ENGLISH IN IRAN: CULTURAL REPRESENETATION IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

by

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In memory of my first English teacher, my dearest brother
Babak Hosseini (1965 – 1995)

Dedicated to my old friend
Herbert L. Goodrich
For our eternal love and friendship

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Many kind souls, knowingly and unknowingly, took my hands and directed me, in different times and stages, to take more secure steps and add another page to my exhaustive dissertation. I could not complete this project without the constant help and support I received from my advisor, Professor Margie Berns, with whom I started (and will soon end) my doctoral journey. Margie is, in fact, invisibly present in every page of this comprehensive dissertation, not only because of her precise editing skills, but also for the knowledge and insights she generously gave me in her World Englishes class, seminars, conferences, personal meetings and feedback. In the summer of 2013, I met Margie at her office for the first time, to see if I fit Second Language Studies, since I had come from a different country, background and career. Confident as always, Margie said that she could see the spirit of a teacher in me (paraphrased). Her trust changed the course of my life as an immigrant determined to resume my productive life in my new home. Thank you, Margie, for accepting to be my advisor, my mentor, and my friend, and for trusting me from the first day. Now you can say you are retired indeed!

The courses I took with Professor Tony Silva expanded my horizon in the field of Second Language Studies in general, and my research topic in particular. More importantly, I learned from Tony's peaceful manner, humbleness, and kindness that you can be a pioneer in your field, yet down to earth. Thank you, Professor Silva, for everything you taught me in your classes and our co-presentations, and for your exemplary calm, which was always comforting for me, as a novice scholar in this field.

My research is, in fact, deeply rooted in Sociolinguistics; a course I took with Professor Felicia Roberts. Her inclusive discussions in class directed me towards thinking about the applicability of the sociolinguistic concepts in an Iranian context. Dr. Robert's interactive class, group/peer discussions, showcases, and of course, regular tests, kept me on my feet to keep up. Her kind approach made it easy for me to share my questions and concerns, unworried. Thank you, Professor Roberts, for your class which enabled me to be more confident about my research today, and for your precious friendliness.

The foundation of this research was set in a paper I presented at Purdue Languages and Cultures Conference in 2017. I had culturally investigated only one Iranian English textbook back then. In my presentation, I shared my hesitation with the audience on whether or not I would

expand the topic as my dissertation. Professor Wayne Wright, the moderator of my session, provided me with the most productive feedback on the paper, and encouraged me to make it my dissertation topic, because, "the topic is unique and your passion for it is undeniable!", he said. His knowledge on the political events in Iran surprised me, and I knew immediately that I wanted him to be in my dissertation committee. Thank you, Professor Wright, for your feedback, your encouragement, and more importantly, for recognizing and valuing my passion.

To complete the evaluative part of this research, I needed to find the old Iranian English textbooks of the 1940s and 1970s. My relentless online search directed me only to the archive of the Office of Textbooks Development in Tehran, where the researchers are required to physically check in to access the resources. I was not a time-traveler to make it, for sure; yet, my sister, Shirin, decided to be my eyes and read me each textbook over the phone, page by page. We spent around 40 hours on the phone to complete reading (on her side) and writing (on my side) three old English textbooks. Although I could eventually find the PDF version of all those textbooks we had covered together (plus the other ones), her selflessness, her determination to help me carry out my research as precisely as possible, and her unconditional love and support amazed me. Thank you, my sweet Shirin, for all your help and for giving me a chance to experience a true sisterhood.

Two years ago, amidst the hectic days of sporadically gathering information on the history of English in Iran, one of my best friends in the USA gifted me a book which, surprisingly, ended my baffling situation. A renowned English-Persian translator, Shadi Hamedi had found *The History of Translation in Iran* (by A. Azarang) in her trip to Tehran, and, knowing my dissertation topic, thoughtfully bought it for me. The book in fact, showed me the map of my historical journey, and turned into one of my main resources. Thank you, dear Shadi, for thinking about me and my work in your busiest days of staying in Iran, and for offering such supportive friendship.

During all the years I have been residing in the USA, throughout the most difficult days of dealing with a voluntary exile, one person has consistently been supporting me in all my efforts in and out of academia. My husband, Herbert, is in fact the hidden engine behind everything I do and complete, including this dissertation. His encyclopedic knowledge has always been an asset for me to learn more specifically about American history and culture. Thank you, Herb, for never doubting me. Your faith in me has made a better person of me.

I should also thank anyone who, directly or indirectly, helped me through the most difficult task I have ever done; that is, completing this dissertation. My special thanks to Professor April Ginther, Professor Yahya Kamalipour and Professor Yousef Bozorgnia, for their constant support.

As the Persian poet, Saadi Shirazi, once versified:

This book has come to an end

(But) the story yet remains

به پایان آمد این دفتر

حکایت همچنان باقی

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ABSTRACT

This investigation into the status of English in Iran and cultural presentations in Iranian English has two areas of emphasis. The first is a sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran in which the status, functions, uses and users of this language are described within in the country's social and political contexts. In this part, contributing factors to the growth of English in three political periods, including the Qajar dynasty (1796 -1925), the Pahlavi era (1925-1979) and post-Revolutionary time (1979 – present), are elaborated upon to establish the historical and political bases for the second area of focus.

The second focus is the cultural content in the locally developed English textbooks used from 1939 to the present time (2020). Accordingly, the content of four generations (across five textbook series) of Iranian high school English textbooks are analyzed based on an evaluation scheme which the author has developed. This research finds answers to the questions on the status of culture in the Iranian English textbooks; distribution of Iranian and non-Iranian cultures; dominance of cultural elements (products, practices and perspectives) in each English textbooks series; and the political and ideological influence of each era on the content of English textbooks.

This investigation finds that the English textbooks which were developed before the Islamic Revolution (first and second generations) were highly cultural compared to the post-Revolution materials (third and fourth generations). Also, non-Iranian cultural components (particularly the American and British cultures) were more represented in the English textbooks of the Pahlavi period, whereas Western cultures were all eliminated in the post-Revolution textbooks, replaced by the Islamic/Revolutionary cultures. Additionally, cultural perspectives outnumbered cultural products and practices in the first and second generations of English textbooks (Pahlavi era) whereas cultural products dominated the post-Revolutionary English materials. This study finds that political and ideological hegemony of each era have directly influenced the textual and illustrative content of locally developed English textbooks in Iran.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND NATURE OF THE STUDY

The story of English in my homeland, Iran, especially in the post-1978 revolution era, is both simple and difficult to narrate. It is as uncomplicated as the fact that most people in this Expanding Circle country have a positive attitude toward English and aspire to learn it. Yet, it becomes complex when the political factors come into play, injecting their multifaceted features into the issue. In fact, the conflict between Iranian people's interest in English as an international language for wider communication, and the Islamic regime's interpretation of "the language of imperialism" (Sharifian, 2010) has existed since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. The English language has found a safe place, a high status in the hearts and minds of Iranians whereas it has constantly been a Western-related target to attack amidst the political disputes between the Iranian Islamic regime and Western powers. Yet, the people's constant inclination towards learning English has always exceeded the regime's restrictive policies. Nowadays, thousands of language institutes are set up all around the country, and learners from various generations are more eager than ever to hone their English skills.

From a world Englishes point of view, however, Iran has not received enough attention in global studies and literature of English as a foreign language and/or an international language for wider communication. Despite the emphasis on "articulating a research agenda to guide Expanding Circle research" (Berns, 2005), studies have been traditionally limited to the European countries of the Expanding Circle, and/or as Kachru (1992) mentioned, to the non-Western context of the Outer Circle countries such as India, Singapore, and Nigeria. Ever since its publication in 1981, the mainstream journal, *World Englishes*, has released only one paper about Iran, one examining *"English in Iranian Magazine Advertising"* (Baumgardner & Brown, 2012). In the *Asian Englishes* journal, the newly published *"English in Contemporary Iran"* (Zarrinabadi & Mahmoudi-Gahrouei, 2018) provides a relatively comprehensive report on the history and current status of English in the country. Two other Iranian studies in this journal consider Iranian learners' attitudes toward world Englishes (Rezaei, Khosravizadeh & Mottaghi, 2018) and the *"Impact of Teaching Lingua Franca"* looks at learners' skills (Rahimi & Ruzrokh, 2016). Also, the *International Journal of Language Studies* has published a few papers related to English in Iran, most of which are empirical and from an applied linguistics point of view. *"The idea of English in Iran: an example from Urmia"* (Sadeghi & Richards, 2016) in the *Journal of Multilingual and*

Multicultural Development answered a few questions regarding the status of English in language policies and societal practices, reasons to study English, purposes served by English, values associated with English learning and use, conceptualization of English, and costs and benefits of the status of English in Iran. The works of Sadeghi (2001), Riazi (2005), Razmjoo & Riazi (2006), Sharifian (2008, 2010), and Borjian (2013) also investigate English in Iran from various aspects. Thus, the first part of this dissertation addresses the following questions: What are the sociolinguistic features of English in contemporary Iran? What are the sources of these features in terms of history, functional and social distribution, and attitudes?

1.1 Sources used to make the SLP of English in Iran

To provide the (descriptive) sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran, various secondary and primary sources are used. Secondary sources constitute academic papers, books, Iranian English textbooks, website materials and newspapers in both English and Persian. A big number of Persian secondary sources have been translated into English by me. In some parts of this research, I have also provided personal observations and experiences as primary sources.

The second (evaluative) part of this project takes a close look at the cultural content in textbooks designed for English instruction in Iran. English textbooks have been locally developed in the country since 1939, yet their cultural disposition has not been thoroughly evaluated, particularly in a longitudinal and comparative research. Several Iranian scholars, such as Riazi & Aryashokouh (2007), Jahangard (2008); Abbasian and Hassan Oghli (2011); Zohrabi, Sabouri & Behroozian (2012); Ahmadi & Derakhshan (2014); Sardabi & Koosha (2015); Saberirad et. al, (2016), Azizfar, Koosha, and Lotfi (2010), Riazi and Mosalanejad (2010), carried out evaluation studies on English textbooks, from various perspectives. A number of them, however, have limitedly addressed some cultural aspects or components of the Iranian English textbooks, such as: English textbooks' intercultural features (Gholami Pasand and Ghasemi, 2018; Ahmadi Safa & Farahani, 2015; Taherkhani et.al, 2017; Abbasian and Biria, 2017; Shirvani, 2013; Ajideh and Panahi, 2016; Janfeshan 2018); gender representations (Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Hosseini Fatemi, Pishghadam and Heidarian, 2011; Amini and Birjandi, 2012; Gharbavi and Mousavi, 2012; Esmaili and Amerian, 2012), and national identity and religion (Khajavi and Abbasian, 2011; Cheng and Beigi, 2012), to name a few.

More precisely, the second (evaluative) part of my study, in fact, delves into the cultural features of the Iranian English textbooks from 1940s to the present time, 2020. Applying a mix method approach, I have quantitatively and calculated and qualitatively explained cultural representations in four generations (five series) of locally developed English textbooks. The main questions of this part of the larger study are as follows:

1. What is the status of culture in the Iranian English textbooks of four generations? Or how much of the textbooks' 'multimodal content' (Chen, 2010), or texts and images, is cultural?
2. How much of the textbooks' multimodal content represent the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures?
3. Which cultural element (products, practices and perspectives) is more highlighted in each series of the Iranian English textbooks?
4. Have the political and ideological factors of each era influenced the cultural content of English textbooks? If yes, how?

While the quantitative measures of mean and percentage are used to find answers to inquiries 1 to 3, interpretive content analysis is applied to answer question 4 and discuss the textbooks' latent content within their social and political contexts.

1.2 Positionality statement

In addition to the primary and secondary sources, my linguistic background, my identity as an Iranian-American citizen and a bilingual speaker of Persian and English have also contributed to my understanding of the status of English in Iran and the production of its sociolinguistic profile. I was born and raised in the capital of Iran, Tehran, in 1973, which marks the last years of the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi reign. My first and predominant language is Persian (or Farsi), the formal language of Iran. I can also speak in Lori Boroujerdi, one of the Iranian accents used by the Lor people of Boroujerd and Oshtorinan in the Lorestan Province. Since my parents used to speak in Lori at home, all of us became highly proficient in it. I, however, used Persian to respond to both Lori and Persian speakers.

I cannot recall my first exposure to the English language precisely; yet, I remember that American series and movies, such as: *"Little House on the Prairie"* (1974) and "*King Kong"*

(1967) constituted my first encounter with a new world, and its different people, names and life-styles. At 5, when the 1979 Islamic Revolution happened, I was able to understand that the revolutionists "did not like America". In all my school life, I was taught to curse the USA and its allies who "had plotted to exploit our resources and dominate our country, our culture, and our beliefs", as the revolutionists constantly propagated. In the historical part of this dissertation, I will explain how such anti-American doctrine affected the country's educational policies, particularly the English education and textbooks in the post-Revolution era. Twelve years of Arabic education made me fluent in reading this language. I will explain that in a country where 99% of the population are Muslim, Arabic, the language of holy Quran, has always sustained its educational status in both traditional and modern schools.

At 12, I received the first English lessons from my older brother, Babak (1965-1995; Rest in Peace) even before starting middle school and taking English courses in the formal education system. A summer before the 6th grade, Babak passionately taught me the English letters, simple words, short sentences, and basic grammar. Soon, he upgraded his lessens to the verbs' tenses, and provided pages of verbs along with their three forms. He strictly assigned me to memorize all the verbs and their tenses. I spent that summer in a parrotlike repeating: "do/did/done; go/went/gone; see/saw/seen". My brother's teaching method was, in fact, a combination of grammar, memorization and translation. When I entered the middle school, I was already far ahead of the introductory English lessons of the sixth grade. A self-taught English learner at first, Babak enrolled himself and me in the Simin Educational Association, a well-known language institution in Iran. Simin's curriculum at that time offered distinct courses on grammar and conversation. I completed four levels of grammar and four levels of conversation within 2 years at Simin. Against my playful nature, my brother adamantly held his English school each summer, his fingers poking his prophetic words to my head: "you dislike it now?! You're gonna live with this language one day!"

I earned my BA in English language and literature from Shahid Beheshti University, one of the most prestigious universities in Iran, in the mid-1990s. Throughout my journey in learning English, I barely had a chance to get involved in long conversations in English. My brother's lessons, and my English courses at school, Simin institution and the university, barely went beyond producing short sentences.

I became a journalist in 1991 and started translating English articles and news from Time, Newsweek and other English resources to be printed at Ettela'at newspaper. During my journalistic career, I occasionally spoke in English, such as interviewing with the leaders, presidents and prime ministers of the Islamic countries in the Islamic Countries Summit of 1997 in Tehran. I was also able to use English to communicate with foreigners in my overseas trips, like the 2002 Asian Games in South Korea, and the Paralympic Games of 2004 (Athens), 2008 (Beijing) and 2012 (London), to name a few. Meanwhile, I taught English as a private tutor for many years both to earn money and keep on track.

In 2010, as a PhD candidate in Communications, I got a visiting scholar visa to the USA, and English became the main language of communication for me; a language "to live with" as my brother had once foreseen. From 2010 to 2012, I was associated with the Purdue University (Calumet) campus in Hammond, Indiana as a visiting scholar. Although I had completed writing my PhD dissertation in Communication Studies/Journalism, I never went back to Iran to defend it. I married my American friend, Herbert, and established a new life in the USA. This event, in fact, was the pinnacle of English use in my life. English became more than the language of my host society; it was now the primary language of my family. Constant interactions with my husband, and benefiting from his encyclopedic type of trivia knowledge, not only added to my English comprehension, fluency and idiomaticity, but also increased my general knowledge on the American culture and lifestyle.

To finish what I had left incomplete, I started a new PhD program in Second Language Studies at Purdue University in 2014. This event, however, developed another aspect of my English abilities: Academic English. Driving 200 miles in each commute to/from the campus gave me an opportunity to listen to English audio books; a rich activity to enjoy books and add to my literary knowledge besides the Academic English.

Now, I am a PhD candidate (my second ABD), working on this dissertation. English has become an inseparable part of my life and identity. Although my English has improved in the past years, still I am not satisfied with my skills. I consider myself a perpetual English learner.

1.3 Definition, history and functions of sociolinguistic profiles

To add to the existing literature and fill the research gap on English in Iran, I apply in this dissertation the sociolinguistic profile (SLP) proposed by Kachru (1983) and formalized by Berns

(1990). Coined by Charles Ferguson (1966), sociolinguistic profile examines the linguistic and social features of a language (English in this case) in a community of speakers (Ferguson, 1966; Kachru, 1983; Berns, 1990). Kachru (1976) provided the first sociolinguistic profile of English in India. In his seminal work, *"Indian English: A Sociolinguistic Profile of a Transplanted Language*", Kachru clarified that his purpose is "to provide a sociolinguistic profile of a non-native language in a multilinguistic non-Western context" (p. 1). He started the sociolinguistic profile of English in India with the acculturation history of two foreign languages, Persian and English, in that country and the formation of "Indian Persian" and "Indian English" through the sociocultural "Indianization" process. Kachru explained how the "Indianness" of Indian English is reflected in its linguistic characteristics, including phonology, syntax, lexis, and semantics. Explaining the functions of English in India, Kachru introduced "intelligibility" and "variation" of English, and applied the "cline of bilingualism" (Kachru, 1965) to explain "variation" based on "proficiency". Regarding different functions of English in various situations, Kachru proposed the "Englishes" which are used in India. He also investigated the role of English as "the medium for interstate communication" (p. 8) in the Indian media and journalism. In addition to the development and roles of English in the pre- and post-Independence eras, attitudes towards this language and Indian English writing have also been delineated in Kachru's article. In his next work, *The Indianization of English: the English language in India (1983),* Kachru completed the sociolinguistic profile of English in India.

Similar to Kachru's pioneer model, the sociolinguistic profiles of different countries, such as: Algeria (Belmihoub, 2018), Lebanon (Esseili, 2017), and Columbia (Velez-Rendon, 2003), have elaborated on the status of English, its improvement and applications in the political and social contexts of those countries. In fact, sociolinguistic profile of English would help us to understand not only the status of this language in a given country, but also the sociolinguistic factors and processes which affect English as well as its nativization procedure which is the result of the language use.

1.4 Components of a sociolinguistic profile

According to Berns (1990), a comprehensive sociolinguistic profile (SLP) contains 4 main parts: (1) a brief description of the country, (2) users of English and/or societal distribution, (3)

uses of English and/or functional distribution, and (4) attitudes as evidenced in range of uses and variety of users. The following paragraphs describe each part in detail:

(1) An SLP of English starts with general information about a given country, including its population, size, linguistic and cultural diversity, neighboring countries, history of English and its general presence and availability in the country.

