural aspects. There were no representations of Contemporary or Recent Perspectives and no representations of pre-1858 Products, Practices or Persons.

Both Contemporary and Fictional references most frequently represent Products. However, in the Contemporary references Perspectives is the notable outlier, with no representations; whereas in the Fictional references, the Products is the notable outlier, with two representations of Practices and Perspectives and four representations of Persons.

Recent references most frequently represent Persons, and least frequently represented are Perspectives with no representations.

Finally, Historical references most frequently represents Practices, but there are similar numbers of Products and Persons represented. Practices are least frequently represented by Historical references.

Thematic analysis

Gendered representations

As identified earlier, there are 105 representations of Persons. However, once we include all gendered representations (i.e. this includes representations identified as Persons, Fictional Products, and Practices), this number increases to 192. Of this total number of gendered representations 58 are female and 134 are male, which shows a disparity in the number of representations of men and women that is not representative of the male to female ratio of the population of the UK[11].

Within these gendered representations, males were more likely than females to be presented as active agents within the given context:

- male - 30 active : 17 passive : 75 other
- female - 15 active : 29 passive : 14 other[12]

This implies a distinction in the behaviour of British males and females, which is not necessarily representative of the reality.

Among the female gendered representations, there is an equitable split in the number of adults (29) and children (28). However, this parity of numbers is not the case with the male gendered representations, where the number of male adults (122) far exceeds the number of male children (7)[13]. This comparatively low number is exacerbated

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[11] As of 2020, the male to female ratio of the total UK population was 97.67 males per 100 females (Knoema https://tinyurl.com/2p8a83ny, 8 March 2022)

[12] 'other' refers to gendered representations that were presented with no context to suggest activeness or passivity.

[13] There are six gendered representation where the age is unspecified. This accounts for five male and one female gendered representations.

as four of those seven representations refer to the same child: a "naughty boy" who is described as a stereotypical Scot (i.e. wearing a kilt and sporran, redhead). This means that, even though there are more male gendered representations, there is not the same balance of age demographics as there are for female gendered representations. This provides fewer opportunities for readers to make connections between themselves and demographically similar British representations.

Of the 134 male gendered representations, 77 refer to Persons and 57 are fictional Products. The majority of the identified Persons are representations of authors (44). These are mainly authors of the extracts chosen for inclusion in the textbooks. There are also references to notable figures, i.e. Stephen Hawking and Isaac Newton.

The remainder of the male gendered representations, both Persons and fictional characters, can then be further divided into those situated in conflict and not situated in conflict. Those situated in conflict were identified in the Class 8 and Class 12 textbooks and are representations of World War I and of events during British rule in India. The representations of British soldiers from World War I depict them as active and positive characters as the given extract is written from the British perspective. British soldiers are also represented in the text about events during British rule in India. However, unlike the World War I text, they (along with British officials) are depicted either neutrally or negatively. The neutral representations occur where events are reported factually with little to no judgement given on either side, e.g. in depiction of Mangal Pandey's attack on his British adjutant. Instead the onus is on the reader to apply their judgement to what is being presented. The negative representations focus on the British attempting to exert authority over Indians; they are shown to be threatening, patronising and bullying.

The male gendered representations that are not situated in conflict include stereotypes of Scottish children and English working class families. Taken independently, these representations provide balanced depictions of these characters, i.e. simultaneously showing positive, negative, and neutral traits. However, the reproduction of stereotypes, e.g. working class adult male whose only interest is football, risks potentially embedding them further.

Of the 58 female gendered representations, 18 refer to Persons and 40 are fictional Products. Focusing first on the Persons, there is only one of the Persons identified as an author[14]. This is notable in comparison to the number of male gendered Persons identified as authors, and further consideration is given to the rationale for this disparity in the next sub-section of this thematic analysis. Seven of the 18 representations are from a single Recent source within the Class 8 textbook and focus on a young British girl, and her family, who saved lives during the tsunami in Thailand. These representations are positive and present the young girl as taking an active role in relation to others. The remaining eight representations situate these females either in relation solely to their job role (i.e. air hostess) or in relation to men (i.e. [name's] wife). Therefore, although these representations are explicitly depicted positively, they implicitly evoke a sense of limitations on the depiction of females in the British context.

The 40 identified female gendered characters depict a more representative demographic than the female Persons. There are 17 adults and 23 children, with the adults including a working class mother, active professionals working in a variety of settings, and an older lady in a care home. The 21 of the 23 representations of children are from two extracts published within the textbooks. Both extracts are from Historical publications, which means there are no contemporaneous representations of British

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[14] The author is Victoria Sackville-West.

female child characters, Persons or fictional, for any female child readers to relate to.

Non-gendered representations

Once the gendered representations are accounted for, there are a further 187 representations covering Products, Perspectives and Practices. These are not evenly split across the four textbooks but are reflective of the overall number of representations in each textbook:

- Class 4 - 9 out of a possible 25 representations
- Class 8 - 100 out of a possible 168 representations
- Class 10 - 34 out of a possible 72 representations
- Class 12 - 44 out of a possible 114 representations

The nine non-gendered representations in the Class 4 textbook are all Products, focusing either on Historical texts or Contemporary references to places in Scotland.

The non-gendered representations in the Class 10 textbook are broadly split in a 2:1 ratio between Products and Practices respectively.

The textbooks for Classes 8 and 12 include non-gendered representations of Products, Practices and Perspectives. The most represented in the Class 8 textbook are Practices, while the most represented in the Class 8 textbook are Products.

The sub-sections below will explore each aspect in turn and provide analysis on the representations identified.

Representations of Products

There are 188 identified representations of Products, 99 of which are non-gendered. These 99 representations are a mixture of Contemporary (36), Recent (16), Historical (21) and Fictional (26); only pre-1858 is unaccounted for.

These representations can be grouped thematically as:

- selection of texts

- places
- commodities and exports
- law and order
- other

Selection of texts

Of the British texts that are explicitly mentioned, all but one were written in the 19th century. Cambridge understands that older texts are often chosen for inclusion as the copyright will have expired and so no additional costs are incurred in their inclusion. The rationale may also aid in explaining the disparity between the number of identified representations of male authors in comparison to female authors across the four textbooks. This *reliance on uncopyrighted texts has some potentially unintended consequences for the representations.*

All of the identified British texts are written by men. This is reflective of the number of published male writers in comparison to published female writers during the 19th century, as during that time the number of female writers was in decline (Underwood, Bamman and Lee, 2018). Although a couple of the texts do contain active female characters, e.g. Alice in Wonderland, Far From the Madding Crowd, the others tend to use female characters solely as plot devices for their male protagonists, e.g. The Time Machine, The Jungle Book. These texts are not identified as negative representations; they are identified as either positive or neutral; giving a snapshot of what are considered to be 'classic' examples of British children's literature and in the case of The Time Machine, an early example of the Science Fiction genre. As a result, what they do not offer is a balanced representation of Britain across the multiple eras.

Places

There are representations of numerous places across the UK, with a focus on Scotland and England. Wales, Northern Ireland, and the other smaller islands across the British Isles are not represented.

Many of the places represented are factually stated without any contextual information to make judgement on each place. These include regional areas (e.g. South East England), towns/cities (e.g. Bridport, Dorset), streets (e.g. Fish Street), and landmarks (e.g. London Bridge).

The places that are represented with contextual information are depicted as neutral or positive. Scotland, as a whole, is represented as cold but merry, with lots of castles. Camusfearna in the West Highlands is the only specific locale represented for Scotland, and is depicted as being situated on a rural coastline. Conversely, the representations of the contextualised places in England focus on towns and cities, i.e. Cambridge, Stratford-Upon-Avon, London. With Cambridge and Stratford-Upon-Avon, the representations are of some of their most famous associations: the University of Cambridge and Shakespeare respectively. The representations of London depict a busy city with a large population and tall buildings, but also emphasise the theatre as a positive feature.

Commodities and exports

Many of the identified representations of commodities and exports are mentioned only in passing without any contextual information, i.e. Sellotape, British ships, British colonial-style houses, newspapers and periodicals.

There are two representations of British food: a full English breakfast and shepherd's pie. These are both presented as traditional foods, and, subverting the stereotype of British food as bland and of poor quality, they are represented as good foods.

Although no company names are explicitly mentioned, there is a representation of "the British airline" as being exclusive and civilised. No comparison is given in relation to this representation.

Law and order

There are three texts that contain representations relating to law and order. The first is an extract from a novel that contains representations of the British Army during World War I. As mentioned previously, as this extract is written from the British perspective, the representations are generally positive. The second is a comic strip that contains representations of the British during British rule in India, showing them to be both perpetrators and targets of violence and conflict. The third text is a poem that makes reference to the Flying Squad and Scotland Yard, representing them as positive, if easily baffled, agents in fighting crime.

All of these texts appear in the Class 8 textbook. This could result in readers in this particular class developing a skewed view of the UK due to over-emphasis on representations relating to this particular theme.

Other

There are a few representations of Products that are associated with the UK, but do not easily fit into the other thematic categories listed above. These include weather and Christianity.

The representation of weather is in relation to the seasons, but the text only refers to a two season cycle within a year (i.e. summer and winter), which may lead to misconceptions for readers.

All but one of the representations of Christianity are in relation to texts and carols about Christmas, while the other representation is a reference to Sunday as "the Lord's Day". The latter is the only representation of a religious Product that explicitly states ownership over something that affects others. Otherwise, the representations are not exclusionary to other religious beliefs.

Representations of Perspectives

There are nine identified representations of Perspectives. These are a mixture of Historical (6), pre-1858 (1) and Fictional (2). Contemporary and Recent are unaccounted for. Seven of these representations are identified in the Class 8 textbook, with the remaining two in the Class 12 textbook. There are no representations

of Perspectives in either the Class 4 or 10 textbooks.

Five of the nine identified representations of Perspectives are from the same extract (i.e. the comic strip text identified in the 'law and order' sub-section above) that focuses on incidents that occurred during the British rule in India. Most of these refer to the terms 'British', 'English' and 'Europeans' being used interchangeably. These are not direct synonyms and presenting them as such may perpetuate misconceptions in their use.