(2) The second part of an SLP includes demographical information about the users of English, such as their age, gender, social and economic class, employment and proficiency level.

(3) The third part of an SLP, uses of English, comprises four main functions of this language which were originally introduced by Halliday (1973) and borrowed by Kachru. Accordingly, in an SLP, English is studied through its four functions: interpersonal, instrumental, regulative/administrative and creative/innovative functions. The **instrumental function** deals with the status of a language in the educational system and medium of teaching in the institutions (Kachru, 1981a). The **interpersonal function** describes whether a language is used by the speakers of a community as a sign of prestige, elitism, and/or superiority, and whether the language is used as a medium for wider communication. The **regulative function** of a language addresses its usage in a country's administrative and/or legislative systems. The **innovative/creative function** investigates how the target language is used in media, advertisements, public signs, and literary works.

(4) The last part of an SLP investigates the attitudes of English users towards this language, its varieties, its speakers and learning this language.

The following chart suggests an outline of Berns' sociolinguistic profile which has been adapted in this research:

I. Brief description of the country

Languages spoken, cultures represented, population, size of country/neighbors, history of the presence and contact of English, general presence and availability of English (e.g., various media, public places, classroom, etc.)

II. Users of English / Societal distribution

Age and gender, socio-economic status, educational background, proficiency levels, employment

III. Uses of English / Functional distribution

A. Interpersonal function: use as a symbol of prestige; use as formal, professional link language between/among speakers of languages when it is only common language (cf. lingua franca); use to establish and maintain relationships, for example, between and among bloggers, friends/acquaintances, travelers.

B. Instrumental function: status of English in the educational system as medium of instruction, in bilingual schools, as a language of scholarship and research.

C. Regulative (administrative) function: status as a language in legal and administrative domains; use in international treaties, contracts, agreements.

D. Creative/innovative function: use in literary works, public texts (e.g., broadcast commercials, print advertising), borrowings and their nativization, innovations.

IV. Attitudes as evidenced in range of uses and variety of users

Toward English

Toward other varieties of English (in general or in particular)

Toward speakers of English

Toward learning English

1.5 Why did I use the SLP framework?

Since one of the primary objectives of this research is to investigate the status of English in Iran, a sociolinguistic profile, whose objective is to provide insight into the position of English, fits the most. While different researchers have applied various (yet similar) sociolinguistic profile frameworks (Belmihoub, 2018), I adopted Berns' model (1990) which is the most adequate framework to meet the objectives of this research. Additionally, in the quantitative part of this research, or content analysis of the Iranian English textbooks, the measures of frequency, mean and percentage have been applied to culturally assess the multimodal content (Chen, 2010) or the texts and images of Iranian English textbooks.

Following an SLP format , I will start with a brief description of Iran (its size, population, neighbors, linguistic and cultural diversity), followed by the characteristics of the Iranian English users and their societal distribution (age, gender, education, socio-economic status, employment and English proficiency levels). Then, I will explain the four functions of English in Iran, as follows: (1) to address the instrumental function, I will indicate the role of English in the Iranian

formal educational system. Since English in the Iranian educational setting is the main focus of this dissertation, I will investigate this topic throughout three main political eras from 1800 to the present time (2020); (2) I will argue that the interpersonal function of English as a prestigious language is increasingly growing in Iran, particularly among the younger generations whose worlds and worldviews have massively expanded under the influence of social media and the Internet; (3) I will also mention that English does not have any administrative and/or legislative functions in the country; (4) finally, I will show how English is excessively used in the street signs, stores' names, people's clothes, and media. The attitude of Iranians towards English, its varieties and users will also be discussed.

1.6 Conclusion

To fill the gap on English in Iran and on English textbooks in the country, the first part of my research provides insights into the status of English in Iran. Since a sociolinguistic profile (SLP) of English shares the same objectives as those of my research, I have chosen this framework to investigate the position of this language is my country. The next chapter presents my sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran.

CHAPTER 2. CHAPTER 2. A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE OF ENGLISH IN IRAN

The history of foreign languages and cultures in Iran dates back as far as the immigration of the Aryan tribes to the Iranian Plateau around 2000 BC (Azarang, 2015) and forward to the formation of the biggest empire in history, the Persian Empire, in 550 BC. The outcome of all the conquests, battles, blood shedding, defeats and victories in the long history of this country is the formation of a hybrid identity which, according to Riazi (2005), consists of three components: Persian, Arabic (Islamic), and Western identity. In his comprehensive study, Riazi (2005) has elaborated on the "f*our stages of languages in Iran"* as follows: In the first stage, starting from the formation of the Persian Empire (550 BC) through the Sassanid dynasty (224 to 651 AD), "Old Persian" was the dominant language used by ordinary people and the government for communicative purposes.

In the second phase, following the Arab invasion in the 7th century, Riazi explains, the Arabic language and culture integrated into the Persian language and culture. Therefore, many Arabic words penetrated in Persian, and a hybrid Arabic-Persian or Islamic-Iranian identity was formed. In the third stage, Persia was exposed to "*the Western culture and language in general, and English culture and language in particular"* (Riazi, 2005, pp. 101-102) during the Qajar dynasty (1796 – 1925). Therefore, a Persian-Islamic-Western identity was formed in the 19th century, and the country shifted towards Westernization. The fourth stage, according to Riazi (2005), started after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, characterized by its anti-Western policy which affected all aspects of Iranian people's life, including the educational and language policies.

2.1 A brief description of the country

Iran is in the Middle East region of Asia. The Caspian Sea in the north - filled with oil and natural gas resources - and the Persian Gulf in the south – one of the largest single sources of crude oil in the world - have multiplied the geopolitical significance of the country. Iran's neighboring countries constitute Pakistan and Afghanistan (east and southeast), Turkmenistan (northeast), Azerbaijan and Armenia (northwest), and Turkey and Iraq (west) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Iran in the Middle East

Iran's area of 1,648,195 km² makes it the 17th largest country in the globe. According to the Statistical Center of Iran (as of May 23, 2020), the country's population is 83,542,244, making it the 18th most populous nation in the world. Accordingly, 51% of the population are men and 49% women. While 74% of the population live in urban areas, 25.9% reside in rural places and 0.1% are nomads. The age distribution is 24% for those under 14 years of age, 25.1% for those aged from 15 to 29, 44.8% for those aged from 30 to 64, and 6.1% for those aged 65 or older. Additionally, 94.7% of the population (between 10 to 49 years old) are literate. The country's predominant religion is Islam and over 99% of the population are Muslim (Shia), whereas less than 1% follow Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism and other religions.

Iran has 31 provinces (Figure 2). Its capital, Tehran, in the northern province of Tehran, is the most populated province, hosting over 13,000,000 residents.

Figure 2. Map of 31 provinces of Iran

The country is multi-ethnic and multi-lingual; yet, Article 15 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has recognized Persian as "the official and common language and script of the people of Iran" (Papan-Matin, 2014). The primary language in many areas may be any of several other languages and dialects, including Azeri, Turkish, Kurdish, Lori, Semnani, Gilaki, Mazandarani, Turkmen, Arabic, Baloch, Georgian, Armenian, and Neo-Aramaic. In many areas, Persian may function as the language of wider communication. Persian is also spoken in Afghanistan (called Dari), Tajikistan (called Tajik), Uzbekistan (as Tajik and Bukhori), and some parts of Iraq, Russia and Azerbaijan. Despite many syntactic and grammatical commonalities, their pronunciation and prosody of their users may differ from those of Iranians.

2.2 English in the Iranian media and public places

The primary language of media is Persian; yet, English can be found in traditional outlets, namely, television, radio and newspapers. The *Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB)* is a governmental organization, consisting of 40 television stations: 18 national and 34 provincial channels in Persian, and 12 international channels in 10 languages, one of which is English. Other languages are Persian, Urdu, Dari, French, Bosnian, Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, and Spanish. Among the international channels, *Press TV* and the movie broadcaster *iFilm* are English-only, and *Safur* uses English and Urdu. In addition, some national channels, like *Shabakeh Khabar (News Channel)*, dedicate at least 15 minutes per day to news in English. The *IRIB* has 33 provincial and 18 national radio stations among which 15 are Persian-only. One Arabic-language channel is dedicated to broadcasts of the reading of the Quran. Iranians also have access to English via the radio station 'English Radio' and the Arabic station 'Arabic Radio' (www.radio.iranseda.ir). Among newspapers, only the *Iran Daily* and the *Tehran Times* publish in English. Some Persian newspapers, however, may dedicate anywhere from a column to a few pages to news, social, historical and political articles in English.

The study of Baumgardner and Brown (2012) indicated that 53% of advertisements in the Iranian magazines were in English. This language, in fact, is used in some advertisements and commercials as a hallmark of prestige and quality. Similarly, many storeowners prefer adding English signs to their storefronts. While many choose a name in Persian for their business, some others may prefer English names, or a mix of Persian-English, such as *Ava System Café-Net* (a

café to provide Internet services to public) whose name consists of the Persian word, *Ava* (meaning song) and the English word 'system'.

English can also be seen on billboards, store windows, graffiti, T-shirts, and other public entities in large cities, small towns and counties. The images in Figure 3 illustrate the broad cultural acceptance of English on clothing that is worn by more and less traditionally-dressed Iranians.

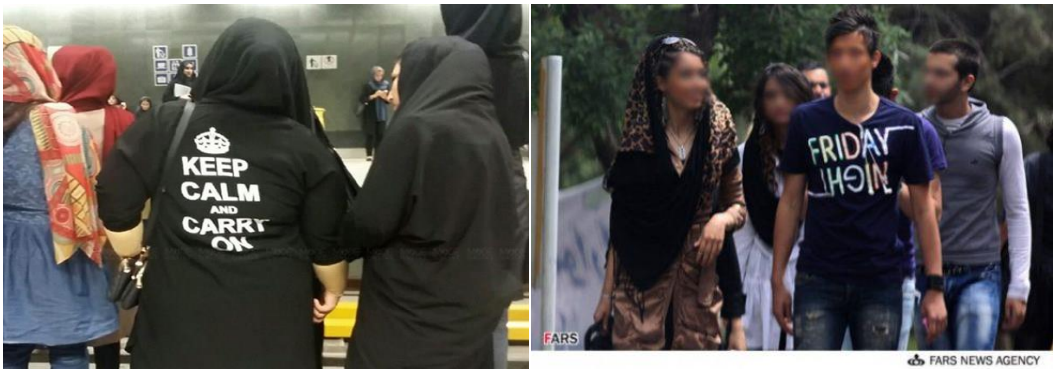

Figure 3. English on clothing

English and Persian are both present on street and way-finding signs and other infrastructure signage (Figure 4). Some English misspellings on public signs occasionally turn into a funny topic and become viral in the Iranians' social media.

Figure 4. Bilingual street signs in Tehran, Iran

2.3 Internet users and exposure to English

In the mid-1990s, the word was spreading that in the new millennium, the 2000s, 'real literacy' would be measured through two skills: knowing English and computer literacy. As inspiring as this vision was for the younger generations to hone both skills, it intimidated the elder population who felt too old to join the party. Even some educated scholars, unfamiliar with the English language, felt threatened by the rising waves of technological change. To secure their positions as the members of the educated population, they had no option other than adding English and computer learning to their "must do" list. Learning English became necessary to progress, parallel with the advances in technology and the introduction of the Internet.

The second decade of the 2000s marked the dominance of the internet and social media in Iran. The World Stat analysis (2019) shows that 80.5% (n=67,602,731) of the total Iranian population have used the Internet by the end of December 2019. It means that almost 81% of Iranian users of Internet are, deliberately or accidentally, exposed to a range of English, from simple words and structures (such as 'link', 'sign in', 'click') to pages of information in English which require the users to have higher English skills. Despite the regime's censorship policies and restrictive regulations against Internet use, Iranian users have learned how to bypass filtering by installing various types of VPNs (Virtual Private Network), which negatively affects Internet speed, yet gives access to many banned pages.

In the Internet era, not only English, but other foreign languages, such as French, German, Russian, Spanish, and East Asian languages have found new status in the country. Except for state elementary schools which were banned in 2018 from teaching foreign languages, many schools offer a range of languages. Nevertheless, English is still the most favored and preferred language in the formal educational system.

It is also worth investigating how new technologies poured English into the Iranian society. The dominant language of new technologies' first generations was English, meaning that Persian was not technically supported in such devices as computers and cellphones. With the advent of cellphone's texting or Short Message Service (SMS) in Iran in the mid-2000s, a mixed form of writing, or transliterating, called 'Fingilish' (Farsi + English) was creatively invented. Benefiting from Fingilish transliteration, SMS users would text, for example, "salam" /săläm/ (meaning "hi") and/or "khoobi?" /Khōōbĭ/" meaning "how're you?" using the Roman alphabet instead of Persian script "سلام" in their texts. Fingilish soon became an inseparable part of the technology's newly-

formed culture in Iran. Even after the Persian letters were added to cellphones, the Iranians' Fingilish habit was sustained. Gradually, the routine changed, yet was not totally eradicated. It would not be surprising today to text a friend سلام ("hi" in Persian) and receive the Fingilish reply "salam".

Systematic censorship of media, which has turned into an established policy since the 1979 Revolution (Rahimi, 2015), has been expanded to filtering and interrupting Internet service throughout the country. Interfering with the free flow of information and impeding the so-called 'Western cultural invasion', a concept theorized by the Revolutionary radical theoreticians (see Mesbah Yazdi, 2010), the regime has restricted the Iranian users' access to many websites, weblogs, news sites, and social media, including YouTube, Facebook, BBC News, Voice of America, Telegram app, and Twitter. Ironically, Iranian officials have created their own Twitter accounts in both English and Persian.

2.4 Users of English

Distinguishing between English 'learners' and 'users' (see Meunier et al, 2011) in Iran is difficult, as many advanced learners may also be perceived as English users in different arenas. While no statistics are available to show the distribution of English users in various occupations, personal observation suggests that the adult users/learners of English mainly consist of students (particularly in higher education), scientists and researchers, professors, translators, tourist guides, government employees (especially in the oil industry and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), bankers, engineers, physicians, journalists, athletes and coaches, artists, actors and directors, and other forms of employment that demand at least a minimum of communicative ability in English. One of the most publicly observable settings of English usage in Iran is in the tourism industry. From March 2016 to March 2017, Iran attracted 6 million tourists (Alkhalisi, 2017) to its most visited cities, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Yazd and Tabriz, every year. Many local business owners in, for example, Isfahan can communicate with the foreign tourists. Their English proficiency level is good enough to respond to their communicative and business purposes (Khajavi & Abbasian, 2011).

Another setting for using foreign languages is international affairs where a number of Iranian politicians speak in English and/or Arabic. Among the official working languages of the United Nations (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish) (Official Languages,

2015), English and Arabic have, in fact, the highest rate of global application among the Iranian politicians. The number of Iranian politicians and officials, especially clerics, who know Arabic is higher than that of English. Those with lower English proficiency level recruit interpreters for the international meetings and conferences. One exception is the Iranian Foreign Minister (in President Rohani's administration), Javad Zarif, whose ambilingual competency (Kachru, 1978) in both English and Persian played key role in the progress of the Iran-USA Joined Comprehensive Plan of Action in 2015.

A graduate from Glasgow Caledonian University in Scotland with an M. Phil degree in Law (1995), President Hasan Rohani is also expected to know English. In an interview with CNN in 2013, he sent his peaceful message to the American people in English; yet, he was criticized and even mocked by many Iranians for not sounding fluent enough. Some political figures closer to the Islamic Revolution leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, have claimed that he is fluent in English and Arabic (Mizaan-e Tasalot, 2016); yet, his performance in English has never been publicized.

The variety of domains in which English is used in the country is further illustrated by the extensive range of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses offered at language institutes. They include English for business, law, engineering, humanities, medicine, electronics, army specialized training, meteorology, aviation, nursing and health care, energy industry and automotive industry, journalism, management, accounting, marketing, computing and IT, financial sector, banking, and the basic sciences of mathematics, chemistry, geometry, and physics. English courses offered at Pars Language Institutes meet various communicative needs of English users, such as establishing social relations, holding business meetings, seminars and presentations, public speech, negotiation skills and techniques, telephone conversation, and computer-based communication. Additional domains catered to are advertising and marketing, selling and buying, oil and gas industry, tourism, and hotel management (Pars Language Institution, 2015).

2.4.1 Gender distribution

Statistics on the gender distribution of English learners or users in Iran are not available. Only the study of Zarrabi & Brown (2015) indicates that in addition to the unknown number of unregistered English centers, nearly 56% (n=4,350) of the total registered English institutes (n=7,800) are allocated to females whereas 44% (n=3,450) are for men. Also, recurring pattern of the Iranian universities' admittance suggests that the admitted females outnumber the males by

around 10%. For instance, in 2019, 54.5% (n= 104,123) of the admitted applicants were female, whereas 45.5% (n=87,092) were male (Statistics on the Admitted Students, 2019). Similarly, Guttman (2015) has reported that 70% of the Iranian science and engineering students are women. Presumably, similar patterns are detectable in English learning.

As much as Iranian females are educationally ahead of their male peers, they have been prevented from taking some specific careers and becoming pilots, sailors, soldiers, firefighters, oil excavators, judges, realtors, and coffee-shop workers (Ashrafi, 2014). Policies and regulations encourage them, instead, to get the so called 'appropriate jobs' for women (Bagheri & Shahmoradi Zavvareh, 2016). In the urban areas, women in the job market are more engaged in the health care, education, manufacturing, governmental and private offices, whereas, in the rural areas, their traditional jobs include farming and weaving for which they are less likely to be paid (Alaedini & Razavi, 2005).

This occupational trend, as well as the higher rate of men's participation (60%) in the country's economy compared to that of women (10%), may suggest that the number of Iranian male users of English is higher than that of females.

2.4.2 Proficiency range

Iranian English learners and users can be placed along a range of proficiency or "cline of bilingualism" (Kachru, 1978). Since English does not have official status in the country, nor is it institutionalized, it is difficult to assess the general fluency of the Iranian learners or users of English. While many people in technology read and use simple English words, their English competency in interactive settings might be limited. Many Iranians can easily use new technologies, read and comprehend English commands, and benefit from informative pages, while others may be competent enough to effectively communicate with an English speaker. A small number of Iranians, such as English instructors, businessmen, and interpreters, are closer to the central point of the cline of bilingualism. Many of those on the ambilingual point (Kachru, 1978) of the cline are mostly among the Iranian diaspora out of the country, residing in such English-speaking countries as the UK or USA.