In the remaining four Perspectives, there are representations of the 'English' in India as closeminded, disrespectful and deceitful. These Perspectives are shown in the text to have directly contributed to the start of the 1857 revolt.

Representations of Practices

There are 77 identified representations of Practices, 69 of which are non-gendered. These 69 representations are a mixture of Contemporary (15), Recent (22) and Historical (32); pre-1858 and Fictional are unaccounted for. There are no non-gendered representations of Practices in the Class 4 textbook.

These representations can be grouped thematically as:

- Christmas
- sports
- conflict
- other

Christmas

Of the identified Practices, 18 are representations of traditions enjoyed at Christmas. The traditions represented are a mixture of secular (e.g. wearing a paper hat from a cracker) and religious (e.g. placing an angel on the top of a Christmas tree). All of these representations are in the Class 8 textbook, and all but one are contained within a single extract. Due to the nature of the extract, which alternates between Contemporary and

Historical eras, the representations of Christmas Practices also alternate between those eras. Despite this alternation, the representations are of Practices that have remained consistent between these eras. However, this is not explicitly clarified for readers in the extract.

Sports

There are three representations of Practices in relation to sports: two to football and one to cricket. These all appear in a single extract within the Class 8 textbook.

Although football and cricket are not unique to the UK, these particular representations suggest a stereotype of the British (predominantly male) obsession with playing these sports, even in challenging circumstances. These three representations depict soldiers playing these sports while on deployment during World War I.

Conflict

As mentioned previously, World War I is not the only example of Practices related to areas of conflict represented within the sampled textbooks. There are also representations related to the Anglo-Boer War, Apartheid, and British rule in India, including the First War of Independence.

The representations of Practices in relation to World War I all appear within the Class 8 textbook and relate either to the language use at the time (i.e. nicknames for soldiers), the uniform, and rations. All of these are depicted neutrally, though depending on the views of the reader some could be interpreted as negative Practices, e.g. the inclusion of rum rations.

The representations of Practices in relation to the Anglo-Boer War and Apartheid all appear within the Class 10 textbook and depict racist Practices exhibited through discrimination, oppression and deprivation. These representations were identified as relevant to this analysis due to the British role in the creation of Apartheid and their part in the Anglo-Boer War. However, depending on the reader's prior knowledge of the British role in

Apartheid and of this war, they may not identify these representations as specifically British representations.

The Class 8 and 12 textbooks both contain representations of conflict-related Practices undertaken by the British in India. The majority of these identified representations are depicted negatively, and include:

- the torture and mistreatment of prisoners in Cellular Jail
- the actions of the East India Company
- the punishments meted out to Indians who revolted against the British
- First War of Independence
- the behaviour of British landlords in India

There are a couple of Practices which are presented as potentially divisive representations: the implementation of the English education system in India and the role of the British Parliament. The text itself *shows awareness that within India there are conflicting views about whether either of these are positive, negative or neutral Practices.* For example, there's an ambiguous opinion on whether the British Parliament will demonstrate impartial justice in response to grievances raised by Indians related to British rule in India.

Other

There are two representations referring to the British starting tea plantations in India and exporting the tea to the British. These representations are presented neutrally, but are interesting as they show both British influence in India and Indian influence on the British.

Other key information

In these textbooks, there are lots of American representations as well as British ones. Readers may not readily distinguish between texts written by British and American authors (particularly for less well-known authors) and between representations of British and American (or indeed other European) Persons, Products, Perspectives and Practices.

Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis has identified some potential gaps in British representation, i.e. a gender gap, limited use of Contemporary texts, low numbers of representations of children in comparison to the representations of adults. Therefore, when choosing any supplementary materials that contain British representations, care could be taken to ensure that these gaps are filled. This would provide greater balance to the overall representation.

We recommend the same care is taken where there is the potential for over-emphasis on a particular theme within a single textbook. In the Class 8 textbook, for example, there is notable emphasis on representations of the British during World War I and conflicts between Britain and India. Although it is important to learn about and from our shared history, it would provide greater balance to the overall representation if other, more contemporary representations were also made available.

The analysis identified some examples where terminology relating to people and places within the British Isles were used interchangeably. Therefore, further work could be undertaken to distinguish between and clarify the language used to refer to different nationalities within, and parts of, the British Isles.

Representations of the UK in textbooks from Maharashtra

Introduction

Cambridge's review of textbooks from Maharashtra included six textbooks for the following classes:

- Class 4 English-medium
- Class 8 English-medium
- Class 10 English-medium
- Class 12 English-medium
- Class 4 Marathi-medium
- Class 10 Marathi-medium

The choice to include Marathi-medium textbooks allows us to compare the variations in representation of the UK in English textbooks in schools with different linguistic mediums.

Results

A total of 846 pages were analysed from across our six sampled Maharashtra textbooks. The sections below outline the content and thematic analysis of the representations identified in this sample.

Content analysis

The frequency of representation of UK cultures in our sample of Maharashtra textbooks is shown in Table F. In total, Cambridge identified 416 representations of UK cultures. Products are the most frequently depicted and Perspectives the least.

Cultural aspect	Frequency
Products	279 (67%)
Practices	6 (1%)
Perspectives	2 (>0%)
Persons	129 (31%)
Total	**416**

Table F: Frequency of representations of UK cultures in Maharashtra textbooks

In these representations, we found Products are often places, texts and fictional characters; Practices focus on religious and royal ceremony; both representations identified as Perspectives focus on Christianity; and Persons are mainly identified as authors, but there are also references to a wide range of notable Historical figures. These representations are considered in more detail in the results of the thematic analysis.

Types of materials including representations

Table G shows the frequency of representation of UK cultures for each type of material (i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction and other). In our sample of Maharashtra textbooks, we found that over 80% of representations were depicted in prose and non-fiction texts, with prose containing the most representations. The least number of representations were identified in drama texts.

As seen in Table G, there are no representations of Practices in drama or other texts; no representations of Perspectives in drama, prose, non-fiction or other texts; and no representations of Persons in drama texts. The low number of representations from drama texts in comparison to other text types could be due to the limited use of drama texts within the sampled textbooks.

The poetry, prose and non-fiction content all contain frequent representations of Products and Persons, but have zero or nominal numbers of representations of Practices and Perspectives.

The representations from other texts follows a similar pattern to the poetry, prose and non-fiction content, but have no representations of Practices or Perspectives.

Cultural aspect	Drama	Poetry	Prose	Non-fiction	Other
Products	5	35	159	74	6
Practices	0	1	2	3	0
Perspectives	0	2	0	0	0
Persons	0	24	14	87	4
Total	**5**	**62**	**175**	**164**	**10**

Table G: Frequency of representations of UK cultures for type of material in Maharashtra textbooks

Eras represented

Table H contains the frequency of representation of UK cultures per era (i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional). In our sample of Maharashtra textbooks, we found that the majority are identified as Historical.

Cultural aspect	Drama	Poetry	Prose	Non-fiction	Other
Products	22	29	161	1	65
Practices	0	0	4	0	2
Perspectives	0	0	0	0	2
Persons	20	21	46	0	43
Total	**42**	**50**	**211**	**1**	**112**

Table H: Frequency of representations of UK cultures per era in Maharashtra textbooks

Although Historical representations are the most frequent, the number of pre-1858 representations is notably higher than the Contemporary, Recent and Fictional representations. Similarly, the number of Contemporary and Recent representations (which are fairly close in number) are notably higher than the Fictional representations.

There is only one Fictional representation identified across all six textbooks, making it the least represented. The representation is of British birds.

Historical Products are the most frequently represented sub-set of era-specific cultural aspects. There were no representations of Contemporary, Recent or Fictional Practices; no representations of Contemporary, Recent or Fictional Perspectives; and no representations of Fictional Persons.

All eras follow the same pattern of most frequently representing Products, followed by Persons. The number of Practices and Perspectives, for all eras, are either tied in number or there are slightly more Practices represented.

Thematic analysis

Gendered representations

As identified earlier, there are 129 representations of Persons. However, once we include all gendered representations (i.e. this include representations identified as Persons, Fictional Products, and Perspectives), this number increases to 196. Of this total number of gendered representations 29 are female and 167 are male, which shows a disparity in the number of representations of men and women that is not representative of the male to female ratio of the population of the UK[15].

There is insufficient data available to comment on the activeness and passivity of the gendered representations in the Maharashtra textbooks.

Of the 196 gendered representations, 195 are of adults and one is of children. This representation of children is a male gendered fictional Product. Only one representation is of children, but it is of the Baker Street Irregulars. This reference requires readers to have prior knowledge of the Sherlock Holmes stories to understand that they are children, i.e. street boys employed by Holmes as intelligence agents.

Of the 29 female gendered representations, 18 refer to Persons and 11 are fictional Products. The majority of the identified Persons are representations of authors (16).

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[15] As of 2020, the male to female ratio of the total UK population was 97.67 males per 100 females (Knoema https://tinyurl.com/2p8a83ny, 8 March 2022)

These are all authors of the extracts chosen for inclusion in the textbooks and cover the full range of eras. The only other female gendered representations of Persons refer to one dancer. Aside from being a dancer, the only other contextual information the reader is given is that she is English.

All of the female gendered fictional Products (11) are representations of a single character from one extract: Mary Morston from Arthur Conan Doyle's 'The Sign of Four'. This Historical representation depicts a "dainty" young woman with "a suggestion of limited means" whose sole purpose in the extract is to provide the conflict for Sherlock Holmes to address.

Of the 167 male gendered representations, 111 refer to Persons, 55 are fictional Products, and there is one Perspective. The majority of the identified Persons are representations of authors (76). These are mainly authors of the extracts chosen for inclusion in the textbooks. However, there are also references to other notable figures across a range of areas and covering all eras, including:

- scientists, i.e. Oliver Sacks, John Edensor Littlewood, Ronald Ross, Stephen Hawking and Isaac Newton

- royalty and nobility, i.e. King George (unspecified as to which one), Lord Chesterfield

- religious figures, i.e. Abbot of Aberbrothok

- artists: i.e. Andrew Lloyd Webber, Charlie Chaplin

- leaders, i.e. Oliver Cromwell, Nick Clegg, Henry Lawrence.