Regarding Iranians' English proficiency, the question may be raised whether a foreign tourist in Tehran could be assisted in English or not. The answer is most of the time "yes"; however, the area and the helper's age would be important factors. Most of the younger generations can use

English effectively, especially in the central and northern parts of the capital, and in such cities as Isfahan and Shiraz, which attract foreign tourists.

2.4.3 English Learners Income

The upper-middle and middle-class populations may represent most of the English learners/users in Iran who, in contrast to those with lower incomes, can afford to enroll in private institutes and benefit from traditional as well as online resources. Upper-class Iranians, however, may possess more resources for learning a foreign language, and are more likely to travel internationally and to use the learned language.

2.5 Uses of English

English has multiple uses in Iran, most important of which is as the language of wider communication. In the history-rich cities of Isfahan and Shiraz, a number of local people use English to communicate with foreign tourists. Also, English is the main language of the imported science and technology, especially in the Internet and new technology era. However, it is also used in a variety of domains and serves as a symbol of prestige.

2.5.1 Interpersonal function

Unless Iranians wish to communicate with tourists or foreigners visiting the country, English is mainly used only outside the country. As previously mentioned, Persian is the domestic language for wider communication, while some Iranians, especially in the borderline provinces, share the dialects and languages of Azeri Turkish, Arabic or Kurdish with the neighboring people. English, however, might be chosen if they do not share a common language.

Some Persian speakers may purposefully use English in their daily written and/or verbal communications to practice and maintain the learned knowledge. Also, bilingual parents may prefer to use multiple languages at home to expose their child(ren) to other languages in addition to Persian. Many Iranians, especially the younger generations, mix some English words and expressions into their Persian communication for prestige purposes. In communicating via social media (e.g. Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook) and Internet-based apps (e.g. WhatsApp and Telegram), many use such English words and expressions as “Oh my God” or “OMG”, “Take it

easy", "Lol', "Sexy", "Crush", and so on in their oral or written communications. To my surprise, many friends living in Iran throw in English words while speaking to me whereas I am careful not to automatically code-switch to English as a result of 10 years living in the USA. One reacted to an unpleasant memory by spelling out "disgusting" in the Persian alphabet rendered as "دیسگاستینگ". An Iranian professor in Communications, Dr Alireza Hosseini Pakdehi, has warned that the excessive borrowings from foreign languages and overuse of English words among the teens and younger generations threaten the Persian language purity and jeopardize its prestigious status among Farsi users (Hoshdar, 2017).

2.5.2 Instrumental function

Although Persian is the medium of instruction from the first grade to pre-college and beyond in all Iranian public schools, English is also used in a small number of the private schools in the capital and other big cities. According to Sadeghi & Richards (2016), English is the most studied foreign language and the most popular medium of education after Persian. As an example, Tehran International School (TIS), funded in 1985, admits children of foreign ambassadors and Iranian children who have been raised in other countries. On its website, TIS defines its objective as *"…bonding educational and cultural links between expatriate Iranian students temporarily residing in Iran and their motherland as well as between the community of foreign nationals present in Iran"* (About TIS, 2010).

When I was a BA student in English Language and Literature at Shahid Beheshti University (early 1990s), almost all classes were conducted in English. Our professors, all PhD holders and some graduates of American universities, spoke English fluently. Similarly, many English departments at other Iranian universities execute the "English-only" policy for many courses. Other majors, particularly those related to international relations, such as Aviation and Tourism, also offer English medium instruction. Newly established campuses of the current universities (known as: پردیس بین المللی دانشگاهها or Părdēs-ĕ bānōlmĕlălî-ĕ Dăněshgäh-hä, or The International Campuses of Universities) have also started using English as the language of instruction.

2.5.3 Regulative (administrative) function

According to Article 15 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran "the documents, correspondence, official texts, and schoolbooks must all be in this language and script" (Papan-Matin, 2014). The English language, therefore, has no status in the regulative and administrative setting of Iran, and all legal and government documents, bills, rules and regulations are provided only in Persian. Exceptions are translations needed for personal and/or international purposes.

2.5.4 Creative/innovative function

The creative/innovative function of English is variously realized in Iran. In addition to some borrowings which are nativized to some degree, innovative uses of English are evident in public spaces. Technological advances whose dominant language is English (Brumfit, 1982; Crystal, 1997) are one of the main sources of borrowing English words, such as *Computer*, *Email*, *Message*, *Mobile*, *Laptop*, *Fax*, *telephone*, *machine*, *freezer,* and *radio*. Only from Instagram, have English terms been imported to the Iranians' language and ordinary life, including: *direct, celebrity (pronounced as /sĕlĕbērētē/), clip /kēlēp/, channel and canal /känäl/, share /shĕr/, accept /ăksĕp/, like, comment, page, feed, story /estorē/, edit, live, notification (clipped to /nōtif/), hashtag, explore /expĕlor/, mention, tag, search, save, caption, profile /porofīle/, report, block /bĕlŭk/, spam /espam/, post, follow, follower /fŭlo'ver/, bio*

Instagram is also witnessing Iranians' linguistic innovation in making such creative IDs as: *irani-acterrs* (a page with over 338,000 followers, as of May 2020), *cilip.saad_* (with 307,000 followers, as of May 2020), and *cilip.3angin* (with 37,400 followers, as of May 2020).

Persian's phonological features interfere with English pronunciation in the speaking of some Iranians (Table 1). For example, words starting with /s/ and another consonant (e.g., "stop") are generally difficult for Persian speakers to pronounce. Therefore, an /e/ is inserted before the consonant cluster. Table 1 also illustrates how the recent lexical borrowing "crush" has been nativized by the Iranian Twitter users at various levels. Pronounced as (/kĕräsh/), it appears in a variety of constructions as, for example, in "این کراش منه"/ēn kĕräshĕ mănĕ/ "he/she is my crush". Combination with Persian verbs result in new syntactical structures and meanings: "کراش زدن" /kĕräsh zădăn/ (literally "hitting a crush") "he/she shows that he/she likes someone" or "روی من کراش دارن"/rōōyĕ măn kĕräsh dărăn/ "they have a crush on me". Other combined structures are

لینک کانال فول سکسی، جوین بشید/ lēnkĕ känälĕ f o͞ol sĕksē; join bĕshēd/ (meaning: Full-sexy channel, join now!) to invite the users to join a sexy channel on Instagram; and such words as لمینت، کامپوزیت، بیلیچینگ (laminates, composite, bleaching) in a dentistry advertisement.

Table 1. Nativization of English words in the Persian language

English form	Nativized pronunciation and plural affixation	Nativization process
1. computer	/kämpi͡o͞oter-hä/	Affixation of plural marker /hä/
2. file	/fīle-hä/ (plural)	Affixation of plural marker /hä/
3. formula	/fōrmo͞ol/	Simplification of vowels
4. start	/estärt/	Insertion of /e/ before word initial /s/
5. stop	/estōp/	Insertion of /e/ before word initial /s/; /o/ pronounced as /ō/
6. crush	/kĕräsh zădăn/	Insertion of /e/ after /k/; Formation of new hybrid terms through creation of the infinitive "to have a crush"

Another means of creative expression and interpersonal communication is found in graffiti written in English, some instances of which often carry political and social messages. An example is a call for equality for women, as shown in Figure 5. On its left is a tribute to International Women's Day; the date, March 8th, is written in English alongside a woman free of an Islamic veil. The photographer has enhanced the political message by taking the shot when a woman in Islamic dress passed by. The street art on the right speaks for itself.

Figure 5. Political graffiti

2.6 Attitudes toward English

Iranian people's positive attitudes toward the English language and English speakers are evident in various forms. Parents' investment in English instruction for their children, high rate of registrations in private language institutes, creative public and private use of English, the sporting of clothing with English words and phrases, friendly reception and warm hospitality, are just a few manifestations of the population's respect for English and its native and (most) non-native speakers.

English learning is so valued in many Iranian families that parents enroll their children in language institutes at an early age – a strong family drive that Mobashernia & AghaAhmady (2010) called "parental encouragement". As a sign of prestige and fashion, some Iranians wear clothing with English words printed on them (Figure 3).

Negative attitudes towards English, however, are mostly represented in the perceptions and policing of the Islamic regime's officials, particularly in the first years after the 1979 revolution when English was associated with 'imperialism' and 'the language of enemy' (Sharifian, 2010). English, therefore, was eliminated from the country's educational curricula for a while, until it regained its educational status; a tool by which, as Ayatollah Khomeini declared, the Islamic Revolution values could be exported to the other countries.

Another instance of the official negative responses to English is the endeavors of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature. The Academy's mission is to coin Persian equivalents of English borrowings to "maintain the strength and authenticity of the Persian language" (Darbareye Farhangestan, 2007).

Additionally, some of the Islamic officials, particularly the current leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, have frequently attempted to curtail people's interest in English and promote learning other languages. In a speech in 2016, Ayatollah Khamenei criticized the spread of English to kindergartens and claimed that such activities were part of the Western plot to instill "thought and culture to the younger generation of countries" (Iran Bans English, 2018). Consequently, teaching English was banned in primary schools. In opposition to such negative attitudes, many people do not believe that using English is a threat to their ethno-linguistic identity (Mobashernia & Agha Ahmadi, 2010). They, instead, have shown high aspirations to learn English, the language of international communication, and thus improve their academic and occupational status.

Among all Englishes, the Inner Circle American and British Englishes are the most appreciated ones in Iran; many learners ideally set as their objective native-like skill (Tamimi Sa'd,

2018a; Tamimi Sa'd, 2018b). The results of a study on the Iranian English learners (Rezaei, Khatib & Baleghizadeh, 2014) similarly indicated that 73.3% of the participants preferred American English, followed by 23.6% for British English. Accordingly, Persian English (1.6%), Canadian English (1.2%) and Australian English (0.3%) were the least favorite varieties of English among the Iranian English learners.

2.7 General presence and availability of English

Education, media and the Internet are the main areas in which the presence and availability of English are manifested in Iran today. Each of these sites plays key role in accessing, learning and using English as well as the attainment of its high status in the country.

2.7.1 Formal and informal English education

As mentioned, English teaching in the official education system starts in the first year of junior high school (seventh grade) and ends in the last year of senior high school (12^{th} grade). Colleges also offer general and technical English courses. The predominant reading and grammar approach was eventually replaced by Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in 2011. Newly developed English textbooks, consequently, have aimed at enabling students to hone their speaking, listening, reading and writing skills (Danesh Amouzan, 2013).

Language institutes, mainly private, are another traditional provider of instructional English. The number of language centers have been growing nationwide, partially as a reaction to the insufficiencies of English teaching in the formal educational system (Ghorbani, 2011). Most of the institutes offer English classes to a variety of age divisions, from 3-year-olds to older learners and adults. Shokouh English Institution, as one of the pioneers of language centers in the country, holds English courses for three age groups: children (4-12 years old), youths (11-15 years old), and adults (16+). According to one report, more than 7,800 English institutes are registered in Iran (Zarrabi & Brown, 2015). Since many other institutes for general English or ESP are unregistered, the actual number might surpass the reported one.

Many language institutes apply an oral/aural approach in English teaching (Zarrinabadi & Mahmoudi-Gahrouei, 2018). They mostly use authentic educational material, such as *New Interchange* (Hully, Proctor, & Richards, 2005), *Top Notch* (Saslow, Ascher, & Morsberger, 2006),

and *English File* (Latham-Koenig, Oxenden, & Seligson, 2015), are produced by Western commercial publishers.

Nowadays, many Iranian English instructors encourage learners to hone their language skills through social media. In an article on Languyesh, an informative website on language learning, Meskini (2018) has listed various ways to use Instagram for English purposes. He has asked learners to follow English teaching pages on Instagram; read quotes and short passages; answer #captionthis requests and compose sentences in English; follow celebrities' pages; focus on the educational-scientific content of Instagram; and follow #memestagram posts of interesting English 'goofs', which, according to him, are both educational and fun.

Listening to the English songs and watching English movies are among popular ways of learning English for Iranians. Pop culture productions, in fact, not only motivate language learners, but also enhance their range of vocabulary, idiomaticity, listening comprehension and pronunciation (see Cheung, 2001; Haghverdi & Abdpur, 2013).

2.8 Conclusion

This sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran provides insight into the status of this language in my homeland country. It sheds more light on the gap between the regime's occasional restrictive policies and people's increasing interest in this language. Furthermore, English does not have a communicative function in the national level, yet it is omnipresent; from the Iranian official media to public signs and advertisements, billboards, street signs, people's clothing, and educational system, English has a lively presence in the Iranian society. Although English does not have a regulative and administrative function; its instrumental function is limited to a small number of the private schools and universities. Internet-based technologies have opened new doors to the world of information, knowledge and technology where the dominant language is English. Iranians, as a result, are now more exposed to the English language via their cellphones and personal computers, which nowadays function as the primary sources of borrowed and nativized English words in the Persian language.

The sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran can be completed by delving into the background and history of English in this country. In the next chapter, I elaborate on the main factors contributing in the spread of English in the country throughout the past century. Since a comprehensive overview of English (and other foreign languages) in the entire history of Iran is

beyond the scope of this research, I have limited the discussion to three periods: Qajar Dynasty (1796 – 1925), Pahlavi era (1925 – 1979), and the post-Islamic Revolution (1979 – present/2019). This approach follows Borjian's (2013) historical overview of English in Iran; yet, my research may humbly serve only as a complement to the previous work.

It is noteworthy that the country was still called 'Persia' during the Qajar era until 1935 when Reza Pahlavi officially changed it to Iran. This research, accordingly, follows the same historical order in calling the country Persia (until 1935), then Iran.

CHAPTER 3. THE QAJAR DYNASTY (1796 – 1925)

3.1 Overview

Ruling over Persia (now Iran), from 1795 to 1925, the Qajar dynasty was an Iranian royal family of Turkish descent (Kambin, 2011). From a global historical view, the Qajar era commenced during the French Revolution (1789 – 1799) and was contemporary with the Industrial Revolution in the 18^{th}-19^{th} centuries, the first World War (1914 – 1918) and the Russian Revolution of 1917. During the Qajar era, enlightening sparks of international events hit Persia and inspired its elite population to call for modernity in various contexts, including military modernization, educational improvement, economic reform, political changes, and the establishment of a parliament and constitution (Azarang, 2015, p. 217).

Traditional foreign interferences, particularly, the Russian and British territorial encroachment, resumed throughout the Qajar period. In fact, the three imperialistic powers of the 19^{th} century, Russia, England and France, were constantly competing over an unshared influence upon the Qajar court, trying to lessen each other's power in Persia. The treaty of Gulistan (1813) and the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828) resulted in ceding to the Imperial Russia huge portions of the northern territory in Transcaucasia and Caucasus, including north of the Aras river, Georgia, Armenia, northern Azerbaijan, Dagestan, Nakhchivan, and Iğdır Province (now in Turkey), Turkestan, and Transoxiana (Andreeva, 2007).

Impacted by the country's lawlessness and political anarchy, Persia's traditional economy was, in fact, disintegrating during the Qajar time (Hakimian, 1997) while most Persians were deprived of modern medical care, education, and social welfare. In addition to the widespread famine and mass starvation of 1917-1919, Persia went through seven fatal cholera epidemics between 1820 and 1903 because of which many people, particularly children, died (Azizi & Azizi, 2010a).

Amidst numerous political and economic issues, a few influential figures, such as Abbas Mirza Qajar (1789 - 1833), the crown prince of Persia and commander-in-chief, and Mirza Taghi Khan Farahani (1807 – 1852), known as Amir Kabir, the Chancellor of Persia (in office 1848 – 1851), were able to execute progressive plans, directing the country towards some degrees of social, educational, political and military development.

Persia encountered major political changes in the first decade of the 20th century. The Constitutional Revolution (1905 to 1911) resulted in the replacement of the kingdom system by the parliamentary government. The first Persian Constitution was signed by Mozaffar Adin Shah Qajar (reign 1906 – 1907) and the first parliament (or *majlis*) was established in 1906. For a short time, the country experienced political freedom, and the elite were allowed to share their social and political views with the grassroots populations through free, critical newspapers. The burgeoning freedom, however, did not last too long. Two years later, in 1908, Mohammad Ali Shah Qajar (reign 1907 – 1909) abolished the constitution, cannonaded the newly-established parliament with the help of the Russian artillery, and prisoned and executed several political activists and forerunners of the Constitutional Movement (Cronin, Cronin and Stephanie Cronin, 1997). In the aftermath of public protests, however, the constitution was re-established in 1909, many schools were set up in Tehran and other cities, and elementary education became compulsory for all children seven-years-old and up. Also, a law was ratified to set up nine governmental elementary schools (first to sixth grade) in Tehran, Tabriz, Mashad, Shiraz and Kerman, in which half of the enrolled students had to be chosen from poor families, thus benefiting them with free education. The rest of the enrolled students were required to pay a low tuition. Accordingly, the entire public education became 12 years: six years for elementary school and six years for high school education (Saddigh, 1968).

3.2 Education and foreign languages in the Qajar period

During the 19th century, Persians would learn basic reading and writing in traditional schools named *Maktabkhaneh* or *Maktab*. In his autobiography, Dr. Yahya Kamalipour, an Iranian-American professor of Communication Studies, has shared his memories and experiences of studying at a *Maktab* (Hosseini, 2012). Accordingly, the *Mulla* or *Maktabkhaneh* teacher, who had obtained some advanced religious knowledge, would teach students Persian classic prose and poetry, and the Arabic verses from the Quran through constant readings and repetitions. In the old fashioned, non-furnished classrooms which were mostly located in or near the mosques, students would sit on the floor in a semicircle facing the Mulla (Campo, 2009). In very few cases, the Maktab teacher was a woman, holding similar traditional classes for the girls who were allowed by their parents to become literate.

Despite the establishment of modern schools based on the Western pedagogies and their gradual influence on the country's education, the old-school *Maktabs* did not change their sui generis instructional methods during the Qajar era. British politician, George Curzon (1859–1925) who visited Persia from September 1889 to January 1890, delineated some characteristics of *Maktabs* or 'village schools' in his anecdote:

> "In the small villages it is often little more than a class held by a mullah in the parish mosque. Here the children are taught the Persian equivalent to the three R's; i.e., they are taught the Persian alphabet, the rudiments of arithmetic, and a parrot-knowledge of the Koran. By this phrase I mean that they learn to read, I should rather say to pronounce, the Arabic of the Scriptures, without the slightest inkling as to its meaning. Though all arrive at the power of reading the Persian alphabet, only a few attain to that of writing it. Hence the pride with which anyone who can both read and write passably prefixes the title mirza to his name. Among this class primary education is carried a step farther, inasmuch as it will embrace a slight knowledge of the national poetry, and an acquaintance with the art of rounded phrase and swelling trope, in which the Persian imagination loves to expand its infantile wings. But, as Dr. Wills says, in the majority of cases 'the repeating from memory of a few prayers and passages from the Koran, with some verses of poetry, is all that remains to a villager generally of his education'." (p. 493).

Curzon criticized the country's village schools for their "teachers", "curriculum", "class books" as well as "memorization method":

> "If I had any voice in the so-called regeneration of Persia, I would not bring out a company in London, but I would organise a coup d'état in the village schools" (Curzon, 1892, p. 492).

Therefore, in traditional *Maktabs***,** Arabic was the only foreign language to be taught. However, because of its affiliation with the Muslim's Holy Book, Arabic was not generally treated as a 'foreign' language, but the language of Allah (God), daily prayers, Prophet Mohammad, and the Quran, every Muslim was obliged to read and memorize.

Higher levels of education, in the Qajar era, could be pursued in religious schools or seminaries, known as *Madresseh* or *Howzeye Elmiyeh*, whose curriculum included Islamic topics and sciences, such as: the Quran Studies and Interpretation, Islamic Jurisprudence, Hadith[1], Logic and Philosophy, Literature, Mathematics, Astronomy, Traditional Medicine and Pharmacology (Kasaee, 1998).

[1] According to Campo (2009), "a hadith is a short report, story, or narration about what Muhammad (d. 632), the historical founder of the Islamic religion, said or did and about what he did not say or did. The word hadith is also used with reference to the body of such reports, known as the hadith" (p. 278)

3.3 Modernization and foreign languages in the Qajar era

Several elements significantly contributed to the modernization of Persia in the Qajar period. In this part, I explain how five main factors facilitated the country's educational, economic, social and political improvement, introduced foreign languages to Persians, and formed and expanded interactions between the speakers of the Persian, Turkish, Arabic, French, and English languages in the country. Chronologically, these events are as follows: (1) setting up modern schools by European and American missionaries; (2) the so-called Translation Movement; (3) transferring groups of students overseas; (4) the establishment of *Dar-ul-Fonoon* college; and (5) the oil industry.

3.3.1 Establishment of modern schools by foreign missionaries

French, British, American and German missionaries, competitively, set up new schools in Persia during the Qajar period (Katiraee, 1966). The first American missionary, Justin Perkins (1805 - 1869), arrived in Persia in 1833, accompanied by his wife and a colleague. Perkins, a Presbyterian missionary and linguist, is reported as the first American citizen residing in Persia (Persons, 1934). Yet, a few years earlier (1830), two other Americans, Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and Eli Smith, had been sent to Persia by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston (Badiozamani & Badiozamani, 2005, p. 1). Perkins set up a church, a school and a printing house in Urmia (northwest of Iran, West Azerbaijan province) to teach Bible lessons to the non-Muslims or Nestorians (a branch of Christianity) who spoke Syriac. In fact, the first American schools for boys and girls were established in Urmia in 1836 and 1838 (Saddigh, 1968). Perkin's trip to Persia and his religious and educational activities created a new social space where the speakers of English, Syriac, Turkish, Persian and other local languages and dialects could meet. "Laboring on language" (Perkins, 1887) is reported as one of the many problems Perkins had to tackle:

> *"Within two months after his arrival in Oroomiah* [Urmiah], *Dr. Perkins furnished a room* in the basement of his house as a school room. A school was opened, the first of the kind known in central Asia. This was the foundation of the Seminary, which continues to prosper. Superintendence devolved on Dr. Perkins, while priest Abraham instructed the scholars. At first only seven boys came. Soon the number reached forty or fifty. The object of this seminary has been accomplished by this agency. Dr. Perkins was met with a difficulty in the outset, as is often the case in new missions. There was want of literary matter for the seminary. The spoken

> language of the Nestorians had never been written. With the assistance of priest Abraham, Dr. Perkins began immediately reducing the language to a written form, and translating parts of the Bible for reading cards, which two of the oldest scholars soon learned to copy for the use of classes in this their first missionary school. During his first year in Oroomiah [or Urmia], Dr. Perkins was occupied in laboring on the language to bring it to a grammatical structure, and preparing school cards, eight hours in the day, and teaching the English class two hours (Perkins, 1887, pp. 20-21)."

Perkins has detailed his endeavors to teach Syriac writing system and English to his Persian students:

> "Our school succeeds very well. But we greatly need slates, pencils, and other suitable apparatus. By constant toil, I succeed in furnishing reading, two hours per day, on manuscript cards in the Nestorian language. Two hours the scholars read the Scriptures in the ancient Syriac, which they do not understand, but learn to pronounce syllables, form words and spell in that way; and two hours they spend in writing with their fingers in the sand-boxes, and in learning arithmetic from the abacus. During the time devoted to the two last-named exercises, a class from the older scholars read to me in English." (Perkins, 1843, p. 250)

Eventually, the seminary's students learned not only the written form of Syriac and math, but also English:

> "A Nestorian Boy Reading English. — On an occasion of a visit from the Prince Governor, a Nestorian teacher of the seminary called up a young boy — one of the brightest — to show him how well he could read English. He read his verse in a loud voice and a confident air, and the Prince shouted ' Bravo" (Perkins, 1887. p. 64).

By 1887, the American missionary had set up 81 schools, and a total of 1823 students enrolled in them (Elder, 1962). In addition to religious and educational objectives, the Presbyterian mission program rendered medical services to people who were deprived from health care (Armajani, 1991). Urmia hosted the first American hospital in 1882 with a staff of native nurses trained by the missionary. By 1912, six American hospitals had been established in Tehran, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Tabriz, Mashad and Rasht. These cities (except for Mashad) also hosted American schools, including the renowned Alborz elementary school which was set up in Tehran in 1873. Alborz became a prestigious college and high school during the Pahlavi era.

French Catholics and British Christians also initiated religious, educational and medical services in Persia to counterbalance the Americans' activities (Armajani, 1991). From 1890 to the beginning of World War I, four British Anglican nuns established schools for women and children (Armajani, 1991). Also, individuals with disabilities who were not entitled to rudimentary needs, particularly education, were warmly welcomed in the missionaries' boarding schools (Kordi, 1991). Table 2 shows a list of the main schools established by the Americans and French in Persia from 1836 to 1904 (Saddigh, 1968).

Table 2. Schools established by the American and French missionaries in Persia

Year	School	City	Founder's Nationality
1836	First American School for Boys	Urmia	American
1838	First American School for Girls	Urmia	American
1861	Saint Loui	Tehran	French (Lazarists)
1865	4 School for Girls	Tabriz, Urmia, Salmas, Isfahan	French (Societe de Saint Vincent-de-Paul)
1872	American School for Boys	Tehran	American
1873	American School for Boys	Tabriz	American
1875	Saint Josef School for girls	Tehran	French (Societe de Saint Vincent-de-Paul)
1881	American School for Boys	Hamedan	American
1883	American School for Boys	Rasht	American
1896	American School for Girls	Tehran	American
1898	Alians School	Tehran	French (Alians Society)
1904	Stuart Memorial College	Isfahan (and later on in Shiraz and Kerman and Yazd)	British

Curzon (1892) appreciated the "*valuable work"* of the *"English, French, and American Mission societies"* in Persia *"by the spread of education, by the display of charity, by the free gift of medical assistance"* (p. 504). Rendering multiple services to the residents of small towns and big cities, foreign missionaries created a social space where a variety of languages met, including English, French, Persian, Turkish, Syriac and other local languages and accents in 19th century Persia. Not every foreign language thrived, however. Influenced by its global status as the language of wider communication, French was the dominant foreign language in Persia at the beginning of the 20th century (Sharifian, 2010).

Foreign missionaries were gradually dismissed during the Reza Pahlavi era (1925 – 1941) because of the pressure from Muslim clerics (Borjoian, 2013) and the government's growing medical and educational services which made Persia medically self-sufficient (Karimi, 1975).

3.3.2 Translation movement

In addition to the missionaries' activities during the Qajar time, the so-called 'Translation Movement' (Azarang, 2015), or the advent of organized translation in early 19th century, resulted in the spread of foreign languages, sciences, academic fields of study, new skills and occupations in Persia. Expanding relations between the European countries and Persia had, in fact, necessitated learning foreign languages at the Qajar court. Napoleon Bonaparte's letter to the second king of Qajar, Fath Ali Shah (1797 – 1834) in 1805 had remained undeciphered for a long time, because no one in the court was French literate. Eventually, the letter had to travel 600 miles (almost 1000 kilometers) away, to Baghdad (now the capital of Iraq) to be translated by someone who was proficient in French and Persian (Navaee, 1990). This incident intrigued one of the Qajar courtiers, Masoud Ashlighi Garmroudi, to learn French from the Christian missionaries and priests. He later became an official interpreter at the Qajar court (Azarang, 2015).

In the Qajar era, lack of modern military skills had made the country vulnerable to the constant threats of foreign powers. Frequent invasions of the Russian Empire (known as the Russo-Persian Wars: 1651-53; 1722-1723; 1796; 1804-1813; 1826-1828) and the humiliation of the poorly trained and ill-equipped Persian troops had necessitated Persian army modernization, facilitated by foreign experts and translation of their materials (Azarang, 2015). Abbas Mirza Qajar (1789 –1833), the crown prince of Persia and commander-in-chief, initiated modernization of the Persian army after he was embarrassingly defeated by the Russians and had signed ignominious treaties to cede vast territories in the north. He hired French military experts who, by the help of interpreters, would drill and organize Persian troops (Azarang, 2015). Napoleon Bonaparte was, in fact, willing to deploy French officers to Persia to reinforce the country's army against Russia imperialistic aspirations.

Abbas Mirza also sought help from the British government which, like France, was discontented with the Russians' growing invasions and imperialistic aspirations. Some of the British officers deployed to Persia were required to learn Persian, and some of them had to recruit interpreters. In 1827, Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810 – 1895), orientalist, diplomat and British East India Company army officer, was sent to Persia, along with other officers, to organize the Persian troops. Proficient in the old and modern Persian languages, he was the first linguist who could decipher the inscriptions of the mountain of Bisotun (522 BC) in Kermanshah (Azarang, 2015). The number of the Qajar courtiers who knew foreign languages in the first decade of the 1800s is

unknown; yet, it's documented that Mirza Saleh Shirazi (1790 – 1845) was proficient in English even before he was sent to England (see the next section) to learn languages, history and fine arts (Azarang, 2015).

Abbas Mirza established a translation office in Tabriz (northwestern Iran) - the pivot point of the military modernization - to compile and translate military and engineering rules and regulations (Abrahamian, 1982). English, French, Hindu, Latin, Russian, and German translators were recruited to his court (Khosro Beigi & Khaled Feizi, 2012). Abbas Mirza was interested in reading the books and documents on the victories of renowned battalion commanders, such as Napoleon Bonaparte and Alexander the Great, to find the factors contributing to their achievements. Upon Abbas Mirza's request, Mohammad Razi Tabrizi translated *Havaades-Naameh* from Turkish to Persian in 1807, which was about the battles of Napoleon Bonaparte with Russia and Austria. Also, Abbas Mirza assigned James Campbell, a British official in the service of the Qajar government in Tabriz (Afshar, 2003), to translate a book on Alexander's conquests in 1813 (Kianfar, 1989). Fluent in Persian, Campbell compiled several English accounts on Alexander, and translated them into Persian as a book.

Although the burgeoning Translation Movement initially revolved around the country's military needs, it expanded to other subjects as health, history, geography, and sciences (Khosro Beigi & Khaled Feizi, 2012). Several scholars believe that the Translation Movement of Abbas Mirza, or the so-called "Renaissance of Translation", was a milestone in the history of foreign languages in Iran (Karimi Hakkak, 1998).

Translation in the reign of Naser Adin Shah (1848 – 1896), or the Naseri period, evolved into a new stage in which the number of translators and translated books escalated (Afshar, 2003). Being fond of books, letters, and learning English and Russian languages, Naser Adin Shah highly valued and supported the work of translators (Azarang, 2015). Towards the end of the 19th century, many Qajar princes and courtiers had also gained mastery in at least one foreign language and translated books into Persian (Afshar, 2003). A list of over 500 book-titles rendered into Persian by 130 translators during the Naseri period manifests their variety in such topics as: military skills, photography, telegraph, agriculture, medicine, geology, geography, physics, chemistry, history, law, letters, and entertainment (Afshar, 2003).

It seems that the first organized textbooks appeared in the Naseri period: European resources of sciences, technology, and medicine were compiled and translated into Persian to be used as teaching materials which were scarce at that time (Afshar, 2003).

Due to the global status of French as the language of wider communication, books translated from French into Persian outnumbered English and Russian translations. Additionally, the imperialistic activities of Britain and Russia and their constant interferences had negatively impacted the public interest in those languages (Khosrobeigi & Khaled Faizi, 2011). Similar to Naser Adin Shah, Amir Kabir, the Chancellor of Persia (in office 1848 – 1851) valued the Translation Movement and recruited it in the country's modernization. In 1851, Amir Kabir established the first Persian college, *Dar-ul-Fonoon* (meaning Polytechnic) whose students became the next generation of the translators, experts and teachers. Founding the Royal Office of Translation and transferring students to the European universities also contributed to the flourishing translation movement and foreign language acquisition in Persia.

3.3.3 Transferring students overseas

Another factor which remarkably contributed to the country's modernization, its educational, economic and social improvement, and its exposure to foreign languages and culture, was dispatching students to European universities. Willing to modernize Persia and make it as self-sufficient as possible, Abbas Mirza decided to transfer Persian students overseas to be educated initially in military skills and then also in other professions and sciences. Between 1811 and 1815, he sent 15 students to England to learn military science, foreign languages, medicine, mathematics, natural sciences, engineering, and fine art (painting) (Kianfar, 1989). Other studies (e.g. Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972) indicate that 84 students were transferred to England and France in five groups between 1811 and 1912 (Table 3). Since nepotism was the main criterion for selecting the first group of transferred students, they were chosen from the Qajar courtiers and/or their relatives. In other words, they were upper-class youth whose fathers were either Qajar courtiers or businessmen working with foreign salesmen. The trend, however, switched towards choosing the most talented students of *Dar-ul-Fonoon* college (established in 1851 in Tehran) for the fourth group. Similarly, topnotch students were selected out of 146 regular applicants to be inserted in the fifth team. Most of the transferred students returned to Persia after graduation, and

along with sciences and occupational skills, they imported European languages, new thoughts, and Western lifestyle to the country.

Table 3. Distribution of students abroad in the Qajar era

Group	Year of Deployment	#of Students	Destination	Major
1	1811	2	England	Fine art (painting), Medicine.
2	1815	5	England	Artillery, Engineering, Medicine, Chemistry, Foreign languages and translation, Lock-smithery.
3	1845	5	France	Military, Mining.
4	1959	42	France	Medicine, Military, Teaching, Languages, Governing and Administration.
5	1912	30	France	Teaching, Military, Agriculture, Roads and Infrastructure engineering, Industries, Governing and Administration, Chemistry.
-	**Total**	**84**	-	-

3.3.3.1 Group 1

The first and second individuals who were sent to England in 1811 to be educated were Mohammad Kazem and Mirza Haaji Baba Afshaar, sons of two Qajar courtiers. They were assigned to learn fine arts (painting) and medicine. Unluckily, Mohammad Kazem died of tuberculosis in 1813 and was buried in London. Mirza Haaji Baba Afshaar returned to Persia in 1820 and became the doctor of the Qajar court (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). Another account, however, argues that Mirza Haaji Baba Afshar only practiced basic medicine at the office of a British physician in London because he was not able to complete his medical education (see Azizi & Azizi, 2010b). Proficient in English, Mirza Haaji Baba Afshaar later became the assistant and interpreter of a British doctor at the Abbas Mirza court.

3.3.3.2 Group 2

The second group of five was transferred to England in 1815 primarily for defensive purposes. Since Persia's military allies, France and England, had frequently failed defending the country against Russians invasions, Abbas Mirza decided to modernize Persia's army and make it

independent of the foreigners. Two men in the second group, Mirza Reza and Mirza Jafar Khaan, were assigned to learn artillery and engineering in England and import the knowledge to Persia. The rest of them had to pursue medicine and chemistry (Mirza Jafar Tabib), foreign languages, translation, and history (Mirza Saleh Shirazi), and lock-smithery (Mohammad Ali Chakhmaagh Saaz) (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). Previously mentioned, among the second group students, only Mirza Saleh Shirazi (1790 – 1845) had English knowledge prior to his trip to England.

The students completed their education and returned to Persia in 1819 to start working as teachers, translators and politicians. Most of them turned into very influential figures in the Qajar court and took administrative roles (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). Among the second group, Mirza Saleh Shirazi rendered noticeable services, including publishing the first newspaper in Persia, "*Kāqaz-e Axbār"* (meaning "newspaper"). Deeply impressed by England's governing system, judiciary, newspapers, and other aspects of modernity, Mirza Saleh Shirazi released the first issue of *Kāqaz-e Axbār* in May 1837 to mark a first in the country's media history. As Persia's first reporter, he played a key role in introducing Western civilization to Persia through his articles about freedom, legal systems, politics, French revolutions and social life in Europe. Mirza Saleh Shirazi also learned and imported printing facilities to Persia. He published the memoir of his trip to England, entitled *"Travelogue"* or *"Safarnāmeh"*, in which he elaborated on the manifestations of modernity in England. Fluent in English, French and Latin, Mirza Saleh Shirazi also served as the Qajar's delegate to England for a while.

3.3.3.3 Group 3

The third group of five men spent only 3 years (1845-1848) in France, to learn military and mining skills, and returned to Persia in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). In fact, the Qajar king, Mohammad Shah (reign 1834 -1848), had assigned his men to learn military skills and sciences, because the French officers and experts in Persia had failed to defend the country against the English threats, and, once again, the king was determined to organize self-sufficient troops. The group included: Hosseinali Agha in infantry, Mirza Zaki in artillery, Mirza Reza in sciences and mining, and Mirza Yahya and Mohammad Ali Agha whose fields of study have remained unknown (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). Upon their return, Mirza Zaki became the interpreter for the artillery course at *Dar-ul-Fonoon*

and also an army colonel; Hosseinali Agha, now a brigadier general, joined the army; Mirza Yahya was appointed as the Minister of Justice; and as an interpreter, Mirza Reza aided the foreign instructors of mining and sciences courses at *Dar-ul-Fonoon* (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972).