Of these notable figures, Stephen Hawking is represented the most frequently. He is represented ten times across three textbooks: Class 8 and Class 10 English-medium and Class 10 Marathi-medium.

The 55 representations of male gendered fictional Products are split across four text extracts, with one extract appearing in each of the following textbooks: Class 4, Class 8 and

Class 12 English-medium and Class 10 Marathi-medium.

All of these male gendered fictional Products are Historical or pre-1858 representations. Some focus on characters that are defined only through their societal role, i.e. English prince, serving men, Lord Mayor of London. However, the majority are named, positive, and active protagonists, i.e. Sherlock Holmes, Phileas Fogg and Dick Wittington, and their companions. Together, these are all examples of the adventure genre, with British male characters depicted in the role of hero.

There is only one male-gendered Perspective, "Jesus as Lord" which appears in a poem in the Class 8 textbook.

Of the 129 representations of Persons, 95 are identified as authors. This accounts for almost half of the total number of gendered representations. It's ***notable that almost all of these representations are prefaced by the author's nationality:***

- There are Persons that identify as multiple nationalities including those from outside of the British Isles, i.e. "Polish-British writer Joseph Conrad", "Guyanese-born British-American novelist Eustace Edward Ricardo Braithwaite", while others identify as multiple nationalities within the British Isles, i.e. "Irish-British author Bill Naughton"

- The preface "Welsh poet and writer William H. Davies" is the only reference to Wales across any of the textbooks

- Some of the representations distinguish between the author's nationality and place of birth, i.e. "American-born British author Henry James", "British-born American poet Edgar Guest"

- There is one representation that depicts a shared cultural heritage between India and the UK, i.e. "Indian author of British descent, Ruskin Bond".

Non-gendered representations

Once the gendered representations are accounted for, there are a further 220 representations covering Products, Perspectives and Practices:

- Class 4 English-medium - 7 out of a possible 13 representations
- Class 8 English-medium - 20 out of a possible 44 representations
- Class 10 English-medium - 17 out of a possible 33 representations
- Class 12 English-medium - 160 out of a possible 294 representations
- Class 4 Marathi-medium - 3 out of a possible 3 representations
- Class 10 Marathi-medium - 13 out of a possible 29 representations

The Class 4 English-medium textbook contains non-gendered representations of Practices and Products. The Practices refer to tea drinking and styles of dress, while the Products refer to England, the British and the British Government.

The Class 8 English-medium textbook contains non-gendered representations of Practices, Perspectives and Products. The Practices and Perspectives both represent aspects of Christianity, while the Products are almost all references to places in England.

The Class 12 English-medium textbook contains non-gendered representations of Products and a Practice. The single representation of Practice is about civility in the Underground Railway Company. The representations of Products focus on places and texts by British authors.

The non-gendered representations in the Class 4 and Class 10 Marathi-medium textbooks and the Class 10 English-medium textbook are all Products. The Class 4 Marathi-medium textbook focuses on pastoral scenes in poetry, while the Class 10 Marathi-medium textbook focuses on places, poetry and war. The Class 10 English-medium textbook contains representations of places in England, the English, and British rule in India.

The sub-sections below will explore each aspect in turn and provide analysis on the representations identified.

Representations of Products

There are 279 identified representations of Products, 213 of which are non-gendered. These 213 representations are a mixture of Contemporary (22), Recent (32), Historical (103), pre-1858 (55) and Fictional (1).

These representations can be grouped thematically as:

- selection of texts
- places
- commodities and exports
- law and order
- other

Selection of texts

Of the British texts that are explicitly mentioned, the majority are Historical or pre-1858. The only Recent representations are references to works by E.R. Braithwaite and Alfred George Gardiner. Cambridge understands that older texts are often chosen for inclusion as the copyright will have expired and so no additional costs are incurred in their inclusion, but this does not wholly explain the emphasis on older texts where they are only referenced rather than reproduced within the textbooks.

One rationale could be the choice of contextualisation, for example, many of the texts mentioned can be grouped by their impact in the literary canon:

- contenders for the first English novel, i.e. 'The Pilgrim's Progress', 'Oroonoko', 'Robinson Crusoe', 'Moll Flanders'
- female authored gothic novels, i.e. Anne Radcliffe's works, 'Frankenstein', 'Wuthering Heights'
- Romantic poets, i.e. Blake, Byron, Keats, Wordsworth

Therefore, this choice of contextualisation has a direct impact on the breadth and depth of eras represented.

Places

There are representations of numerous places across the UK, with a focus on Scotland and England. Wales, Northern Ireland, and the other smaller islands across the British Isles are not represented.

All of the places represented as factually stated without any contextual information to make judgement on each place. These include towns/cities in Scotland and England (e.g. Dundee, Edinburgh, London, Liverpool), streets (e.g. Saville Row, Baker Street), and landmarks (e.g. port of London, clock in Westminster).

In addition to Scotland's cities, there are also representations of its shoreline and natural features, i.e. Bell Rock Lighthouse, Inchcape Rock. These representations give a more balanced view of Scotland as both urban and rural when compared to the representations of England, which focus almost entirely on the urban.

London is the most represented of places in the UK, with references to specific streets and landmarks. This is often due to the representations being identified in texts that are set in London. As a capital city, it is a common choice of place to use as it is one of the more widely recognisable in the UK. Oxford is the next most common place mentioned. However, this is entirely due to its status as the birthplace of notable Persons, i.e. Stephen Hawking, Siddharth Pico Raghavan Iyer. Also, it is implied, inaccurately, through the given representation that Oxford is a part of London, i.e. "Oxford, London".

There are nine different representations of places of education, covering Primary through to Higher Education. However, these are all based in England, three of these are representations of private schools, i.e. Harrow, Winchester; and four of the five representations of Higher Education are references to Oxbridge. This gives a narrow view of the education system within the UK.

Commodities and exports

The representations of commodities and exports is varied across the Maharashtra textbooks, but can broadly be categorised as science, arts, cars and money.

One of the scientific representations refers to Newton's law of motion, while the other scientific representation and the representations of the arts refer to organisations and roles created by Persons, i.e. Royal Society, Royal Society of Arts, Poet Laureate, UNESCO. The identification of UNESCO is potentially contentious, but was identified by the analyst as a British representation due to it being founded in London.

The representations of cars refer to Jaguar Land Rover and Aston Martin, and their manufacture in the UK. This is despite the fact manufacturing of Jaguar Land Rover is no longer limited to just the UK. These are both Contemporary references, which points to a level of manufacturing in the UK that is not as widespread as it used to be.

There are representations of British financial services through reference to the Bank of England and British currency, e.g. pennies. However, in both cases, these representations are mentioned without further context.

Law and order

Three of the identified representations in relation to law and order are of the British Government, including 10 Downing Street and the role of Post-Conflict Advisor in Whitehall. Between them, these representations cover a broad range of explicit and implicit messages about the British Government. The reference to 10 Downing Street is given without further context, but the reference to the hiring of a Post-Conflict Advisor implies a positive intention to focus on peace-building, while the direct reference to the British Government focuses on arresting those identified as agitators in India. These are only a limited number of representations, but the fact that the negative direct reference to 'British Government' is

Historical, and that the positive reference to the role of Post-Conflict Advisor is Contemporary, is suggestive of a change in the intentions of the British Government.

There are three representations of British control over land outside of the British Isles. These refer to British rule in India, British Guiana, and the attempt by the British to take control over New Orleans. In the cases of India and New Orleans, the native (or prior occupying) population are shown to be against British rule: in New Orleans, this is shown through the battle fought by the United States Army; and in India, this is shown through the fight for independence[16]. The representation of British Guiana in the textbook is given without further context, but the fact that the country no longer exists by that name implies to the reader that the British no longer have control[17].

There are three representations of British military forces: the British Army fighting for New Orleans (as discussed above), English soldiers fighting during the Hundred Years' War, and the Royal British Air Force. The former two representations are negative, with the soldiers fighting in the Hundred Years' War shown to be unnecessarily violent: plundering and burning. Conversely, the Royal British Air Force is implied to be a positive representation as it refers to its role in the Allied forces during World War II.

Other

There are a couple of representations of Products that are associated with the UK, but do not easily fit into the other thematic categories listed above. These include weather and robins.

Representations of Perspectives

There are two identified representations of Perspectives, which are both pre-1858

representations in poetry within the Class 8 textbook. There are no representations of Perspectives in any of the other Maharashtra textbooks.

Both representations are about the Christian God, using the terms 'God' and 'The common Lord'. These particular representations depict the Christian God as creator of the world and of all creatures, and imply an inherent rejection of religious pluralism through the phrase "The common Lord of all that move". Although readers may not be able to identify the era these Perspectives were written in from the poem itself, they can infer this from the question that accompanies it that refers to the language as "outdated" and "archaic".

Representations of Practices

There are six identified representations of Practices. These representations are a mixture of Recent (1), Historical (3) and pre-1858 (2). Contemporary and Fictional are unaccounted for.

As with the identified Perspectives, one of the represented pre-1858 Practices is a representation of Christianity through the observance of All Saint's Day. Although Christianity is not a UK-specific representation, these have been included as they are all depicted within a UK context. This creates an impression of the UK as a predominantly Christian country, which aligns with the findings from the most recently published census data[18].

The second pre-1858 Practice represents the honours system, specifically referring to Richard Whittington being knighted. This is one of three representations that refer to ceremonial Practices. The other two refer to styles of dress: the Recent representation is about a particular style of dress in India being approved by the British, while the Historical representation is

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[16] Independence was achieved in 1947.

[17] Independence was achieved in 1966.

[18] In the 2011 Census, 59% of the population in England and Wales, 54% in Scotland and 93% in Northern Ireland identified themselves as Christian. These figures include all Christian-related denominations, but do not distinguish between those who identify as culturally Christian and those who are practising Christians.

about the need for people being received by the King to dress a certain way. The latter is a cross-cultural reference to Gandhi eschewing traditional British Practices, meeting with King George V and Queen Mary in his loincloth and shawl rather than the requested 'morning dress'.