3.3.3.4 Group 4

In 1859, a team of 42 qualified candidates consisting of *Dar-ul-Fonoon'*s most talented students were dispatched to France, seven of whom majored in math, six in medicine, five in military arts, three in steel industry, two in natural sciences, two in fine arts (painting), two in jewelry, two in china manufacturing, and the remainder across other skill areas. They were required to learn French prior to attending their schools or factories in France. Having accomplished their education in five to eight years, they returned to Persia and like their educational ancestors, were offered key positions as teachers, translators, interpreters, and politicians (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972).

3.3.3.5 Group 5

In the aftermath of the Constitutional Revolution (1905 -1911), the expanding ministries and governmental offices opened their doors to the public and started hiring middle-class literate individuals. Because of the limited number of educated workers, the Ministry of Education *(Vezaarat-e Ma'aaref)* decided to send 30 students to Paris in 1912. The transfer procedure in the post-Constitution era was unprecedented: eligible students had to be 15-30 years old, single, and from low-income families who could not support their children's education. Also, the applicants had to pass a competitive exam in Persian literature, spelling, grammar and composition, history, geography, math, natural sciences, Arabic, and one foreign language: French, English, and/or German. Out of 146 applicants, 25 students were admitted. Also, five students in Europe, who could not afford continuing their education, were added to this number. A total of 30 students were sponsored by the Persian state in teaching (15 students), military skills (seven), agriculture (two), roads and infrastructure engineering (two), industries (two), administrative jobs (one) and chemistry (one).

Accompanied by *Dar-ul-Fonoon*'s French instructor, the admitted students travelled to Paris and enrolled in French language schools. Three students who had taken the English exam in Tehran were also required to learn French, but they surreptitiously left Paris for London to pursue studying in English. The students in military arts were deployed to the French army to be drilled. After one year of learning French, all the students could enroll in the introductory schools. They, however, were not lucky enough to finish their education. The outbreak of World War I (1914 – 1918) and its impact on Persia's economy restricted the government's financial sponsorship, and the transferred students were summoned back home. Only a few of them who could find a job and self-sponsor their studies, stayed in Paris (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972).

3.3.4 Establishment of Dar-ul-Fonoon and new schools

Dar-ul-Fonoon and its European curriculum and instructors bridged Western cultures/languages and Persia (Saddigh, 1968) through its objectives, as learning foreign languages, transferring students overseas, recruiting foreign instructors, and gaining knowledge in Western sciences, technologies and cultures (Safavi, 2014). The establishment of Dar-ul-Fonoon in 1851 was, in fact, one of the progressive plans of Amir Kabir, Chancellor of Persia (in office 1848 – 1851) to educate upper-class young students in infantry, artillery, engineering, cavalry, surgery, pharmaceuticals, mining, history, geography, mathematics, ology, French and later, English and Russian. Dar-ul-Fonoon's first students were boys aged 14 to 16-year old coming mainly from the Qajar courtiers and affluent families (Saddigh, 1968).

To avoid Russian, British and French political interference, most of the earliest instructors were recruited from Austria and Germany. Under the influence of its global status as the language of wider communication in the 19th century, French became the language of instruction at Dar-ul-Fonoon. The first group of foreign instructors at Dar-ul-Fonoon consisted of six Austrian and one Italian, teaching medicine, artillery, pharmaceutics, cavalry, infantry, mining, engineering (Ashraghi, 2015 as in Motamedi, 2012). The instructors had to use interpreters to communicate with their students until they became proficient enough in Persian to instruct and develop textbooks in this language. Later, numerous Persian alumni of the European universities, along with instructors from Italy, Germany and France, joined Dar-ul-Fonoon's faculty (Saddigh, 1968).

Curzon's (1892) report on Dar-ul-Fonoon has provided valuable information about the school's *"European curriculum and foreign teachers"* (p. 494) as well as its earliest textbooks and

social and educational problems. According to Curzon, Dar-ul-Fonoon had a *"tolerable library and a concert-hall or theatre, where for a time amateur theatricals were given, until stopped by the hostility of the mullahs"* (p. 495). Curzon's account, in fact, testifies to the ongoing confrontations between the society's conservative and reformist forces over modernization. While a number of liberal individuals were determined to map progressive plans in various areas, including education, the more conservative and religious layers of the society were opposed to them, feeling threatened by the Western sources of their reformist actions. Curzon's anecdote also sheds lights on the status of foreign languages at Dar-un-Fonoon:

> "The preparatory courses are in Persian and Arabic, taught by native masters. The higher branches comprise the learning of some foreign language, either English, French, Russian, or German; and tuition in mathematics, medicine, chemistry, drawing and painting, mineralogy, geography, instrumental music, and military science … At the time of my visit there were eight European teachers in the College, one English, three French, three German, and one Pole, Russian being taught by an Armenian of Julfa. There were seventy-five pupils in the military department, one hundred and forty in the science and art departments, and forty newcomers. The division in the foreign classes was as follows: French, forty-five students; French plus drawing, eighty; Russian, twenty; English, thirty-seven" (Curzon, 1892, p. 494).

More than 1100 students who graduated from this school throughout 40 years, disseminated not only new skills and knowledge, but also European cultures in the Persian society. Many of them undertook major responsibilities in the ministries and government offices and became influential figures (Saddigh, 1968). Dar-ul-Fonoon's instructors, translators and alumni also initiated translation and development of the textbooks which used to be printed in the school's printing house for distribution among the students (Saddigh, 1968).

As a milestone in the history of modern education in Persia/Iran, the establishment of *Dar-ul-Fonoon* influenced the foundation of new schools in the last quarter of the 19th century. Among them, *Moshiriyeh* (1873), the first school of foreign languages in Persia, upgraded the status of foreign languages to individual academic majors to be pursued independently. Its founder, Moshiroddowleh (Sepahsalar), the prime minister of Naser Adin Shah Qajar, also organized the Royal Library and set up Sepahsalar School of Religious Sciences as the biggest seminary in the country in 1873 (Saddigh, 1968).

As a result of recruiting European instructors in many of the new schools (Saddigh, 1968) and adding foreign languages to their curricula (Kasaee, 1998), the educational status of foreign languages enhanced during the Qajar era.

3.4 Tradition versus modernity

The country's gradual move towards modernity and Western progressive patterns caused consternation among the traditional and religious groups. Education was, in fact, one of the spheres in which the widening gap between traditional and modern forces was evident. While the educational material in Maktabs and religious seminaries were rooted in the Islamic sciences, modern resources originated in Western secularism. In other words, modernity had brought about the decline of religion. Sheykh Fazlollah Noori (1843 – 1909), a fanatic cleric and founder of political Islam in Iran, raised a few rhetorical questions to testify against the modern schools:

> "… Aren't these new schools against the Islamic laws? And doesn't entering these schools equate with declining of the Islam religion? Wouldn't teaching foreign languages, Chemistry and Physics weaken students' [Islamic] beliefs and make them obsceners?" (Kermani, 1967, p. 20) [Translated by the author from Persian into English].

Among all inspiring accounts on the struggles of modern education pioneers in Persia, that of Haji-Mirza Hassan Roshdieh (1851 – 1944), cleric, teacher, politician and journalist is the most impressive one. He established the country's first elementary school in Tabriz (northwestern Iran) in 1889 and the first elementary and high schools in Tehran in 1897 (Majidi, 1985). His innovative pedagogy, which influenced teaching methods and curriculum design in the country, had, in fact, jeopardized the status of traditional schools and their owners' benefits (Ajoodani, 1988). The old-school advocates of traditional education, therefore, resorted to Persians' zeal for Islamic beliefs, and accused Roshdieh of religiously brainwashing their children. To excommunicate him, they ridiculously used the resemblance of Roshdieh schools' bells with church gongs as an evidence of promoting Christianity. Provoked by the religious forces, mobs attacked Roshdieh's new schools many times, destroyed the buildings, killed and injured a number of students and teachers, beat Roshdieh and shot him in the leg. Despite years of public rage and threats, Roshdieh never halted establishing new modern schools where he and other instructors would practice creative teaching methods and kind attitude, opposed to Mullahs' strictness and inflexibility. He was eventually recognized as "the Father of Iranian modern education" (Motamedi, 2015).

In addition to Abbas Mirza and Amir Kabir's progressive reforms in the social, economic, political, cultural, educational and military areas, other factors also facilitated the country's modernization. These included the growing number of the ministries (from six ministries in 1858 to nine in 1872, and a few years later to 13 ministries); public demands for decreasing the high rate of nationwide poverty; and the establishment of the first national factories to manufacture guns, crystal dishes, fabric, paper and sugar (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972).

3.5 Oil industry, modernization and foreign languages in Persia

The alluring discovery of oil fields in Khuzestan Province (Southwest Iran) in the first decade of the 20th century multiplied the interest of other countries, especially Britain, in Persia. Since Russia had taken the control of the Baku refinery and oil fields in the early 19th century to secure its place as the second petroleum power after the USA, it was strategically vital for Great Britain to extract oil and multiply its international influence and profits through petroleum.

In 1901, Mozaffar Adin Shah Qajar (reign 1896 – 1907) granted a British oil explorer, Knox D'Arcy (1849 – 1917), a concession "to explore, obtain, and market oil, natural gas, asphalt, and ozocerite" (Abbasi, 2015) for 60 years with the help of the British government in Persia. Based on the agreement, Persia would receive only 16% of the annual net profits.

D'Arcy appointed an experienced oil engineer, George Reynolds (Figure 6), as the head of the exploration team. Reynolds, fluent in the Persian language, relentlessly excavated several areas to find oil; a six-year quest which exhausted D'Arcy's financial resources (Aryanfar, 2001). Reynold was ordered to quit the mission, but his persistence to maintain drilling for a few more days, resulted in the discovery of oil on May 28th 1908 in the Parsoomash region (Aryanfar, 2018). The area was renamed *"Naftoon"* field (meaning oil rich) until 1924 when it was officially renamed Masjed Soleiman (Aryanfar, 2018). In 1909, the London-based Anglo-Persian Oil Company (renamed: Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1935) was established to expand oil explorations in Persia and support the petroleum quest of D'Arcy's team.

Figure 6. George Bernard Reynolds (left), a devoted engineer, geologist and manager who drilled the first discovery well in the Middle East. This photo shows him with two colleagues Crush (center) and Williams (right) in Persia, Masjed Soleiman,1908

A year before the oil excavations started, Russia and the United Kingdom had signed the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 to secure their influence in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. Accordingly, Persia was divided into 2 areas: (1) the northern and central provinces under the control of Russia, and (2) the southern part under the British surveillance (Figure 7). The absolute monopoly of Great Britain over the extraction, process and marketing of the Persian oil enormously amplified Britain's political, social and economic influence in Persia.

Figure 7. Map of southwest Asia; the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 and the British and Russian areas of rule or influence

More excavations necessitated the implementation of infrastructural projects, such as constructing pipelines, roads and refineries. In addition to Indian laborers, local workers were also recruited from the tribes and villages nearby and even further areas to construct a 138-mile pipeline (Figure 8) to Abadan refinery in a year and half (Yergin, 2011; Atabaki, 2013).

Figure 8. Laying oil pipelines from Masjed Soleiman to Abadan by local (Bakhtiari) laborers working for Anglo-Persian Oil Co., 1910

The very first oil laborers were among the Lore tribes and the so-called Ashayer or nomads (Aryanfar, 2001) (Figure 9). Some of the laborers were farmers, stockmen and/or the gunmen who used to protect caravans from highwaymen. In one year, the number of native laborers reached 457 men in the fields, 770 men in the pipelines, and 590 men in the Abadan reserve (Atabaki, 2013).

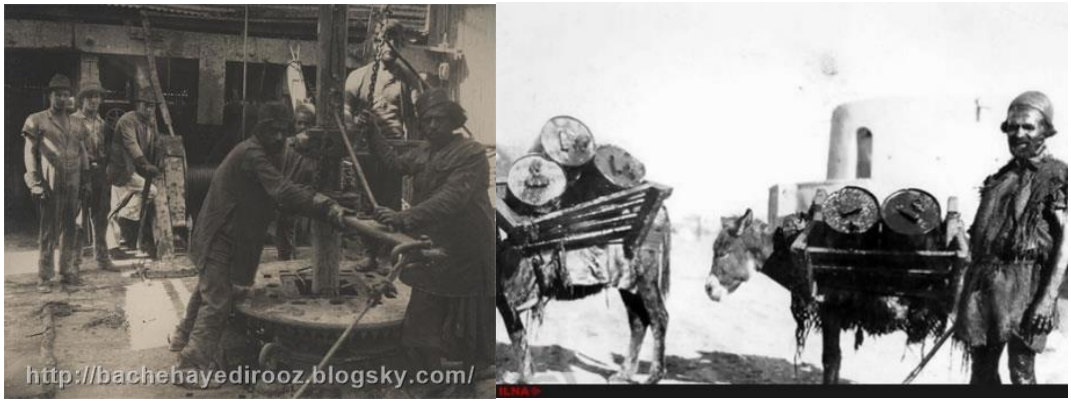

Figure 9. The first local laborers of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company

The burgeoning oil industry embarked on an industrial revolution in the oil-rich areas and caused numerous changes, including reshaping the local residents' lifestyle, generating social classes, and leaving socio-linguistic impacts.

To host both foreigners (mainly the British and Indians) and Persians (workers and laborers), residential communities developed around the oil fields. Discrimination and inequalities, which had initially appeared in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's payments to the foreigners (British and Indian cadre) and domestic workers, resurfaced in other areas. Well-constructed houses, for instance, were built in affluent subdivisions for the British and Indian experts, whereas poorly designed homes in the impoverished areas were given to the Persian laborers (Atabaki, 2013). British houses were thoughtfully located against the seasonal winds so that the refinery's smoke and pollution would be blown away from their subdivision, but drifting towards the local employees' houses (Fakhimi, 2008). Living in abject poverty, the Arab aboriginals of the Braim district in Abadan (southwest of Iran), most of whom did not work in the oil industry, were kept deprived of electricity, water, schools and clinics (Fakhimi, 2008). Despite an infinite income, the Anglo-Persian (Iranian) Oil Company never implemented any progressive project to enhance people's quality of life in the impoverished areas of the oil rich region of Khuzestan province.

The oil industry also expanded a social space between the speakers of British English, Indian English, Hindu, Arabic, Persian and other local dialects. Some of the British and Indian employees were already fluent in Persian; yet, many local workers learned English for efficient communications with the foreign cadre. The original accounts of oil quest in the 1900s, such as the memories of the first native laborer of the D'Arcy's company, Allah-Daad Mahvash (1877-?), reveal more details about the interactions between the British, Indian and local crew. Once Allah-Daad joined the Reynolds' team, he started to learn the [English] names of the tools and their functions (Avaz Zadeh, 2008). He soon realized how important it was to learn English for communicative and promotion purposes. Known as "Mala" by his British coworkers, Allah-Daad was respected as a dedicated worker. His son, Abdorreza Mahvash, has narrated his father's memories of the moment when oil gushed out of the well number 1 in Naftoon on May 28th, 1908 (Avaz Zadeh, 2008). The original Persian narrative (my translation into English), contains some English words which are underlined below:

> "Thursday, May 28th, 1908: It was around 4:00 am, and I was standing 10 meters (33 feet) away from the drilling rig. I felt thirsty and wanted to drink some water from a ceramic container which was almost empty … Suddenly, I felt shaking

beneath my feet. First, I thought I was delusional because of the severe thirst, but the quake intensified and felt like an earthquake. A few seconds later, I heard loud rumbles. I turned my head and unbelievably saw the black oil gusher erupting to the sky. It smelled like oak resin.

Major Wilson, who was sleeping on his metal bed outside of the white tent, woke up, and like a bird freed out of the cage, flew towards the drilling rig, happy and terrified. Just a few steps forward, he lost his control and fell. I ran to him and splashed some water to his face. His breath was short and hard. I was terrified. The loud noise of the gusher drowned out my yells for help from Dr Young and the other co-workers. I started massaging his chest and shoulders. Suddenly, he opened his eyes with difficulty, coughed many times and whispered: "Mala! Oil! Oil!".

I ran to fetch Dr Young and others to his side … We put Wilson in his bed again. A few minutes later, he felt good enough to stand up. We walked towards the drilling rig. The sun was rising … All the drilling workers, hand in hand, were dancing and singing around the oil rig. One of the British oilmen was singing loudly, and I could just hear his words of "our oil! Our oil!"

While the workers were doing their best to control the oil and eruption, Wilson could not help but wait for the daylight impatiently and happily to inform Reynolds, who had left the site to his office in Ahwaz 3 days earlier. … A messenger was assigned to send the message to him. Right after he got the message, Reynolds reported the good news to Britain through D'Arcey's main office in Khoramshahr, and then via the British post and telegram office in Basrah, Iraq. Reynolds did not hesitate to return to the site ordered that a huge hole be dug beside the rig to direct oil to the hole" (Avaz Zadeh, 2008).

Figure 10. Oil well #1 in the Naftoon field, discovered on May 28th, 1908

According to Allah Daad, the local laborers' salary was lower than that of the British. The workers would cash or save their paychecks in what he called "accoundancy" desk, or "accounting" treasury:

> "The monthly payments would be announced a day before. Workers would make a line in front of the "accoundancy" desk and would sign to be given their monthly paychecks. They could either cash the check by the help of the cashier or save them in the "accounting" treasury as saving." (Avaz Zadeh, 2008).

Allah-Daad became so fluent in English that could easily discuss history topics with his British co-workers and explain that oil was previously discovered and used by ancient Persians (Avaz Zadeh, 2008).

By 1914, over 30 oil wells were extracted in the Naftoon field (Forouzandeh, 2013). The influx of English speakers in the burgeoning oil industry introduced more English words and expressions to the Persian, Arabic and other local languages and dialects (Alam & Babadi, 2015). Not only were terms specific to the oil industry introduced such as, 'oil', 'pump', 'boiler suit', so were such everyday words as 'glass', 'wire' (pronounced as /vīer/), 'office', 'lane', 'senior and junior'; 'hustle', 'Central Hall', 'truck', 'labor', 'office', and 'Boat Club', some of which are still used by people there. Many British and Indian workers of the oil industry knew Persian; yet, English fluency became essential for promotion of Persian workers in the company. English grew beyond working places and entered people's daily lives (Alam & Babadi, 2015).

Some English words were nativized through changes in their pronunciation, and/or mixing with Persian vocabularies to form new English-Persian combinations, such as: 'cheragh Perimoos' meaning 'Primus lanterns' (/chĕrŏgh/ means 'lamp' and Primus is a brand), and 'checker yakh' (meaning 'ice checker', connotating 'ice distributor') which is a hybrid of the English word 'checker' and the Persian word 'yakh' /yăKH/ (meaning 'ice'). The story behind 'checker yakh' helps comprehending its meaning better: as previously mentioned, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company discriminated against many of its employees. For instance, only foreign staff and senior domestic workers had been granted electrical refrigerators, whereas junior workers and laborers had to use an icebox to preserve perishable food at home. Every afternoon, a truck would distribute

ice blocks among the local employees' families. Two men, called 'checker yakh' (connotating 'ice distributor') would shout loudly to announce their arrival (Emam, 2018)[2].