The remaining Historical representations are references to the drinking of tea, and the expectations of "civility" as a standard of employment with the Underground Railway Company.

Other key information

This analysis found that **the number of representations in the Marathi-medium textbooks are smaller than the number of representations in the comparable Class for the English-medium textbooks. However, as seen in Table I, these differences are quite small.**

	English-medium textbooks	Marathi-medium textbooks
Class 4	13	3
Class 10	33	29

Table I: Comparison of the number of representations in English-medium and Marathi-medium textbooks for comparable Classes

Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis has identified some potential gaps in British representation, i.e. a gender gap, low numbers of representations of children in comparison to the representations of adults, limited range of places represented across the UK. Therefore, when choosing any supplementary materials that contain British representations, care could be taken to ensure that these gaps are filled. This would provide greater balance to the overall representation and provide greater opportunity for readers in India to make connections to a similar demographic from the UK.

The overall number of representations of Perspectives and Practices is low in comparison to the number of Products and Persons, but of those that are identified there is a potential over-emphasis on Perspectives and Practices related directly to Christianity. Although these are valid representations, when choosing any supplementary materials that contain British representations, care could be taken to ensure that secular representations are also included to give readers an insight into a wider proportion of the population.

Representations of the UK in textbooks from Tamil Nadu

Introduction

Cambridge's review of textbooks from Tamil Nadu included four textbooks for the following classes:

- SCERT Class 4
- SCERT Class 8
- SCERT Class 10
- SCERT Class 12

Results

A total of 891 pages were analysed from across our four sampled Tamil Nadu textbooks. The sections below outline the content and thematic analysis of the representations identified in this sample.

Content analysis

The frequency of representation of UK cultures in our sample of Tamil Nadu textbooks is shown in Table J. In total, Cambridge identified 319 representations of UK cultures. Products are the most frequently depicted and Perspectives the least.

Cultural aspect	Frequency
Products	194 (61%)
Practices	28 (9%)
Perspectives	6 (2%)
Persons	91 (29%)
Total	**319**

Table J: Frequency of representations of UK cultures in Tamil Nadu textbooks

In these representations, we found Products are often places, British texts and fictional characters; Practices focus on tea drinking, the use of titles amongst aristocracy, and Firework Night; the majority of the representations

identified as Perspectives focus on the distinctions of different eras in Britain; and Persons are predominantly identified as authors, but there are also references to scientists and other notable Historical figures. These representations are considered in more detail in the results of the thematic analysis.

Types of materials including representations

Table K shows the frequency of representation of UK cultures for each type of material (i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction and other). In our sample of Tamil Nadu textbooks, we found that the majority of representations were identified in other. On the opposite end of the scale, non-fiction texts contained the least number of representations.

Cultural aspect	Drama	Poetry	Prose	Non-fiction	Other
Products	59	19	65	6	45
Practices	22	1	2	0	3
Perspectives	1	0	0	0	5
Persons	6	5	1	10	69
Total	**88**	**25**	**68**	**16**	**122**

Table K: Frequency of representations of UK cultures for type of material in Tamil Nadu textbooks

As seen in Table K, there are no representations of Practices in non-fiction texts and no representations of Perspectives in poetry, prose or non-fiction texts.

The drama, poetry and prose content all represent Products the most frequently and Perspectives the least frequently.

The non-fiction and other content represent Persons the most frequently, with Products as a second in both. However, there are no

non-fiction Practices and Perspectives, while the other content contains three and five representations respectively.

Eras represented

Table L contains the frequency of representation of UK cultures per era (i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional). In our sample of Tamil Nadu textbooks, we found that the majority are identified as Historical.

Cultural aspect	Contemporary	Recent	Historical	Fictional	pre-1858
Products	8	0	150	1	35
Practices	0	0	24	0	4
Perspectives	1	0	1	0	4
Persons	0	3	48	0	40
Total	**9**	**3**	**223**	**1**	**83**

Table L: Frequency of representations of UK cultures per era in Tamil Nadu textbooks

Historical representations are the most frequent, but this sub-set of era-specific cultural aspects is an outlier in comparison to the other eras. Contemporary, Recent and Fictional representations combined account for <1% of the total number of representations across the Tamil Nadu textbooks.

Pre-1858 representations also stand out as an outlier. There are notably more than the Contemporary, Recent and Fictional, but notably less than the Historical.

Historical Products are the most frequently represented sub-set of era-specific cultural aspects. There were no representations of Contemporary Practices or Persons; no Recent Products, Practices or Perspectives; and no representations of Fictional Practices, Perspectives or Persons.

Thematic analysis

Gendered representations

As identified earlier, there are 91 representations of Persons. However, once we include all gendered representations (i.e. this include representations identified as Persons and Fictional Products), this number increases to 155. Of this total number of gendered representations 22 are female, 130 are male and three are other.

This 'other' accounts for representations where it is not possible to definitively identify the Person as male or female, or where Persons are grouped together. There is one representation of the former: an uncontextualised reference to a 'British Romantic poet'. There are two representations of the latter: representations of Isaac Newton's childhood friends and Charlie Chaplin's parents. In both of these cases, the Persons are presented as a mono-bloc with no further contextualising detail.

There is an 8:1 ratio of male to female Persons, though this ratio reduces slightly in the overall number of male gendered representations

to female gendered representations. This shows *a clear disparity in the number of representations of men and women that is not representative of the male to female ratio of the population of the UK[19]*.

There is insufficient data available to comment on the activeness and passivity of the gendered representations in the Tamil Nadu textbooks.

Of the 155 gendered representations, 153 are of adults and two are of children. In addition to the representation of Isaac Newton's childhood friends, the other representation of a child is a Historical female gendered fictional Product: Alice from 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland'. This representation appears in the Class 4 textbook and depicts the character taking part in a tea party. This is a very stereotypical British activity, even if the Mad Hatter's tea party is rather unconventional.

Aside from this representation of Alice, all of the remaining female gendered representations are of adults. There is an almost even split in the number of adult female gendered Persons and Products, with ten and 11 representations respectively. The adult female gendered Persons are all representations of authors, though there are only four identified: three Historical and one pre-1858. This is because each author is represented at least twice. It is notable that two of the four female gendered authors are represented using both their given name and their male nom de plume, i.e. George Eliot, Gordon Daviot.

Of the 11 adult female gendered Products, nine refer to Lady Weston in 'Remember Caesar', one to Mrs Hudson from the Sherlock Holmes stories, and one to Squire Gordon's wife in 'Black Beauty' relation to men. The titles of these female representations situate them solely in their relation to men (i.e. [name's] wife, Mrs [name]). Therefore, these representations implicitly evoke a sense of limitations on the role of females in the British context.

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[19] As of 2020, the male to female ratio of the total UK population was 97.67 males per 100 females (Knoema https://tinyurl.com/2p8a83ny, 8 March 2022)

Of the 130 male gendered representations, 79 are Persons and 51 are Products. 80% of the identified Persons are representations of authors (60). These are authors of the extracts from the textbooks or of suggested additional reading.

There are no Contemporary representations of any gendered Persons or Products, and there are only three Recent representations – all of which are male Persons. The representations of male gendered Persons who are not authors (19) contain Recent, Historical and pre-1858 representations. These references are varied, and include:

- scientists, i.e. Stephen Hawking, Alexander Fleming, Isaac Newton, Joseph Bell, John Locke
- explorers, i.e. Jim Corbett, Captain James Cook, Walter Raleigh
- artists, i.e. Charlie Chaplin
- royalty and aristocracy, i.e. Charles II, John Montagu 4th Earl of Sandwich.

The male gendered Products are all Historical and pre-1858 representations. There are 47 Historical representations of male gendered Products, but they are limited to three sources: 'Remember Caesar' (22), A Sherlock Holmes story (17), and 'Black Beauty' (8). All of these texts portray multiple male characters, with a distinct pattern of portraying the relationship between a boss and his assistant, i.e. Lord Weston and his assistant, Holmes and Watson, and squire and groom respectively.

All four of the Fictional representations of male gendered Products refer to the character Robinson Crusoe.

Non-gendered representations

Once the gendered representations are accounted for, there are a further 165 representations covering Products, Perspectives and Practices. These are not evenly split across the four textbooks, with the number of representations increasing in the later classes.

This is reflective of the pattern of the overall number of representations in each textbook:

- Class 4 - 4 out of a possible 10 representations
- Class 8 - 42 out of a possible 72 representations
- Class 10 - 34 out of a possible 74 representations
- Class 12 - 85 out of a possible 163 representations

Of the four non-gendered representations in the Class 4 textbook, three are Products and one is a Practice, with the Products representing British novels.

The textbooks for Class 8 include non-gendered representations of Products, Practices and Perspectives. The most represented, by a notable margin, are Products.

The non-gendered representations in the Class 10 textbook are almost all Products. There is one Perspective, which is the representation of Bermuda as a British territory, and Practices are unaccounted for.

The textbooks for Class 12 include non-gendered representations of Products, Practices and Perspectives. Products are represented the most, and Perspectives the least.

The sub-sections below will explore each aspect in turn and provide analysis on the representations identified.

Representations of Products

There are 194 identified representations of Products, 131 of which are non-gendered. These 131 representations are a mixture of Contemporary (8), Historical (92), pre-1858 (30) and Fictional (1); only Recent is unaccounted for.

These representations can be grouped thematically as:

- selection of texts
- places

- commodities and exports
- law and order
- other

Selection of texts

Of the British texts that are explicitly mentioned, the majority are Historical or pre-1858. There are no representations of Contemporary texts and there is one representation of a Recent text. However, this particularly text is '1984' by George Orwell, and is listed with other examples of his writings, e.g. 'Animal Farm' and various essays. Therefore, in this particular case, any distinction between them feels a little artificial.