The Pahlavi's feminist policies mostly affected the lives of the urban middle-class Iranian women, having left behind the huge population of working class and peasant females (Sedghi, 2012). Also, such secular and western-like policies and practices were constantly banished by the traditional and religious forces, particularly the clergymen and uneducated populations. Similarly, the public sphere was still inclined to maintain the women's traditional roles.

3.5.1 Abbreviations and Acronyms

The British cadre of the oil company created many English abbreviations and acronyms to be used in the company's documents and public signs, some of which still exist in the oil rich areas (Aryanfar, 2018). The most used acronym was M.I.S for Masjed Soleiman, which was pronounced and written as Masjid-I-Suleiman. The letter "I" in between of the two words functions as the "of" preposition. The oil company's abbreviations, such as: MIN (Meydan-I-Naftoon), DIK (Dar-I-Khazineh), SIN (Sar-I-Naftak), GIS (Godar-I-Shah), AZ (Ahwaz), AJ (Aghajari), AD/ABD (Abadan) were widely used not only in public transportation and documents, but also in the daily lives of the local residents (Aryanfar, 2018). For instance, the sign "D.I.K-M.I.S WATER LINE" (Figure 11) stood for the water line between Dar-I-Khazineh and Masjed-I-Soleiman, or the sign "DIK-MIN RAILWAY" showed the railway between Dar-I-Khazineh and Meydan-I-Naftoon.

[2] Some Hindu words were also nativized by the domestic population. As an example, "bazar churha" meaning "the thieve's bazaar" was a market in the city of Abadan to trade or resell stolen goods, including bicycles, drills, dynamos, borers, fuses, fans, telephone and radio sets, tires and even types of poultry. Most of the items, as their names suggest, were stolen from the oil company. The Hindu word of "churaana", meaning "stealing", was nativized through clipping the word to "chur" and adding the Persian plural suffix "-ha" /-hā/ to form the new Hindu-Persian combination, "churha", meaning "thieves". Additionally, by adding the Persian infinitive suffix "-dan" /-dăn/ to "chur", the new infinitive form, "churidan", meaning "to steal", was creatively coined (Kabi Fallahiyeh, 2018) and used in people's daily lives.

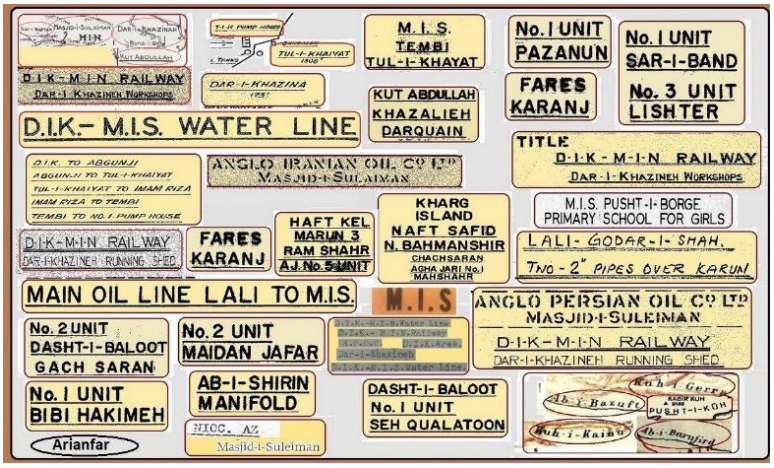

Figure 11. Samples of the English words and abbreviations used in the Anglo-Persian/Iranian Oil Company documents and signs

Figure 12. Anglo-Iranian Oil Company transportation buses; abbreviations indicated their route

British employees of the oil company also imported other components of the British culture, particularly sports, into the Persian society. Once the British experts were stationed in the oil rich areas, they started playing football (soccer) and other sports: cricket, hockey, tennis, squash, golf, and horse-racing (Chehabi, 2002). A month before the oil was discovered in Persia, the London Olympic games had started on April 27th, 1908, and lasted until October 31st, marking the longest modern Olympics (The Olympic Summer Games, 2013). The Olympics news and results were sent to the British working in Persia via mails, parcels and telegrams. Interestingly, the news of oil discovery in Persia was overshadowed by the Olympic event in Britain (Khodadadian, 2017).

British engineers also constructed Persia's first stadium in Masjed Soleiman (Figure 13), where the company's British staff, and later, their Iranian co-workers, used to play. Consequently, such technical words and terms as: 'goal', 'penalty', 'shoot', 'corner', 'out', 'offside', 'tackle', 'forward', 'foul', 'half-back', 'coach', 'dribble', 'derby', and 'kick', entered the Persian and other local languages.

Figure 13. One of the first soccer games in Masjed Soleiman

Oil discovery opened the gates of industrialization and modernization to Persia. Along with the expansion of the oil industry, infrastructure and fundamental facilities were also constructed, including roads, aerial tramway, and airports (such as Masjed Soleiman airport, 1908 and Abadan International Airport, 1941).

In the next part, I explain how a number of Iranian and foreign instructors of the earliest modern schools started to develop textbooks in the second half of the 19th century.

3.6 Textbooks in the Qajar era

As I previously mentioned, traditional classrooms or *Maktabs* of Qajar era used the Quran as an instructional material. Students, unable to comprehend the meaning of the Arabic verses, would only parrotlike learn and memorize them. Additionally, Persian classic literary masterpieces, such as the archaic poems and/or prose of Ferdowsi (10th century), Saadi Shirazi (13th century) and Hafez Shirazi (14th century), served as Persian reading and writing textbooks in *Maktabs*. Similarly, the books of Arabic and/or Persian philosophers and authors were applied as coursebooks in the Islamic schools or seminaries (Kasaee, 1998).

The establishment of Dar-ul-Fonoon (1851), as a milestone in the history of modern education and textbooks in the country, highlighted the dichotomy between the traditional religious forces and the new Western scientific waves in education. While traditional schools' instructional materials mainly originated in the Islamic resources, Dar-ul-Fonoon as a modern school adopted the Western knowledge. The earliest generations of Persian coursebooks were provided or made by Dar-ul-Fonoon's foreign instructors and their domestic colleagues. In fact, Western scientific resources were translated and, along with Dar-ul-Fonoon students' notes, were compiled as coursebooks (Majidi, 1985; Motamedi, 2013 & 2012). Persian equivalents were creatively coined for Western scientific terms and inserted in the books (Motamedi, 2012).

Table 4 shows a number of Dar-ul-Fonoon coursebooks and their foreign and/or domestic authors (Saddigh, 1968). Original resources were translated into Persian by the Iranian translators and instructors, most of whom had graduated from the European universities.

Table 4. Textbooks' topics and their authors at Dar-ul-Fonoon school

Textbooks	**Author**	**Nationality**
Artillery, Natural Sciences, Mechanics, Mathematics, Geography	Mirza Zaki Mazandarani	Persia
Surgery	Dr. Polak	Austria
Mathematics, Algebra, Artillery, Fortifying	Lieutenant Krziz	Austria
Anatomy	Dr. Ali Re'ees-ul-Atebba	Persia
Medicine	Dr. Abolhasan Khan	Persia
Principles of Chemistry	Mirza Kazem Mahallati	Persia
Physiology	Dr. Elbow	Austria
Dictionary of Medical Terms	Dr. Schlimmer	Netherlands
Math, Geometry, Algebra, Geography, Natural History	Mirza Abdolghafar Khan Najmoddowleh	Persia
French Language and Culture, French-Persian Dictionary	Mirza Ali Akhbar Khan Mozayenoddowleh	Persia

The next step was printing and making the textbooks available for the students in the Dar-ul-Fonoon's lithography printing center (Majidi, 1985). Lithography had been originally introduced to the country by Mirza Saleh Shirazi (1790 – 1845), one of the first students dispatched to England in 1815. Between 1852 and 1883, Dar-ul-Fonoon printed 20 to 30 textbooks (Golpaygani, 1992 cited in Motamedi, 2012). By the end of Qajar dynasty (1925), lithography had become the only printing process in the country for over half a century (Majidi, 1985). According

to a comprehensive bibliography provided by Soltanifar (1997), 991 textbooks were printed via lithography by 1921 (Motamedi, 2012).

As previously explained, during the 19th century, French was the international language of wider communication and the language of instruction at Dar-ul-Fonoon. Although English was overshadowed by the status of French, it was among the foreign languages at Dar-ul-Fonoon (Curzon, 1892). According to Gurney and Nabavi (1993), French was compulsory at Dar-ul-Fonoon but English, Russian, and German (beginning in 1885-86) had also been included in the curriculum. Like other subjects, foreign languages coursebooks were written and provided by the school's instructors, like Mozayenoddowleh (one of the pioneers in this field), who provided a textbook on learning French language and culture, as well as a French-Persian dictionary (Majidi, 1985). According to Curzon (1892) who observed Dar-ul-Fonoon's classes in 1890, the English and French classic literary works, such as *Les Aventures de Télémaque* by the French author, François Fénelon (1651 -1715), *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (1660 – 1731) and *Baron Munchausen* by Rudolf Erich Raspe (1736 -1794), were used as textbooks in the Dar-ul-Fonoon's languages classes. Additionally, foreign languages were taught based on translation and memorization methods:

> "In the French class, the pupils were invited to compose, a short story in French, upon the nucleus of a few given ideas (voyage, cheval, mal-à-la-tête); to write French from dictation, Fénelon's 'Télémaque' being the text-book; and to translate from French into Persian. All these tasks they performed very creditably … In the English classes, I also witnessed dictation, composition, and translation, elementary illustrated school manuals being employed, and the text-books in use being 'Robinson Crusoe' and 'Baron Munchausen,' the latter of which I thought a somewhat dubious selection" (Curzon, 1892, pp. 494-495).

As I previously discussed, during the last quarter of the 19th century, private modern schools were developed nationwide, all in need of instructional materials. Since the schools were not supervised by a central organization, they did not possess standardized coursebooks. Therefore, the schools' principals and/or teachers would choose their preferred resources and assign them as textbooks (Majidi, 1985). Among the new schools, however, *Roshdieh* school was an exception. *Mirza Hassan Roshdieh* adapted new instructional methods and materials in his overseas education, revolutionized the Persian alphabets instruction, and developed many textbooks, 27 of which remain in use (Majidi, 1985). Known as "the first textbook developer of the elementary education" in Iran, Roshdieh self-sponsored his coursebooks on various subjects, including Persian reading,

writing and spelling, teacher training, and ethics (Majidi, 1985). Over 50 new schools were established following his exemplary instructional methods and materials (Majidi, 1985).

The Constitution of the Ministry of Knowledge centralized all of the state and private schools in 1911. Also, elementary education became compulsory for all 7-year-old children, the number of schools increased, and the comprehensive program of a 6-year high school education was developed (Majidi, 1985). Despite the expansion of the elementary and high schools after WWI (1914 – 1918) and their high demand for standardized materials, the educational system still lacked policies to provide unified textbooks. In 1921, the newly set up Supreme Council of Culture synchronized schools' educational strategies, including their curricula, exams, and teachers' recruitment. For the first time, coursebooks authors and publishers were required to provide materials in consistent with the country's educational policies (Majidi, 1985). At that time, because of the limited number of textbooks, many teachers used to ask their students to take notes instead.

3.7 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, a number of factors contributed to the modernization of Persia, enhancing the status of foreign languages, and the growth of textbooks design and development. Progressive plans of Abbas Mirza and Amir Kabir in the 19th century initiated Persia's modernization process but at a slow pace. Abbas Mirza's endeavors in reorganizing and training the Persian troops resulted in importing not only the European military experts, but also Western sciences, vocational skills and foreign languages. transferred students acquired new languages, sciences, occupations and lifestyles in European universities and upon their return, spread their new knowledge as teachers, translators, and state employees. And last but not least, during the Translation Movement, new knowledge and sciences were introduced to the Iranian people, and accordingly, the uses of foreign languages and the number of their users increased.

The establishment of Dar-ul-Fonoon (1851) and modern schools escalated the rate of educational modernization and enhanced the functions of foreign languages, particularly French, throughout the last decades of the 19th century. The burgeoning oil industry maximized Persia's geopolitical significance and directed a remarkable influx of foreign human resources, mainly English speakers, to the country. In addition, the history of Iranian textbooks development in the 19th century, from religious resources of the Maktabs to the foreign materials of modern schools, was examined. Accordingly, the transition of a traditional, religious Persia towards modernity and

the Western lifestyle generated heated conflicts between the conservative religious forces and more liberal, progressive waves of the society.

The Qajar dynasty was followed by the Pahlavi era (1925 – 1979) when various social and political changes contributed to enhancements in the presence, availability and functional distribution of English. Those events, which will be discussed in the next chapter, also led to innovations in production of the first and second generations of English textbooks in 1939 and 1964 (which is the focus of this research).

CHAPTER 4. THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY (1925 – 1979)

4.1 Overview

In 1925 Persia underwent a change in rule. In the aftermath of a coup d'état, supported by Britain that year, Reza Khan (1878 – 1944) became in effect the country's new ruler. Ultimately, Ahmad Shah, the last Qajar king, was deposed by the Majles (parliament) and the Qajar dynasty ended and was replaced by the Pahlavi dynasty (1925 – 1979). The slow pace of the country's modernization accelerated in the Pahlavi era.

The Pahlavi dynasty includes the reigns of Reza Pahlavi (reign 1925 – 1941) and his successor, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (reign 1941 – 1979), known as the Shah. Although Reza Shah Pahlavi announced Persia's neutrality during World War II, the country was nevertheless invaded by the Soviet Union and the British Commonwealth, known as the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Persia, in 1941. Close relations between Reza Shah and Germany had, in fact, threatened the Allies, and jeopardized their oil supply lines in Iran. To secure their interests, they attacked Iran from the north and south, and deposed Reza Shah. The British offered to allow the royal family to stay in power if Reza Shah left the country. Reza Shah stepped down, and eventually was exiled to Mauritius**.** Once Reza Pahlavi abdicated, his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919 – 1980), the Shah, became the next (and last) Pahlavi king in 1941. His reign lasted for 38 years until he was overthrown by the 1979 revolutionists.

The elder shah, Reza Pahlavi, implemented major development plans in infrastructure, transportation, road construction, railways, economy and banking, as well as women's employment and style of dress. Specifically, during that time, Iranian women wore the Islamic veil (as they do now since the 1979 revolution), particularly the c*hador*[3]. Reza Shah issued the "Unveiling" decree *("Kashf-e Hijab")* in 1936, which banned all types of Islamic dress (El Guindi, 1999) and promoted Western styles. Most of his modernization and reforms, which were mainly supposed to lessen the clerical influence, exacerbated the tensions between traditional and progressive forces of the society.

[3] A chador is an outer garment worn by women in some parts of the Middle East, particularly in Iran and Iraq. It is a semi-circle, floor-length covering that hangs from the top of the head, flowing over the clothing underneath in order to hide the shape or curve of a woman's body.

The system of European education, especially that based on the French for elementary and high schools, was adopted during Reza Shah's era. In 1933, elementary education became free of charge and available in both urban and rural areas (Abrahamian, 1982).

The foreign missionaries were gradually dismissed during the Reza Pahlavi era for a few reasons including the government's expanding capabilities in rendering educational, medical and healthcare services to public (Karimi, 1975) and pressure from the society's traditional forces and Muslim clerks who were opposed to the evangelist activities (Borjian, 2013). In 1935, Reza Shah requested the countries that Persia had diplomatic relations with, to call Persia, Iran. By renaming the country, he, in fact, signified the nation's Aryan roots, presumably under the influence of the 1930s racist waves in Germany (Yarshater, 1989).

Like his father, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was also determined to modernize and industrialize the country. Having relied on the oil revenues and Iran's main ally, USA, the Shah launched a series of industrial, educational, economic, cultural and infrastructural reforms entitled "White Revolution" in the 1960s through the 1970s. Among the 19 principles of the White Revolution were land reforms and abolishment of feudalism; nationalization of forests and water resources; expanding transportations, roads, rail-roads, and air navigation; enfranchising women; formation of a literacy and health corps; modernizing urban and rural areas; free food for students and young children and their mothers; and most importantly, free and compulsory education, as well as educational reforms. The latter required the state to improve the quality of education in accordance with the necessities of living in the modern world (Pahlavi, 2007).

Having outlined the background to the modernization phase of Iran which brought reforms to education, in the next section I address three factors contributing to the expansion of foreign languages in the Pahlavi era: (1) the continuation of transferring students for overseas education, (2) the expansion of public schools and universities; and (3) the oil industry as an ongoing resource of the English language. Also, the status of English and the quality of English education during the Pahlavi era will be discussed.

4.2 Study abroad

The trend of transferring students for overseas study, which had been halted throughout World War I, resumed during Reza Shah's rule (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). In 1929, a law decreed that 100 students/year would be dispatched to other countries over six years.

Consequently, the Education Ministry sponsored 640 students to pursue their study, mainly in European countries, from 1929 to 1934. Seventy-five percent of the students went to France, and the rest studied in England, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. The United States hosted only 130 Iranian students up to the early 20th century (Shannon, 2017).

A survey completed by 176 (25%) of the transferred students found that their average age was 21 with a range of 17-30. Eighty percent were from Tehran and other large cities, like Esfahan and Tabriz, whereas 18% were from less urbanized areas and 2% were born in other countries. The fathers of 32% of the respondents were state staff, 17% businessmen, 13% professionals (physicians, lawyers, professors or engineers), 12% land-owners, 7% owners of private businesses, 6% clerics, 4% members of the parliament and ministers, and 4% in military (Moradi Nejad & Pajoom Shariati, 1972). These students' major subjects included: teaching and education, medicine, veterinary science, engineering (agricultural, electrical, machine, mining, and road), law, finance, surgery, ophthalmology, dentistry, chemistry, and forestry. Also, nearly 70% of the respondents studied in doctorate and post-doctorate programs (Table 5).

Table 5. Distribution of educational degrees among 25% of the Iranian students in foreign universities (1929 – 1934)

Level of Education	# of students	Percentage
Bachelor	24	13.6%
Masters	12	6.8%
Engineering	18	10.2%
Physician	100	56.9%
Post-Doctorate	22	12.5%
Total	**176**	**100%**

Like his ancestors, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi maintained dispatching the talented youth to other countries for modernization purposes. The 1960 law of transferring students overseas allowed the government to send Iranian topnotch students to foreign universities. Applicants were required to complete their overseas education within 4 years, and then, return to the country to work for the state equal to the length of their education duration. Qualified applicants had to be proficient enough in the languages of the target countries (mainly: English, German, French and Italian) to be able to pass language exams. Students' parents or families had to sponsor them; however, the government would occasionally grant some funds. According to the Ministry of

Sciences and Higher Education report, out of 20,507 students who were pursuing their education out of the country by June 1968 only 0.7% (n = 139) were state-sponsored and 1% (n = 212) received government funds (Saddigh, 1968). The USA, Germany and Britain were the top three countries hosting Iranian students (Table 6).

Table 6. Main countries hosting Iranian students in 1960s

Country	**# of Iranian Students**
USA	6,941
Germany	5,555
England	3,423
Austria	1,098
France	889
Italy	392
Switzerland	312
Belgium	62
Total	**18,672**

4.3 Expansion of public schools and universities

The number of schools and colleges increased between 1925 and 1934 (History of Higher Education, 2001). The establishment of the University of Tehran in 1934, as an epoch in the country's contemporary educational history, reduced the number of transferred students to overseas. The University of Tehran's first professors were recruited from France and Germany (Saddigh, 1968). Also, some of those who had graduated from the European universities gradually returned to the country and joined its faculty. In 1933, a new law was ratified in the parliament to ensure that 25 universities would be established within 5 years only to train teachers.

The rate of education among Iranian women started to expand in the second decade of the 20th century. In 1922, the number of women enrolled in public (elementary and high) schools was only 20.5% (n= 7200) of that of men (n=35,000) (Iravani, 2011). In 1935, Iranian women began to pursue higher levels of education (History of Higher Education, 2001), and at the same time, the law of Mixed-Gender Education was ratified to allow boys and girls co-education at mixed schools (Saddigh, 1968). Education was so highly valued that special adult classes (named *'Akaaber'*) were designed for the illiterate population and/or the adults who could not complete their elementary and high school education.

4.3.1 Types of schools

Two types of schools defined in the Culture (Education) Law of 1911, maintained in the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah: (1) state schools, which were sponsored by the government, and (2) non-state schools, whose budget would be provided by donations, charities and gifts (the so-called 'vaqf' in the Islamic law). There were three non-state schools: (1) *Maktabkhaneh* or *Maktab*; (2) seminaries/religious schools ('*Hoze-haye Elmiye*'), and (C) private schools. The number of *Maktabs* gradually decreased throughout the 20th century because of the nationwide expansion of modern schools and especially the free elementary education policy (Saddigh, 1968). In 1937, the number of registered *Maktabkhanehs* was 2,754 in which 56,533 students were studying. This number was relegated to 90 *Maktabs* in 1968 with 1,576 students who were mainly women (Saddigh, 1968). Affected by the modern education, *Maktabkhaneh* started to use regular schools' textbooks and even taught mathematics. The state inspectors gave *Maktabs* frequent visits to check whether they met hygienic and ethical standards.

Seminaries or religious schools were financed through public donations and gifts. In 1968, 136 religious schools with 7,482 students were registered mainly in Qom and Mashad, the two main pious cities of Iran. The waves of modern education, however, hit the seminaries and many of their students became interested in learning such new topics as foreign languages, history of religions and other sciences (Saddigh, 1968). Seminary students would become clergymen, teachers of religious courses and/or preachers after graduation.

Private schools started to grow in the country in the 1950s. The 1956 law of private schools allowed the qualified applicants to establish private elementary and high schools sponsored by private investors. The private education curricula, however, had to be aligned with that of the state schools. Because of the state's incentives, numerous affluent investors set up private schools, so that by the mid-1960s, one thousand elementary schools and 500 high schools were registered (Saddigh, 1968).

Despite such nationwide educational expansion, many Iranians were not literate. According to the November 1966 National Census, 25% of children between seven to 13 years old were deprived from education, and 70% of the population over 70 years old were illiterate. In general, the literacy rate was still low, especially in the rural areas. More than 50% of the population over seven years of age were literate in the cities, whereas only 15% of people in the villages and towns could read and write (Saddigh, 1968).

Teachers were more knowledgeable in the cities' elementary schools compared to those of the villages and small towns. High school education consisted of two parts. The first part, of three years duration, were mandatory for all high school students. They would study Persian literature, Arabic, religious studies, social studies (history, geography, civic sciences), mathematics, physics, chemistry, health sciences, sports, painting/drawing and calligraphy, plus handcrafts for boys and housekeeping for girls. While Arabic was mandatory in the first three years of high school education, foreign languages was one of the 17 elective courses among farming, carpentry, housekeeping, welding, wiring, photography, cooking, sewing, accounting, typing, music, piping, construction, shoemaking, radio repairing, and embossing. Each elective course, including foreign languages, was taught for 4 hours per week.

The second half of high school also consisted of three years of specified education in which students would choose their major from literature, natural sciences, mathematics, agriculture, industries, commerce, and housekeeping for girls. In addition to the specific courses in each major, all students in all areas would study general courses consisting of Persian literature, a foreign language, religious studies, sports, arts, and housekeeping for girls. Students were required to earn high school diploma to be able to apply for universities. Also, the elementary curriculum consisted of Persian language and literature, health and sciences, math and algebra, history, geography, religious, moral and civil studies, calligraphy, drawing and handicrafts, physical education, games and singing.

There were also various types of formal education and learning technical skills in different areas, including vocational institutes for boys and girls, agricultural and commercial high schools, technical schools, paramedics institutes, post and telegraph institute, introductory institutes for instructors training, Teachers training courses, scouting, and literacy corps. The latter was for boys and girls who would be sent to the rural areas to teach illiterate children and adults.

4.3.2 Higher education

The Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education was established in 1968, undertaking multiple missions including designing the country's educational policies, supervising universities and research centers, and policy making on transferring students to other countries. According to Saddigh (1968), there were three types of higher education schools: advanced, free advanced, and private.

4.3.2.1 Advanced schools

Advanced schools were established and sponsored by the state, and their workers were considered the government's employees. These schools included University of Tehran (1934), University of Isfahan (1946), University of Tabriz (1947), University of Mashad (1949), the Jondishapur University (1955). The latter is near the city of Ahvaz, in the province of Khuzestan.

4.3.2.2 Free advanced schools

Free advanced schools which received financial aid from the state and/or the National Oil Company, were exempt from tax withholdings, and their workers would not be the states' employees. These schools included National University (1959), the Aryamehr University of Technology (1966), the Higher Educational Institute for girls (1964), Petroleum University of Technology in Abadan (1939), Advanced Institute of Accounting (1964), and Pahlavi University in Shiraz (1946).

4.3.2.3 Private schools

The third group of higher education institutions were those established and sponsored by private investors. These include Institute of Banking Sciences (1963), Institute of Press and Public Relations (1967), and College of Literature and Foreign Languages (1969).

Men in education (and in other professions and positions) outnumbered women during the Pahlavi era. According to a Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education report, by June 1968, only 25% (n = 12,257) of 48,758 students enrolled in the universities and advanced institutes were female, whereas male students composed 75% (n = 36,501) of the enrolled students. Similarly, out of 3,573 individuals in faculty positions nearly 11.5% (n = 414) were female; yet, men had occupied 88.5% (n = 3,159) of the positions (Saddigh, 1968).

During the Pahlavi reign, American schools kept expanding in the country, among which Alborz College of Tehran was the most prestigious one. Founded in 1924 by the American scholar, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan (1871-1952), Alborz recruited 45 European, American and Iranian faculty members and staff. I previously mentioned that in the second half of the 19th century, the American Presbyterian missionaries founded religious schools in northwest Iran, expanding their activities to rendering public medical services and network of schools for boys and girls. Dr Jordan

was, in fact, the principal of one of the Presbyterian schools, the Tehran boys' school, from 1899 to 1940. By the help of his 12 Lafayette College colleagues, including Dr. Arthur C. Boyce, Jordan set up the Lafayette-in-Persia project (Ricks, 2011). Their endeavors finally bloomed in the establishment of the American College of Tehran (ACT). In 1928, Alborz College of Tehran "became fully accredited by the New York Board of Regents as a four-year liberal arts college" (Ricks, 2011, p. 630).

Despite the educational improvement in the Pahlavi's era, many critics detected 'flaws' in the Pahlavi educational reforms. Some believed that the pace of the country's educational growth was slow, that educational plans were influenced by the American educational system; that the ultimate objective of educational growth was to fulfil the Shah's desire to build a Western-like country and appreciation of Western values at the cost of diminishing people's Islamic identity. Others viewed the system as prone to interact mostly with the elite and wealthy population. Sciences, also, were perceived to have been directly adopted from the Western resources without localizing their content (see: Hamdhaidari, 2008).

4.4 English status

The English language began growing in Iran on par with the expanding role of the United States in the post-World War II era, which coincided with the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1941- 1979). By the mid-1950s, English had become the most-known foreign language in the country (Borjian, 2013). During the 1950s, English courses entered the curricula and replaced French which had been the dominant foreign language since the latter part of the Qajar dynasty. When the University of Tehran opened in 1934, only 16 out of 1175 Iranians overseas were studying in the United States (Shannon, 2017), but the flow of Iranian students gradually shifted from European to American universities in the next decades and the USA became the host of around 7,000 Iranian students in 1960s (Saddigh, 1968). The Shah, who was pursuing American-style modernization, perceived English as "the language of modernity" (Sharifian, 2010). Strong political ties between the Shah and the American government enhanced the status of the USA in the country, and consequently, many American specialists and technicians traveled to Iran to contribute to the country's developing industry, economy and education (Strain, 1971; Borjian, 2013).

In fact, with the advent of the Cold War in the mid-1940s, the United States strengthened its political and cultural relations with Iran to protect the country from the threats of fast-growing Communism. A short but comprehensive history of the American educational aids to Iran in the EFL context was published in 1971 by Dr. Jeris E. Strain, who was a senior English instructor at the Integrated National Telecommunications System (INTS) Training Center in Tehran and a Visiting Associate Professor of English at Pahlavi University, Shiraz. In his paper, entitled "*English Language Instruction in Iran"* (1971), Strain mentioned that the establishment of the Iran American Society (IAS) initiated the United States' formal participation in the improvement of English language proficiency and its instruction in the country. Within a few years, 300-400 students had enrolled in the IAS English classes, and this number reached to nearly 4000 learners in 1959 and 5000 in 1971 (Strain, 1971).

Strain directed a TESOL Program for Iranian students and coordinated the production of teaching materials specifically designed for Persian speakers in the first decade of the Fulbright program implementation in Iran (1950 to 1959). According to him, at that time, a few American English literature professors were recruited in the Iranian universities, and several Iranian English teachers received grants to learn TEFL methods at American universities (Strain, 1971). Also, "the returnee English teachers" and some of the instructors who had never been abroad, were partially sponsored to participate in a three-week summer seminar on English instruction (Strain, 1971). Following the emphasis of the Fulbright program on teaching English in the Iranian secondary schools, five American English teachers were sent to Iran in 1959 to promote English instruction at the secondary school level (Strain, 1971). Strain explained:

> "Under the able direction of Dr. Nye-Dorry, a Michigan trained linguist who had been actively involved in the IAS programs, these teachers visited schools and gave seminar classes for the Iranian English teachers in the cities where they were stationed. The following two years, 1960 and 1961, the Iranian Ministry of Education provided an Iranian returnee counterpart for each of the five American teachers and these teams traveled from town to town giving seminar classes which ranged from a few days in small towns to a month to six weeks in large cities. During the 1960-61 academic year alone these teams reached over 800 teachers of English in 52 locations." (p. 33*)*

Strain (1971) added that secondary school English instruction was discontinued in its heyday in 1962, and the Fulbright program shifted its concentration from the secondary schools to the universities. According to Strain, the first group of Peace Corps Volunteers, also, contributed

to developing TEFL at the Iranian universities in 1962, a mission which was later expanded to the secondary school level:

> "Two years later [1964], after considerable effort by Dr. Nye-Dorry, who was instrumental in developing this English program also, secondary school assignments were given to a group of fifteen TEFL Volunteers, most of whom reported to the chiefs of educational offices as special assistants in English teaching. In 1967 this activity expanded to a total of 135 English teachers concentrated mainly in the secondary school system. (Strain, 1971, p. 33)

The Peace Corp TEFL program, however, decreased to 65 individuals in 1970 and 43 individuals in the Summer of 1971 (Strain, 1971). According to him, the Point Four Program, and later, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) resulted in a contract between Pahlavi University in Shiraz (Fars Province) and the University of Pennsylvania in 1962 to establish a modern institution of higher education, *"which would emphasize western science and technology, be bilingual and international, with English* [as] *the second language, and attract to it many of the highly trained Iranian specialists who resided in the United States and England"* (p. 33). Accordingly, Iranians residing in the States would be recruited for faculty positions at Pahlavi University, and the University of Pennsylvania faculty members would temporarily work at Pahlavi University. Between 1967 to 1971, 150 appointments (out of 400) were offered by Pahlavi University, 12 Penn faculty were teaching at the Iranian university in 1971 and nearly 20 "*students and junior faculty members were pursuing advanced degrees at Penn"* (Strain, 1971, p. 34). Although the USAID contract ended in 1967, Strain mentioned that the Iranian government sponsored a second five-year program to maintain its achievements.

According to Strain, ESL was one of the main concerns of the Pahlavi University administration, as well as the other Iranian universities whose objectives were improving students' English fluency. Even all the textbooks at Pahlavi University were those of the American universities, except for the Persian literature, history and culture textbooks, (Strain, 1971). The University of Pennsylvania sent a visiting applied linguist to Iran (1965 – 1968) to assist the Pahlavi university's English program. The American university also participated in "*the recruitment of Direct Hire English teachers since 1967*" (p. 34). Strain also contributed in developing the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks, which will be discussed in the next part.

In constant competition with the USA, the British government developed its cultural relations with Iran to enhance its overall influence. The *British Council*, as an example, also provided general English courses, international exams, and teacher training programs in Iran. The British experts also cooperated with the Ministry of Education in developing English for Specific Purposes methodology (Borjian, 2013).

In the 1970s, those universities mainly established in the 1940s, were expanded. Pahlavi University (now Shiraz University), as mentioned, became the first university to use English as the language of teaching and learning (Strain, 1971; Farhady, Sajadi Hezayeh & Hedayati, 2010). Private language centers, such as the widely-known *Shokuh Institution* (1950) and the *Simin Educational Association* (1970), contributed to promoting English in the country with their remarkably large enrollments. These centers would hire native speakers of English from Inner Circle countries, especially the USA and the UK. The result was growth in the number of users of English for instrumental and integrative functions.

4.4.1 Quality of English education

Although Iranian students were highly motivated to study English, and this language was the preferred foreign language for over 90% of them (Strain, 1971; Burke, 1976), many foreign instructors teaching in Iran were not satisfied with the quality of English education during the 1960s and 1970s. In his paper, "*English Language Instruction in Iran" (1971),* Strain argued:

> "English language instruction in Iran is weak. The Iranian student's six years of time, interest, and effort, not to mention that of the teacher, result with relatively few exceptions in actual language abilities which range from poor to mediocre. Conversely, the same students placed in intensive English courses outside Iran often excel in apparent language ability, a situation that unfortunately too often contributes to diminished efforts on the part of the student and to a seeming but largely superficial command of English. While teaching-learning conditions in Iran may not be dissimilar from those in other parts of the world, they are much more extreme than Modern Language teaching conditions in the United States" (p. 32).

Strain (1971) believed that Iranian students were very motivated to study English and over 90% of them preferred to take English as their foreign language; however, *"class size, teacher preparation, adequate textbooks and teaching materials"* (p. 32) were among many serious issues of English instruction in the country. According to him, classrooms were overpopulated with 70

students, many (Iranian) English teachers did not know this language, and the instructional methods and materials were mostly outdated and incomprehensible.

In addition to listing the main issues of English instruction in the 1960s-1970s Iran, Strain also proposed a few pedagogical and structural recommendation to lessen the problems and increase the quality of EFLT in both schools and universities. Similarly, other foreign instructors who were recruited in the Iranian educational system provided negative reports on the quality of English education in the Pahlavi era. In her MA thesis, "*Teaching English in Iran: Aims, Objectives, Strategies, and Evaluation"* (1976), Janet Marie Burke, who was a foreign English teacher at Pahlavi University, outlined the department's main challenges in English teaching. She mentioned that after the first year, students would receive all the instruction in English, using the American universities textbooks. According to Burke, the Pahlavi University offered an intensive English program in the mid-1970s:

> "The department planned to offer twice as many hours of instruction during the first year as it had previously offered. This intensified program was to have begun in 1975. The results are not complete; however, the plan indicates concern over the low level of the students' English language skills. (pp. 1-2)".

Burke believed that the quality of language programs was improving at the university level in contrast to the high schools, whose English programs were *"still very unsatisfactory* (p. 2)". According to Burke, despite their highly motivated students, schools' *"large classes, poor textbooks, and ill-equipped teachers"* resulted in *"entering college students requiring instruction in basic English. (p. 2)".* In her report, Burke refers to an *"ESL convention of Iranian high school teachers"* in which the Iranian English professor and linguist, Fereydoun Motamed (1917 – 1993), believed the main ESL instructional hurdles at high schools were limited quality of textbooks, the practice of word-for-word translations, teachers' incorrect pronunciation, and the teaching of *"traditional grammar rather than to require composition because they do not have time or skill to correct them … Students have not been taught to organize a composition, to spell the most common words, to punctuate a sentence, to express themselves in writing, let alone speaking, or even to write legibly* (pp. 2-3)." Burke suggested that *"stronger basic skills are necessary to ensure that the student's education is not hampered by an inability to understand lectures and textbooks. The problem extends to tests as well. A student may fail a multiple-choice biology exam, for example, because he cannot understand the vocabulary or sentence structure used in the options, not because he has a poor understanding of biology* (p. 3)".

Despite using the American English material in the Iranian universities, Burke reported, the predominant American behaviorist approach in language teaching and curriculum designing was not applied in the Pahlavi English department. She also mentioned that the Iranian university's objectives were *"too general to be helpful for teachers planning a course to meet students' needs … Most Iranian English teachers have a vague set of aims for their course which all too often reflect the teachers' good intentions rather than the learners' accomplishments. It is psychologically important for the learner, especially if he is an adult, to know what the objectives and results of a course will be. With more clearly formulated objectives, the department, the instructors, and the students will be aware of where they are headed, and at the completion of the course the objectives and the results can be evaluated* (pp. 3-5)." Additionally, the learners' individual needs were not addressed because of the "large departmental goals":

> "If the teacher were free to treat the special needs of a class, the problems of individual students could be better dealt with. While all students have some common needs, more account should be taken in dealing with vocabulary, composition, and reading of the various levels and abilities of each learner. Currently, large departmental goals have taken priority over individual student needs (p. 4)".