There are representations of a wide range of classic British prose texts, including those specifically aimed at children, e.g. 'Black Beauty', 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland', and those written for a wider audience, e.g. 'Robinson Crusoe', 'Gulliver's Travels', Sherlock Holmes stories. There are representations of a range of Shakespeare's works.

Although some of these identified prose texts exhibit representations of female gendered characters (as discussed earlier), one commonality is that they all have male authors. This is also the case with the selection of poetry represented, e.g. Rudyard Kipling, James Falconer Kirkup. The only female authored text to be directly reproduced in a textbook is 'Remember Caesar' by Gordon Daviot, a female author who chose to write with a male nom de plume. As a result, any reader without prior knowledge of Gordon Daviot will likely not identify her as a female author.

Places

There are representations of numerous places across the UK, with a focus on England, and a single passing reference to Scotland, i.e. Edinburgh. There is also a single reference to Ireland, but there is not sufficient information to identify whether this is talking about the country (which is outside the scope of this analysis) or the island of Ireland (which includes Northern Ireland and therefore is in scope).

Wales is not explicitly mentioned, but there is a representation of 'Great Britain', which inherently includes Wales. Other smaller islands across the British Isles are not represented.

Many of the places represented are factually stated without any contextual information to make judgement on each place. These include British Overseas Territory (e.g. Sandwich Islands), regional areas (e.g. Western England), towns/cities (e.g. London, Stratford-Upon Avon, Weston), and landmarks both real (e.g. South Shields central library) and fictional (e.g. Birtwick Park – a fictional house in 'Black Beauty').

There are two representations of universities: University of Cambridge and London University. This gives a narrow view of the higher education system within the UK, focusing only on Oxbridge and institutions in the capital that will already have a higher profile with readers due to those distinctions.

Commodities and exports

The representations of commodities and exports is varied across the Tamil Nadu textbooks, though many are mentioned without any contextual information to allow the reader to identify them as positive or negative representations (e.g. The Times, the Oxford English Dictionary, a half-crown coin).

There are two positive representations of British creations: Newton's sundial and Galton's whistle. There is also a positive, if overwhelming, representation of the Industrial Revolution in a poem about the might of machinery. Together, these references may suggest to the reader a strong history of innovation and enterprise in the UK.

Law and order

There is one representation of law and order. This is a Historical reference to Scotland Yard in a Sherlock Holmes story, who are shown to act together with those working outside of the police force – in this case to arrest the person accused of murder by Sherlock Holmes.

Other

There is stereotype of British weather as being unremittingly poor. This is reinforced by the four identified representations in which the British weather is described as strong winds, rain, and bad storms. The only caveat given is that one of the representations specifies that this is weather typical specifically for November.

Representations of Perspectives

There are six identified representations of Perspectives. These are a mixture of Contemporary (1), Historical (1), and pre-1858 (4). Recent and Fictional are unaccounted for. Four of these representations are identified in the Class 12 textbook, with the remaining two split between the Class 8 and 10 textbooks. There are no representations of Perspectives the Class 4 textbook.

Of the six representations, five of them refer to British approaches to categorising historical time periods, i.e. Elizabethan era, Jacobean era, English Renaissance, Victorian era. An understanding of the named eras relies on readers having prior knowledge of dates relating to the British monarchy, while the representation of the English Renaissance implies ownership on a period that is more commonly associated with Italy and is exclusionary to the Renaissances that took place in other European countries.

The Contemporary representation is a reference to Bermuda as a British overseas territory without any further contextualising detail.

Representations of Practices

There are 28 identified representations of Practices. These representations are a mixture of Historical (24) and pre-1858 (4). Contemporary, Recent and Fictional are unaccounted for.

The majority of the identified Practices appear in the Class 12 textbook (25), with 23 of those relating to the use of hereditary titles denoted rank of nobility, i.e. Lady, Lord and Baron. The inclusion of these references reinforces notions of class distinctions within British contexts, particularly an emphasis on the upper classes.

Two of the Historical Practices are representations of tea drinking. One is presented without context, and the other is of the Mad Hatter's tea party in 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland'. This reinforces the, not wholly unfounded, stereotype of the UK as a nation of tea drinkers.

There are two representations of "Firework night", which appear to be intended to be synonymous with Bonfire Night and 5 November. However, the context of these representations focus entirely on the fireworks, without any mention of the history of this particular night.

Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis has identified some potential gaps in British representation, i.e. a gender gap, limited use of Contemporary and Recent texts, lows numbers of representations of children in comparison to the representations of adults. Therefore, when choosing any supplementary materials that contain British representations, care could be taken to ensure that these gaps are filled, e.g. using extracts from texts written by women. This would provide greater balance to the overall representation and provide greater opportunity for readers in India to make connections to a similar demographic from the UK.

The overall number of representations of Perspectives and Practices is low in comparison to the number of Products and Persons, and there is a bias towards Historical and pre-1858 Perspectives and Practices. When choosing any supplementary materials that contain British representations, care could be taken to ensure that more Recent and Contemporary references are included.

Representations of India in textbooks from England

Introduction

Cambridge's review of textbooks from England included six textbooks for the following key

stages and qualifications:

- KS2 textbook
- KS3 textbook
- GCSE English Language
- GCSE English Literature
- A Level English Language and Literature
- A Level English Literature

We have noted in the methodology that there is an imbalance, with an emphasis on GCSE and A Level resources. This decision was made to reflect the approach taken in the curriculum, with English Language and Literature combined in key stages 2 and 3 but separated into distinct subjects at GCSE and A Level.

Results

A total of 1448 pages were analysed from across our six sampled England textbooks. The sections below outline the content and thematic analysis of the representations identified in this sample.

Content analysis

The frequency of representation of Indian cultures in our sample of England textbooks is shown in Table M. In total, Cambridge identified 80 representations of Indian cultures. Products are the most frequently depicted and Perspectives the least.

Cultural aspect	Frequency
Products	41 (51%)
Practices	9 (11%)
Perspectives	3 (4%)
Persons	27 (34%)
Total	**80**

Table M: Frequency of representations of Indian cultures in England textbooks

In these representations, we found Products are often places, commodities and fictional characters; Practices focus on inter-city travel in India, festivals, and religious distinctions; the Perspectives focus on stereotypes, religion and economic envy; and Persons are a mixture of authors and those identified as living or working in and around slums. These representations are considered in more detail in the results of the thematic analysis.

Types of materials including representations

Table N shows the frequency of representation of UK cultures for each type of material (i.e. drama, poetry, prose, non-fiction and other). In our sample of England textbooks, we found that the vast majority of representations were depicted in non-fiction text, with a notable number also depicted in prose text. On the opposite end of the scale, we identified one representation from other texts, and two representations each from drama and poetry texts.

Cultural aspect	Drama	Poetry	Prose	Non-fiction	Other
Products	2	2	13	24	0
Practices	0	0	2	7	0
Perspectives	0	0	0	3	0
Persons	0	0	3	23	1
Total	**2**	**2**	**18**	**57**	**1**

Table N: Frequency of representations of Indian cultures for type of material in England textbooks

As seen in Table N, there are no representations of cultural Practices, Perspectives or Persons in either the drama or poetry content used within the sampled textbooks. There are two representations each of cultural Products. Similarly, there are no representations of cultural Practices, Perspectives or Products in other. There is one representation of Persons.

The prose content has frequent representations of Products, has a nominal number of representations of Practices and Perspectives, and no representations of Perspectives.

The non-fiction content accounts for over 70% of the identified representations, with all cultural aspects accounted for. The majority of representations are of Products (though closely followed by Persons), and Perspectives are the least represented.

Eras represented

Table O contains the frequency of representation of UK cultures per era (i.e. Contemporary, Recent, Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional). In our sample of England textbooks, we found that the majority are identified as Contemporary.

Cultural aspect	Contemporary	Recent	Historical	Fictional	pre-1858
Products	20	10	4	5	2
Practices	7	1	0	1	0
Perspectives	2	1	0	0	0
Persons	14	13	0	0	0
Total	**43**	**25**	**4**	**6**	**2**

Table O: Frequency of representations of Indian cultures per era in England textbooks

Although Contemporary representations are the most frequent, the number of Recent representations is notably higher than the Fictional, Historical and pre-1858 representations. The number of Fictional, Historical and pre-1858 representations are fairly close, with six, four and two representations respectively.

Contemporary Products are the most frequently represented sub-set of era-specific cultural aspects.

Thematic analysis

Gendered representations

As identified earlier, there are 27 representations of Persons. However, once we include all gendered representations (i.e. this include representations identified as Persons, Fictional Products, and Perspectives), this number increases to 33. Of this total number of gendered representations eight are female, 16 are male and nine are 'other'.

This 'other' accounts for representations where people are grouped together. It is not possible to definitively identify whether these are intended to represent a single-sex or mixed-sex group. They are all representations of Persons and include:

- "children in poverty"
- "colleagues"
- "desperately poor people"
- "children"
- "everyone on the street"
- "volunteer soldiers"
- "a student"
- "hawkers and pedlars"
- "Mumbai police"

The first five in the list above are from a single extract in the GCSE English Literature textbooks, while the final three are from two extracts in the GCSE English Language textbook.

There is insufficient data available to comment

on the activeness and passivity of the gendered representations in the England textbooks.

There is a 2:1 ratio of male to female Persons and in the overall number of male gendered representations to female gendered representations. Although the greater number of males to females is reflective of the most recent published census figures[20], *the ratio of representations shows a greater disparity than is representative of the population of India.*

Of the 33 gendered representations, 32 are of adults and one is a child. This representation of a child is a female gendered fictional Product. This is the only female gendered fictional Product; all of the other female gendered representations are of adult Persons. This single representation of a child depicts a young girl living in the West Midlands of the UK, but with Punjabi heritage. The occupation of this liminal space within two cultures means that the character identifies as 'different' and an outsider, though this changes over time. Depending on the reader, this could impact on their interpretation of this representation as either British, Indian or both.

Of the eight female gendered representations, seven refer to Persons and one is the fictional Product mentioned above. The majority of the identified Persons are representations of two authors (6) of extracts chosen for inclusion in the textbooks. The remaining representation of a Person is of a "one-legged woman", who remains unnamed and defined only in relation to her disability.

Of the 16 male gendered representations, 12 are Persons, three are Products and one is a Perspective. Half of the identified Persons are representations of authors (6), which equals the number of female gendered authors represented. These are authors of the extracts from the textbooks or of suggested additional reading.

All three of the male-gendered Products are representations of a single character from a

Fictional Prose text: a "gardener called Mali". He is depicted vividly through the use of descriptive detail, e.g. quick eyes, smiling, wrinkled, missing finger.

The one male gendered Perspective is of Allah, "Allah, in his wisdom", and is represented as the view of the Indian protagonist in a Contemporary non-fiction text. Although India is Hindu majority, this gives readers a sense of the religious pluralism that exists within the country.

Non-gendered representations

Once the gendered representations are accounted for, there are a further 47 representations covering Products, Perspectives and Practices:

- KS2 textbook - 3 out of a possible 3 representations
- KS3 textbook - 1 out of a possible 6 representations
- GCSE English Language - 27 out of a possible 43 representations
- GCSE English Literature - 6 out of a possible 16 representations
- A Level English Language and Literature - 1 out of a possible 1 representations
- A Level English Literature - 9 out of a possible 11 representations

The three non-gendered representations in the KS2 textbook are all Products, focusing Contemporary references to the Indian Ocean and Indian food in the UK. These are the only representations identified in the KS2 textbook.

The KS3 textbook and the A Level English Language and Literature textbook each contain a single non-gendered representation. In the KS3 textbook this is a Product, referencing someone being "born in India". In the A Level English Language and Literature textbook it is a Perspective, referencing Edward Said's 'Orientalism'. This is the only representation identified in the A Level English Language and

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[20] The 2011 census report 940 women for every 1000 men.

Literature textbook.

The GCSE English Language textbook includes non-gendered representations of Products, Practices and Perspectives. These representations are split across four text extracts: two Contemporary non-fiction, one Recent prose, and one Fictional prose.

All but one of the non-gendered representations from the GCSE English Literature textbook are Products from a single Recent non-fiction extract. The other is also a Product, but is an uncontextualized image representing a train travelling through the countryside.

Like the GCSE English Literature textbook, all of the representations in the A Level English Literature textbook are Products. This textbook contains the broadest coverage of eras as these nine representations include Contemporary, Recent, Historical and pre-1858.

The sub-sections below will explore each aspect in turn and provide analysis on the representations identified.

Representations of Products

There are 42 identified representations of Products, 33 of which are non-gendered. These 33 representations are a mixture of Contemporary (19), Recent (7), Historical (3), pre-1858 (2) and Fictional (2).

These representations can be grouped thematically as:

- selection of texts
- places
- commodities and exports
- law and order
- other

Selection of texts

There are two representations of texts: Salman Rushdie's 'The Satanic Verses' and Jhumpa Lahiri's 'The Lowland'. Both texts contain depictions of Indian characters emigrating, to the UK and the USA respectively, but travelling back and forth between India and their new country of residence.

The representation of 'The Satanic Verses' is in an activity that requires the reader to explore the reception of the publication of the text. This may lead the reader to discover India's response, which was to ban the book, and make their own assumptions regarding freedom of speech.

Places

There are representations of numerous places across India. Some of these are smaller towns or cities that are listed without any context as a character passes through them, i.e. Hazipur, Biridi, Balia, Basantpur.

There are contextualised representations of three major cities in India: Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore. These representations are split across two Contemporary non-fiction texts, focusing on housing and manufacturing. The representations of housing are all negative, referring to Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore as containing slums. In the texts about Delhi and Bangalore, these are limited to phrases including "backstreets of the slums" and "an expansive slum", but the representations of Mumbai are colourful in their depictions, using phrases such as "trash-strewn", "overcrowding" and "makeshift".

Similarly, the representations of manufacturing are negative as they are all drawn from a single article about the use of child labour in mass manufacturing in Delhi and Bangalore for Western businesses. They describe sub-contracted factories as "death-traps" that focus on making "shiny pretty things" cheaply for Western audiences at the expense of their Indian workers.

The representations of man-made places, such as cities and towns, is in clear juxtaposition with the positive language used to represent natural places, for example, the Ganges is evoked within a Marvell poem as exotic, the Indian Ocean is described as having warm waters, and there is an image of lush green countryside.

Commodities and exports

The representations of commodities and exports is varied across the England textbooks, and they are all either positive or neutral.

There are four references to food and drink, and two of these are specifically around the prevalence of Indian food within UK contexts, i.e. "Indian", used as a short form for 'Indian food'; lamb rogan josh identified as a favourite food. These are both Contemporary references, highlighting the positive contribution of Indian food to UK cultures.

In addition to food, other Indian exports are also represented positively. Rubies and Indian blue dyed thread are presented as synonymous with luxury and wealth in Historical and pre-1858 texts, while Bollywood, and particularly the film 'Mughal-e-Azam', is presented as famous and award-winning. The fact that these Products are evident across the eras shows a consistency of positive attitudes towards Indian exports in UK cultures.

There are representations of four different methods of transport for travel within India: trains, intercity bus travel, rickshaws and bullock-carts. The latter three are from a Contemporary non-fiction text written by an Indian student, which implies that the opinions given about the different modes of transport could be reflective of wider attitudes towards them in India. The bus is represented neutrally as busy, but comfortable, while both the rickshaws and bullock-carts are represented as comparatively slow.

Law and order

There are two representations relating to law and order. Both are Historical representations appearing in prose texts within the A Level English Literature textbook. The first focuses on the one and half million who volunteered from India to fight with the Allies in World War II, particularly highlighting the 140000 who saw active service on the Western Front. The positive emphasis on the significant numbers, the volunteerism and the choice of India as a specific example is suggestive to the reader of the substantial impact of India's role in the war.

The second representation is of India as belonging to Britain and requiring protection against Russian expansionism. Due to the time it was written, and who it was written by[21], the intended impression appears to be positive in relation to British rule in India. However, as it is situated in a contemporary textbook, if read by contemporary readers with knowledge of Britain's role in India at the start of the 20th century, it also portrays British rule as paternalistic.

Other

There is one represented Product that does not fit into any of the other themes above: snakes. Although snakes are not specific only to India, their depiction in the textbook suggests that those native to India are poisonous and dangerous.

Representations of Perspectives

There are three identified representations of Perspectives. These are a mixture of Contemporary (2) and Recent (1). Historical, pre-1858 and Fictional are unaccounted for. These representations are identified in the GCSE textbooks. There are no representations of Perspectives in the KS2, KS3 or A Level textbooks.

The two Contemporary representations are from the same extract, focusing on the Perspectives of an identified Person who is living in a slum in Mumbai. One of these is the reference to Allah, as discussed earlier, and the other is to "economic envy" directed towards others in India who are living above the poverty line. In this context, the Person's religion is the only explicitly stated positive aspect of their life.

The Recent representation is to Edward Said's 'Orientalism', referencing the profound and highly

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[21] The representation is taken from 'Kim' by Rudyard Kipling, who was a vocal supporter of Imperialism in India.

problematic consequences of stereotypes in travel writing. This is an important inclusion to the A Level English Language textbook as it provides readers with a critical lens through which they can engage with other texts.

Representations of Practices

There are nine identified representations of Practices. These nine representations are a mixture of Contemporary (7), Recent (1), and Fictional (1); Historical and pre-1858 are unaccounted for. All of these representations are from the GCSE English Language textbook

The Contemporary representations are taken from three different extracts. They focus on Practices of those occupying different economic positions within India, with an emphasis on those at the lower end of the economic spectrum:

- At the bottom of that spectrum, there is the Practice of some Indian factories using child slave labour and paying below living wage.

- Higher on the spectrum, there is a student who is shown to be able to afford tuition fees, travel and food from hawkers, yet books a "lower-class ticket" for the bus.

- A rich-poor divide can be seen in the Practices of rich people living in a disposable culture where unwanted things are thrown away, and the Practices of poor people buying and selling those unwanted things as a means of generating income.

The positive representation of Allah as the Perspective of an identified Person, when considered on its own, is undermined by the additional Perspective within the same extract of "old Hindu-Muslim resentments". ***This evokes historical, societal barriers to the potential for a contemporary cohesive religious plurality.***

There is a positive representation of Punjabi practices in a Recent text. No specifics are given, but the culture is evoked through "exotic food" and "exquisite clothing".

There is one other representation of clothing Practices in a Fictional text, which depicts an old man wearing a puggree. This is portrayed factually and neutrally.

Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis has identified some gaps in Indian representation, i.e. the low number of representations of children, texts that focus on representations of Indian life in India rather than the experience of Indian immigrants in other countries. Therefore, when choosing any supplementary materials that contain Indian representations, care could be taken to ensure that these gaps are filled. This would provide, respectively, greater opportunity for readers in the UK to make connections to a similar demographic from India, and for readers to be exposed to authentic Indian cultures.

Additionally, care should be taken to present a more balanced representation of Products. Although the majority of the identified commodities and exports are positive, the majority of representations of places were negative and focused of the lived experiences of those at the lower end of the economic spectrum. One implication is that it may appear that Western countries (including the UK) are continuing to take the best India has to offer (including Persons and Products) and leaving those who cannot leave (e.g. through immigration) with what remains.

The representation from Edward Said's 'Orientalism' provides a useful lens for A Level readers to critically engage with potentially sensitive or negative representations. It would be useful to explicitly share this lens with teachers (e.g. through targeted training) as this could allow them to support younger readers who are not yet capable of that level of critical analysis for themselves.

Similarly, teaching about the UK and India's shared cultural heritage, both positive and negative, will inform readers' interpretations of the representations encountered as they will have greater contextualisation, and therefore understanding, of what they have read.

Representations in UK primary reading books

In addition to the analysis of England textbooks, Cambridge engaged an expert in primary school reading lists in the UK to providing a summary of the sorts of books available to young learners in which there are representations of India.

This was not intended be a comprehensive content analysis, instead, the aim was to provide evidence of representations of India in supplementary reading materials that could be used in UK primary schools. A list of titles identified can be found in Appendix 1, along with a commentary on their usage in schools in Appendix 2.

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Appendix 1: Representations in UK reading books

The following books can be used to deliver the English National Curriculum at primary levels and feature representations of India.

Title	Author / Illustrator	Year	ISBN	Format	Target age
Pattan's Pumpkin An Indian Flood Story	Chitra Soundar & Frane Lessac	2018	9781910959848	Picturebook	4 to 10
Under the Great Plum Tree	Sufiya Ahmed & Reza Dalvand	2019	9781910328460	Picturebook	4 to 5
The Tiger Child	Joanna Troughton	1996	9780140382389	Picturebook	5 to 7
The King with the Dirty Feet	Sally Pomme Clayton & Rhiannon Sanderson	2021	9781913074982	Picturebook	4 to 7
Rama and Sita: The Story of Diwali	Malachy Doyle & Christopher Corr	2018	9781472954695	Picturebook	3 to 7
A Dollop of Ghee and a Pot of Wisdom	Chitra Soundar & Uma Krishnaswamy	2010	9781406317022	Short story collection	6 to 9
Seasons of Splendour: Tales, Myths and Legends of India	Madhur Jaffrey & Michael Foreman	2016	9780141370026	Short story collection	9 to 11
Bamba Beach	Pratima Mitchell & David Dean	2021	9781472989987	Fiction (short chapter book)	9 to 10
Dindy and the Elephant	Elizabeth Laird	2015	9781447272403	Fiction (short chapter book)	7 to 9
Torn Apart: The Partition of India 1947	Swapna Haddow	2021	9780702300417	Fiction (short chapter book)	8 to 11
Tiger Skin Rug	Joan Haig	2020	9781911279648	Fiction (short chapter book)	8 to 12
When the Mountains Roared	Jess Butterworth & Rob Biddulph	2018	9781510102118	Fiction (short chapter book)	9 to 11
Asha & the Spirit Bird	Jasbinder Bilan	2019	9781911490197	Fiction (short chapter book)	9 to 14
Tamarind & the Star of Ishta	Jasbinder Bilan	2020	9781913322175	Fiction (short chapter book)	10 to 14
The Acrobats of Agra	Robin Scott-Elliot	2020	9781911427148	Fiction (short chapter book)	9 to 14
Tales from India	Bali Rai	2017	9780141373065	Short story collection	9 to 11
The Extraordinary Life of Mahatma Gandhi	Chitra Soundar & Dàlia Adillon	2019	9780241375464	Non-fiction	7 to 12
Living in Asia: India	Jen Green	2019	9781445148649	Non-fiction	5 to 7
Expedition Diaries: Indian Lowlands	Simon Chapman	2018	9781445156828	Non-fiction	9 to 12
A Day in India	Jonathan Scott & Angela Scott	2010	9780007336111	Non-fiction	5 to 7

Table P: A list of texts that can be used at primary levels in England and feature representations of India

Appendix 2:
Commentary on the list of UK reading books

Identifying books

The books listed in Appendix 1 have been identified using a two-phase process: finding relevant books and identifying likely usage in UK primary schools.

Finding relevant books

The first phase involved identifying a larger selection of books representing India, with a focus on books that are currently available to schools. We used the existing BooksForTopics[22] internal database of books to generate the larger selection by identifying books tagged with 'India' as a keyword. The database contains books identified by a panel of 50 reviewers across the primary education sector, who identify books used by primary schools in their curriculum work, reading development and library stock. To form the database, the panel's book selections are cross-referenced with input from our partners at Peters Books, the UK's leading supplier of children's and young adult books for schools and academies.

Identifying likely usage

The second stage involved narrowing the list to a smaller selection of books with an increased likelihood of being commonly used in schools. As there are no nationally set books in UK primary schools, it is up to individual schools or academies to form their own reading lists. A wide range of approaches to book selection is taken by schools, but there are a number of common factors that influence book selection and increase the likelihood of a particular book being used. Influencing factors include:

- books appearing on well-used reading lists
- books appearing in commercial literacy programmes
- the availability of accompanying schemes of work, lesson plans or creative ideas for teachers
- recognition in book awards

- books with strong links to other curriculum topics
- school outreach work undertaken by the author or publisher.

Most of the books listed in Appendix 1 were recognised by a school-based review panel, consisting of 50 reviewers in primary education settings across the UK. The panel is made up of teachers, school librarians, headteachers, teaching assistants and educational consultants and it works with BooksForTopics to review books and give 'on the ground' feedback about the way in which books are used and received in schools for both teaching purposes and reading for pleasure. The respondents on the panel noted that a small number of the books were included in their English curriculum and others were used as supplementary curriculum topic support or school library stock.

It is plausible that some schools will not use any of the books listed in Appendix 1 in their curriculum. However, this process aimed to identify the most likely books that schools will use if they do use books that represent India in their English curricula, and consultation with the panel confirmed that a number of these books are used in some schools. Chitra Soundar's books and 'Seasons of Splendour' were identified as particularly popular.

With all of the above in mind, schools may be most likely to make use of the listed books if the school:

- subscribes to one of the widely used commercial schemes highlighted on the list (e.g. Hamilton Trust, which features a 'Stories from India' unit for Year 3 for example, or CLPE's Power of Reading resource)
- has sought guidance on identifying high quality books from a resource that features the books incidentally (e.g. The Reading Journey programme features a number of the books on the list as examples of high

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[22] BooksForTopics is a website that helps primary school staff to find high-quality books that are appropriate to use in a primary school setting: https://www.booksfortopics.com/

quality books for inclusion in schools' reading spines)

- covers India or aspects of Indian culture as a curriculum topic
- uses 'Stories from Other Cultures' or 'Traditional Tales' as an English unit
- has followed the book selection guidance provided by the Centre for Literacy in Primary Education's (2021) 'Reflecting Realities Survey of Ethnic Representation within UK Children's Literature' report or undertaken a diversity audit of their reading list
- context (e.g. ethnic make-up of students or staff) generates a particular interest in covering the topic

Results

The books from the initial phase identified as having strong elements of the above factors have been listed in Appendix 1 – leaving a list of 20 books that span the primary school age range of 4 to 11.

Historical factors on choice of books

The current climate in UK primary schools allows for a great deal of freedom for individual schools when it comes to book choice. A number of commercial schemes exist, and some curriculum design work has taken place in schools to create reading spines and curriculum maps uniquely suited to the school's own context. However, there is a highly varied approach to text selection in primary English.

In previous decades, book choice was heavily influenced by nationally available standardised units of work that have now become archived. The National Literacy Strategy, implemented in September 1998, introduced a Primary Framework of book-based units of work such as 'Y1 Stories from a Range of Cultures' or 'Y6 Short Stories with Flashbacks'[23]. Most relevant to the current research project is the inclusion of Stories from Other Cultures at every key stage and also the Traditional Tales units – both of which give scope for stories from India to be chosen.

While most of the Primary Framework units did not specify individual book to use, the rubric was narrow enough that most schools selected books from a small pool of options. Suggested booklists were commonly provided by Local Authorities, learning trusts or the smaller number of commercial schemes available then. The legacy of this framework still exists, and many individual schools' curricula and commercial schemes follow a unit model including some of original unit titles – with both 'stories from other cultures' and 'traditional tales' still being commonplace. Of the books in Appendix 1, 'The Tiger Child' by Joanna Troughton is the only pre-2014 book likely to have been used alongside the Primary Framework units.

Another, now-archived, resource that previously affected book selection was the QCA schemes of work that set out to show how the (previous) national curriculum programmes of study and attainment targets could be translated into a practical plan. Until 2014, a large percentage of primary schools used the QCA units to form their curriculums and opted to work in a cross curricular manner that saw book choices in English being influenced by the current topics in subjects like History or Geography[24]. It is worth noting that Geography Unit 10: A Village in India was taught at KS2 in the majority of primary schools and involved a case study of Chembakolli in India, set in contrast to the schools' local area. A number of textbooks were produced at the time about Chembakolli or India more generally – most of which are now out of print.

The current National Curriculum does not specify a study of India, although schools may opt to

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[23] The archived units are available to view here: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20100603164423/https://nationalstrategies. standards. dcsf.gov.uk/node/150267?uc=force_uj

[24] The archived units can be viewed here: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20100612050234/http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/schemes3/ subjects/?view=get.

create their own units on the topic if they wish. A number of widely used commercial resource sites offer relevant schemes of work, including Planbee and Twinkl – demonstrating that a demand for resources on the topic still exists.

Choosing books in primary schools

In the absence of the Primary Framework and QCA units, most state primary schools have agency to design their own curricula within the confines of the National Curriculum. Academies, free schools and private schools have further agency still. As outlined above, a variety of approaches to book selection is currently taken by schools and there are a number of factors that have influence. Having consulted with a School-Based Panel, some of the most influential factors appear to be availability of schemes of work, cross-curricular opportunities and books being featured on reading lists or in commercial programmes used by the school.

In addition to the factors already highlighted above, the work of CLPE's 'Reflecting Realities' report should also be considered influential in seeing how schools are opting for more diverse books and topics. In recent years, primary schools have shown an increasing appetite to diversify their school curricula. UK publishers are slowly beginning to match the demand for an increase in diverse children's books with authentic representation.

The 'Reflecting Realities' report also aims to highlight a few initiatives across the publishing and charity sectors that have partnered with CLPE in working for positive change in this area and also the report writers offer key pointers for those involved in book selection. The impact of the report on primary school book selection should not be underestimated and the result is that more schools are looking at their curriculum through a critical lens and seeking opportunities to diversify. It is worth noting that much of the emphasis of the report is looking at representation of diverse communities within the UK, for example, highlighting a book featuring British Indian characters living in London rather than characters living in India itself. However, the report has caused schools to consider wider diversity audits of their book selections and to look to introduce pupils to a balance of diverse books in both global and domestic contexts.

Although the 'Reflecting Realities' report and recommendations have been well received by schools, change can be slow to happen due to time and budget constraints and there is currently no additional funding available for schools to address the matters raised. Therefore, the full effect on book selection may take a number of years to be realised.

Appendix 3:
Survey results

Through the British Council, Cambridge surveyed English Language and English Literature teachers in India about their experience of UK representations in their teaching and learning.

There were 99 teachers who accessed the survey, but only 35 teachers who responded to the questions. The graphs below show the results of the 35 responses received for each question.
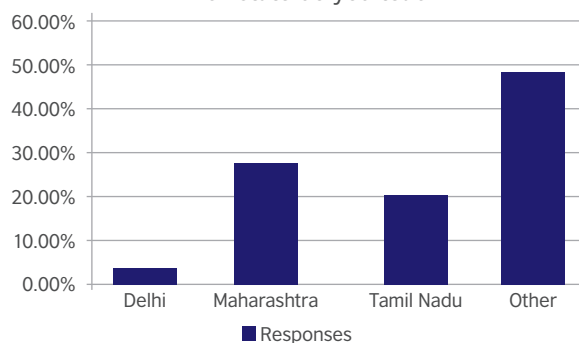
Contextualising information
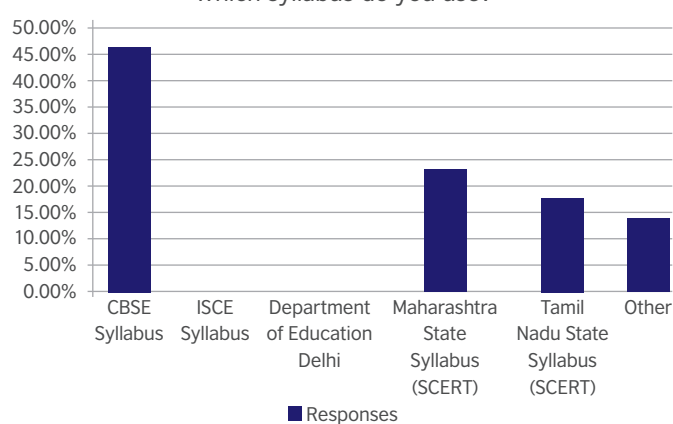
The first four questions were intended to contextualise the responses:
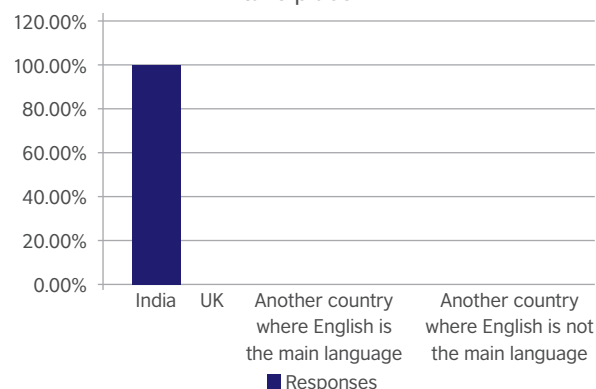
Are you a teacher of English language or literature?

Responses
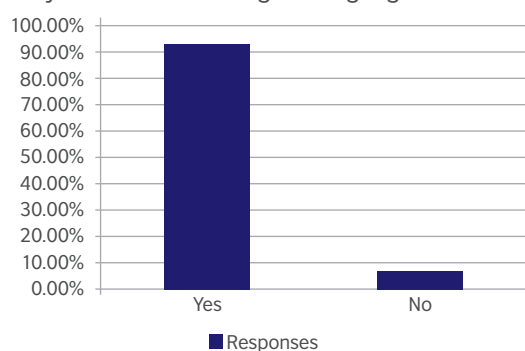
In which state do you teach?

Responses

**Which syllabus do you use?**

Responses

Where did most of your own English language learning take place?


Responses

Experiences of English teaching and learning materials and representations of the UK

The following four questions were designed to gather data on teachers' and learners' experiences of English teaching and learning materials and representations of the UK[25].

How much influence do you have over which texts you use to teach English? (By 'text', we mean both written material and audio/ visual media?
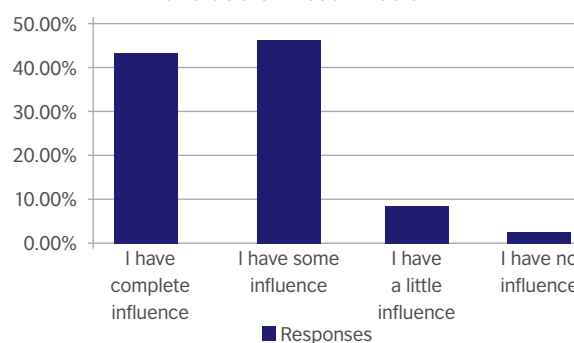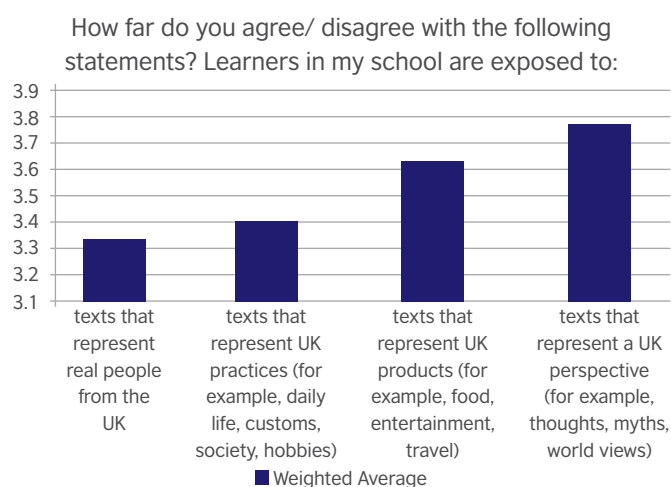

Responses

How far do you agree/ disagree with the following statements? Learners in my school are exposed to:
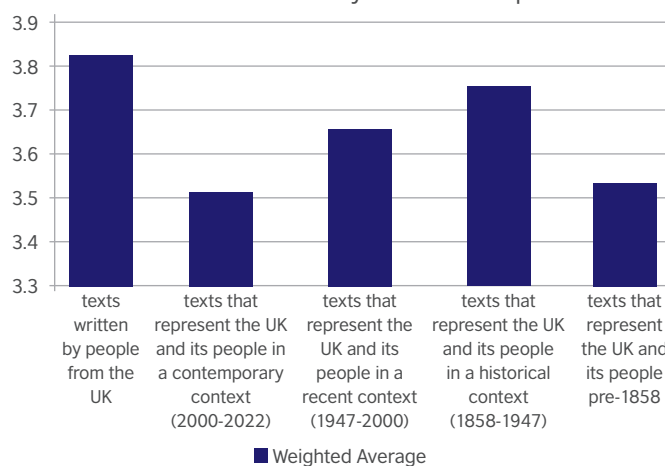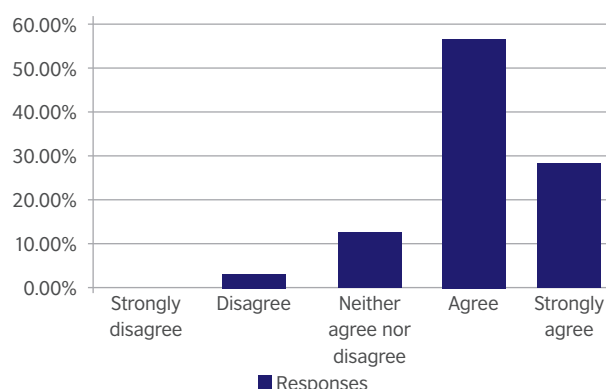

Weighted Average

[22] Please note that in the weighted averages, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree or disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly agree.

How far do you agree/ disagree with the following statements? Learners in my school are exposed to:

[Bar chart showing Weighted Average values]
- texts that represent real people from the UK: ~3.34
- texts that represent UK practices (for example, daily life, customs, society, hobbies): ~3.40
- texts that represent UK products (for example, food, entertainment, travel): ~3.63
- texts that represent a UK perspective (for example, thoughts, myths, world views): ~3.77

Weighted Average

How far do you agree/ disagree with the following statements? I feel confident discussing representations of the UK in the classroom.

[Bar chart showing Responses percentages]
- Strongly disagree: 0.00%
- Disagree: ~3%
- Neither agree nor disagree: ~12.5%
- Agree: ~56.5%
- Strongly agree: ~28%

Responses

Open responses

Teachers were also given the opportunity to provide an open response to the question, 'What influenced your understanding of UK culture when you were at school?'

In the responses, the British Council were mentioned multiple times, with particular reference to training programmes.

Curriculum and support materials for English programmes were also heavily mentioned, including the range of literary texts listed as syllabus content. School poetry books, e.g. Panorama and Radiant Readers, were specifically mentioned, and one teacher suggested that most acclaimed authors introduced as in-class reading were UK authors.

Reading classics and texts by 'legendary authors', in addition to those mandated by the school, was also mentioned. In those responses,

the following texts were identified as classics, e.g. David Copperfield, Great Expectations, Pygmalion, Treasure Island, Famous Five, Nancy Drew and Hardy Boys. The inclusion of the latter two examples is interesting as they are both American book-series, which suggests that representations from the USA could be inaccurately interpreted as being from/about the UK.

Influential texts were not limited only to written texts, but also included television series and films, e.g. Pride and Prejudice, Jane Eyre, Sherlock Holmes and James Bond films were explicitly mentioned.

Aside from the study of English, History programmes and associated teaching and learning materials were also highlighted as influential. The responses specifically mentioned those programmes and materials that focused on the period of British rule in India and England's influences on Indian economy and lifestyle.

Exposure to, and use of, the English language was identified as having an influence. Responses acknowledged the broader impact of others on their understanding of UK culture. These included teachers, relatives and religious organisations. In the latter, Hindu and Christian organisations were explicitly referenced.

Some of the responses did not identify sources of influence, but did give examples of UK cultures that they were exposed to. This included mannerisms, lifestyles, punctuality, devotion to duty, and accents in language.