4.5 Oil industry and English

Another factor contributing to the expansion of foreign languages, particularly English, in the Iran of Pahlavi regime was the oil industry. Abadan refinery, as the most important fuel resource of the British army, played key role in the victory of the Allies in World War II (Kabi Fallahiyeh, 2016). Stationed in the southern ports of Iran, the Allied troops had recruited a large number of local residents to unload their commodities off the ships. Once the war ended and foreign troops withdrew, the number of unemployed laborers increased. In addition, more oil workers were needed because the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had expanded its quests and construction plans in the oil-rich areas, including Aghajaari, Gachsaran, Bibi Hakimeh, Paznan, Mahshahr Port, and Abadan refinery after the war (Gheisari, 2018). Testimony to the significant role of English was the port of Mahshahr, where male applicants from 12 years old to 50, would line up in front of the 'Labor Office' to answer the recruiters' questions about their age, army service, literacy level and languages they spoke (Gheisari, 2018). The selected labor would be handed a note to follow up the recruiting process in the next office. They had to complete a general health examination which would be done in a clinic with an Indian physician, a Persian assistant,

a nurse and two laborers. Usually, non-disabled applicants with strong vision would pass the medical test (Gheisari, 2018). Such interactions between the foreign and local cadres of the oil company expanded the contact zone between the speakers of Persian, Arabic, English, and Indian in the oil rich areas.

The memories of Rahman Davoodi (born in 1923), an oil industry retiree and one of the oldest employees in the oil-rich cities of Abadan & Masjed Soleiman, illustrate how knowing English was essential for getting employed in the oil industry (Khodadadian, 2013). As a young boy, Davoodi started working in the oil company in various positions, from routine to technical jobs. Eventually, because of his "notable attitude", he was assigned to work in the *Wine and Dine Protocol Section ('Tashrifaat')* as a driver. The new job gave Davoodi an opportunity to establish close contacts with numerous influential Iranians and foreigners, and to acquire English through daily communications with the English speakers of the oil company. According to Davoodi, as a Protocol Section driver he was required to learn English, which was a bit difficult due to limited learning resources at that time. Many among the first generation of oil industry workers had learned English only through daily interactions with British and Iranian oil experts.

Davoodi also recalls how the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company held a night-time English course for its workers during the 1950s. This course might have been the first ESP course held by a non-educational institution in Iran (Khodadadian, 2013). Davoodi attended this course and got grades good enough to promote him to the next level. His English certificate impacted his pay and benefits and enabled him to establish reliable relations with his employers. He was occasionally consulted, even asked to mediate between Iranian and British workers on some issues related to work, such as misunderstandings and disputes. Davoodi's documents show that the city of Masjed Soleiman held the first English professional development courses in those years (Khodadadian, 2013).

British-Iranian Oil Company established the so-called Artisan Schools (Abadan Artisan School, 1934) to train the youth in electrics, mechanics, welding, refinery process, turning and other skills (Avvalinha, 2015). English was one of the core courses to be fully learned and used as the medium of instruction in those schools.

As a result of the nationalization of the oil industry in 1951 and the Iranian government order to the company's British cadre to leave the country within a week, around 350 British experts and their families were expelled on October 3-4, 1951 (Avvalinha, 2015). Additionally, British

missionaries were dismissed, and Christian hospitals closed (Waterfield, 1973). The ban, however, was lifted in the aftermath of the joint coup d'état of the American Central Intelligence Agency and British MI6 in 1953.

4.6 The influence of American Culture on Iranians

Influenced by the western cultures, particularly the American culture, Iranians' lifestyle went through drastic changes during the Pahlavi reign. In his autobiography, *Solacers* (2011), the American-Iranian author Arion Golmakani delineates how American cultural components were intertwined with the lives of many Iranians during the Shah era. This is illustrated in the excerpt below in which he also suggests possible genealogical reasons for Iranians' infatuation with America and its culture:

> "At the time it was the ultimate dream of every young Iranian that I knew to visit the United States someday, the land of our surrogate culture. There were even movies made about that very subject. Being a nation of predominantly Aryans or Indo-Europeans, many Iranians identified more with their ancestors in the West than with their neighbors in the Middle East. The West, the United States in particular, had a strong footprint here, especially in the city of Tehran and the southwestern regions of the country. The most important aspect of the Western influence on Iranian culture could be found in television and cinema. Syndicated American television shows, cartoons, and soap operas accounted for a high percentage of the national television's total programming. There was also a separate American television station in Tehran that regularly broadcast in English. People here grew up in front of their television sets watching The Days of Our Lives, Ironside, Mission Impossible, The Fugitive, Little House on the Prairie, Flipper, The Six Million Dollar Man, and hundreds of other similar shows. John F. Kennedy and Muhammad Ali were national heroes here, and some major avenues in the capital city were named after famous American presidents. Children, those who had access to television, were growing up as Americans without realizing it. The Iranian military was equipped and trained mostly by the Americans. The majority of air force officers and all of the naval officers were educated in the U.S. No other people in the Middle East identified as strongly with the Americans as did the middle- to upper-class Iranians. (pp. 284-28).

Despite such western social influence, the collision between modern and traditional paradigms maintained during the Pahlavi era. A number of Iranian families even denied enrolling their children in modern schools or having television sets at home, as they believed that those social institutions would promote western secular knowledge and non-Iranian pop-culture.

4.7 Textbooks in the Pahlavi era

As previously mentioned, production of instructional material never exercised a monopoly until 1929 when the government gained exclusive rights in authoring and printing the elementary coursebooks. Authoring textbooks for six elementary levels was assigned to a team of educated scholars, professors and teachers, to be later on distributed by the Ministry of Culture (Saddigh, 1968). The project's excellent outcome stimulated the unification of high school's instructional material. Therefore, 10 years later (1939), a group of knowledgeable teachers and professors developed high school textbooks. Within three years, the so-called 'Administrative Series' ('*Ketaabhaye Vezaarati'*), comprised of 80 uniform high school coursebooks were authored, published and distributed by the state (Saddigh, 1968; Majidi, 1985). The Administrative textbooks all shared the same size and format, and had high educational quality.

The ripple effect of World War II (1939 – 1945) impacted different areas in Iran, including the educational system. The war's debilitating consequences diminished the state's authority as well as its financial resources, and the government, once again, lost its control over textbooks production. In the absence of the state's monopoly over authoring instructional materials, the responsibility devolved on private publishers, some of whom were motivated by greed (Majidi, 1985). The involvement of a free and competitive market resulted in superfluous publication of coursebooks, so that instead of 80 high school textbooks, 428 new coursebooks had been provided (Al-e Ahmad, 1957 cited in Motamedi, 2012). For the eighth-grade mathematics, as an example, up to seven different textbooks were available in the market, all looking alike and full of mistakes (Majidi, 1985). The chaotic situation which negatively affected the quality of coursebooks lingered for almost two decades. In 1962, the Ministry of Culture (renamed the Ministry of Education in 1964) took charge of textbook production, and a year later, 120 new coursebooks were developed. American Franklin Publications, which had started its work in Iran in 1951, used to print the elementary textbooks whereas the middle and high school coursebooks were provided by the Company of Iran Educational Textbooks Printing (Majidi, 1985).

In 1963, the Iran Educational Textbooks Organization started recruiting scholars who were aware of the writing conventions and open to new ideas and theories in textbook developing. Some of them were sent overseas to update their knowledge on the new methods of textbook production. Because of their endeavors, standardized textbooks identical in appearance, even in cover design, were developed and printed for all grades and majors in 1963 (Majidi, 1985).

The Law of Textbooks and the Constitution of Iran Textbooks Organization were ratified in 1967 in the National Consultative Assembly. The first article of the Law of Textbooks required the Ministry of Education to choose the most adequate textbooks to be taught in the elementary and high school coursebooks, and if needed, to author the materials. Also, the Ministry of Education was permitted to either print the coursebooks, or entrust textbooks' printing, distribution and selling to the qualified publications, bookstores and printing houses for an infinite period. The formation of Iran Textbooks Organization was also proposed by the law for the implementation of the first article.

In the 1966-67 academic year, changes in the educational system affected textbook production. At this time, the French-like educational system switched to its American counterpart. Accordingly, the six-year elementary and six-year high school education was replaced by a five-year elementary, three-year middle, and four-year high school. Four majors were designed for the high school education: Literature and Culture, Social Economy, Natural Sciences, and Mathematics and Physics. Also, a four-year vocational training in electricity, construction, mechanics, agriculture, business, sewing, and arts was offered to the students interested in learning occupational skills after the middle school education (Majidi, 1985). The new American educational system required the time-consuming production of new textbooks and instructional materials. Over 10 years (between 1966 to 1977), Iran Educational Textbooks Organization developed at least 500 new coursebooks for the first to 12^{th} grades (Motamedi, 2012). New textbooks had higher quality in both content and format compared to their predecessors, were well-printed, colorful, and full of illustrations, innovations and practices. Most importantly, the coursebooks on each subject were sequentially designed, so that students would learn new lessons in each course based on the lessons in previous grade (Motamedi, 2012). Textbooks for universities and teacher training centers were also produced for the first time.

In 1976, Iran Textbook Organization was replaced by the Organization of Educational Research and Renovation whose objective was to increase the "quality" of education through developing new coursebooks, constant evaluations, and application of novel educational methods and technologies (Majidi, 1985; Motamedi, 2012). In the unsettled years before the 1979 Revolution, most of the textbooks became scarce, yet a new organization, Company of Print and Publication of Iran, was established to monopolize the coursebooks printing. In the academic year 1978-1979, a total of 636 elementary, middle, and high school textbooks with a circulation of

70,000,000 were published, along with the materials and resources for teacher training centers (Majidi, 1985).

4.7.1 English textbooks in the Pahlavi era

Although English has been taught in the Iranian schools since the 19th century, a number of researchers (e.g. Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015), consider 1938-39 as the outset of English education in the country. In fact, the state's monopoly over the textbooks and the publication of standardized materials in 1938-39 makes it easier to examine the systematic English teaching in the country. Like Foroozandeh and Forouzani (2015), I will break down the history of Iranian English textbooks in the Pahlavi era into two main periods in which the first and the second generations of the English textbooks were provided:

4.7.1.1 First generation (1939–1964)

The first Iranian English textbooks were developed in the late 1930s when the state gained control over the publication of all textbooks. In 1939, a team of local and English-speaking linguists and material developers (including Arthur C. Boyce, American professor of English, Ali Pasha Saleh, professor of English in the University of Tehran, and Abdollah Faryar, teacher of English in the University of Tehran) designed the first high school English coursebook in six volumes. Dr Arthur Boys, previously mentioned, was one of the contributors in the establishment of Alborz College in Tehran. A Course in English series were voluminous, containing 98 lessons (285 pages) in Book 1, 92 lessons (257 pages) in Book 2, and 53 lessons (238 pages) in Book 6.

According to Foroozandeh and Forouzani (2015), the first generation of Iranian English textbooks contained various topics, such as Persian and world literature, history, science, biography and the arts. My findings (which will be discussed in the final chapter) indicated that the majority of the 1940s high school English textbooks were made of the American and British classic literature. Foroozandeh and Forouzani (2015) reported that the first series did not include any guidebooks for teachers, except for a ten-page introduction on classrooms management. Based on my content analysis, however, the first 13-14 pages of each textbook include an introductory guideline to enhance English instructors' teaching methods. A drawback of the first series of English textbooks was that the lessons' structures were not uniform, and each lesson had a different

format. For instance: “lesson 1 in Book One may start with a poem with no warm-up or follow-up activities, while another lesson would contain grammar points with relevant exercises” (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015, p. 59).

Based on Foroozandeh and Forouzani (2015), the predominant teaching method in the first Iranian English textbooks series were Direct Method and Reading Method. First of all, “Reading Method” is not actually a “method” in language teaching, but an “approach” through which language teachers help students enhance their reading skills (see Day & Bamford, 1998). Additionally, Direct Method, popular in the early 20th century, focused on “direct target language use, oral communication skills, inductive grammar, without recourse to translation from the first language” (Brown, 2007, p. 380). This definition, however, does not seem to be applicable to the content of the first Iranian English series. Based on my findings, the 1940s high school textbooks did not reveal any inclination towards oral communication skills. Also, grammar and translation skills were emphasized on their introductory pages. I suggest that the first generation of the Iranian English textbook adopted the Grammar Translation Method in which “the central focus is on grammatical rules, paradigms, and vocabulary memorization as the basis for translating from one language to another” (Brown, 2007, p. 382).

4.7.1.2 Second generation (1964 – 1982)

Two decades later, in the mid-1960s and under the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks, Graded English (GE) series, replaced the previous material. In designing the GE series, an Iranian female scholar, Parivash Manoochehri, collaborated with an American professor, Jeris E. Strain. A third Iranian scholar, Alladein Pazargadi, also joined the team to design the fourth-year high school textbook. It was previously mentioned that Dr. Strain was a visiting Associate Professor of English at Pahlavi University in Shiraz. His publication on the American educational aids for improving EFL in Iran shed light on the weaknesses of English learning in the country. The GE high school textbooks were thinner than the first series, consisting of 20 lessons in GE 4 (139 pages), 15 lessons in GE 5 (168 pages), 15 lessons in GE 6 (204 pages), and 10 lessons in GE 7 (the number of pages is not available).

The GE textbooks marked a historical transition from the classical literature and the Grammar Translation Method of the first generation to a carefully crafted educational production which applied Situational Language Teaching (SLT) principles. Developed by the British applied

linguists in the 1930s through the 1960s, the SLT method targeted vocabulary, reading and grammatical structures (Richards & Rogers, 1986). The new English series, in fact, situated English in real-life settings where regular Iranian and non-Iranian interlocutors spoke in English in their daily written or verbal interactions. The textbooks were decorated with more illustrations, and for the first time, applied red ink to highlight new words (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015). Contrary to the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks, the structure of all lessons in the Graded English Series shared the same pattern, which (in the high school textbooks) included Dialogue, Reading, Comprehension, Grammar and Practices, Handwriting and Composition. Foroozandeh and Forouzani (2015) reported that a comprehensive teachers' guide was provided for instructors on how to teach English skills in each lesson. Yet, the GE high school textbooks which were investigated in this study did not contain such introductory guideline.

Some scholars believe that the Graded English Series has been "one of the best series developed between 1939 and 2003 in terms of the organization of lesson components, layout and the teacher's guide" (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015, p. 60).

4.8 Conclusion

The English language attained a higher educational and social status in Pahlavi Iran and became the first international language for wider communication. Strong bonds between the Iranian and American governments, initiating progressive plans for modernization purposes, Westernization and promotion of English as the language of modernity, and growth of language institutions, all contributed to increasing the presence and functional distribution of English, especially from the 1940s through the last years of the 1970s. Other factors as transferring students to overseas, the nationwide growth of public education, and the oil industry assisted the expansion of foreign languages, particularly English in Iran. Also, the conflict between traditional and progressive forces, which was more tangible in the educational sphere, were maintained in the Pahlavi era. The monopoly of state over textbooks publication resulted in the production of the first and second generations of English textbooks relatively in 1939 and 1964, whereas in the absence of the governmental control, the free market negatively impacted on the quality of English textbooks. The first series of locally developed English materials (1940s), mostly contained the American and British classical literature and adopted the Grammar Translation Method. Developed in the mid-1960s, the second series, Graded English textbooks, transitioned to the more

interactive Situational Language Teaching principles and highlighted communicative functions of English.

Iran, however, faced many changes after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, including the negotiation of the status of English in the country, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5. POST-ISLAMIC REVOLUTION (1979 –2020)

5.1 Overview

The Pahlavi dynasty was overthrown as a result of the 1979 Revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini. The anti-West Islamic Revolution, however, showed no tolerance for Western foreigners and languages, particularly English, that flourished during the Pahlavi era. Having entered its "imperialist phase" (Baumgardner & Brown, 2012), English was perceived as "the language of Great Satan" (Sharifian, 2010); an imperialistic tool for the Western countries, to ideologically and culturally dominate such Islamic societies as Iran. According to Baumgardner & Brown (2012), Iran was an Expanding Circle country before the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Brown (1983) believed that *"just before the Islamic Revolution, English was on a path to shift from being simply an exogenous language studied at the university level to being an endogenous language serving numerous functions within the country, both formally and informally*" (cited in Baumgardner & Brown, 2012, p. 292). The English language, however, faced identical and functional challenges in the post Revolution area, *"moving from an instrumental phase (utility) to a pastime phase (hobby) to an imperialistic phase (Weststruckness), then back to an instrumental phase"* (Baumgardner & Brown, 2012, p. 293).

In the first two years after the revolution, a so-called 'Cultural Revolution' (1980-1982) was planned to *"indigenize the education system by eradicating all the so called 'unwanted' Western-driven secular and liberal influences"* (Borjian, 2013, p. 66). A consequence of the Cultural Revolution was the revision and re-development of all textbooks (including English textbooks revisions) to reassure their alignment with Islamic ideology and revolutionary doctrine.

Contact with English speakers within the country was once again in jeopardy. Because of the political turmoil between Iran and western countries, particularly the USA, foreign businesses, especially educational institutions, such as the Iran-America Society, were closed and their workers, mainly American citizens, were expelled from the country. The Iran-America Society, however, was transformed into a new language association, Iran Language Institute, *Kanoon-e Zaban-e Iran* (Borjian, 2013) a few years later.

Although the revolutionists' attitude toward foreign languages, especially English, was negative at first, a few years later they decided to maintain foreign languages, as Ayatollah Khomeini (1902 - 1989) decreed, to export revolutionary principles and Islamic values to other parts of the world:

> "In the past, there was no need for a foreign language. Today it is needed. The world's live languages should be inserted in school curricula. Today is not like yesterday when our voice could not reach out of Iran. Today we could be in Iran and propagate in other language all around the world." (Author's translation)

Therefore, English returned to the curricula of both public and private educational institutions, and the Iran Language Institute and its affiliated cultural center, Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults (*Kannon-e Parvaresh-e Fekri-e Koodakan va Nojavaanan*) were established (Kheirabadi & Alavi Moghaddam, 2014).

5.2 Four periods

In her book, *English in Post-Revolutionary Iran (2013)*, Borjian has divided the country's post-Revolution era into four periods and explained the political and sociocultural context in each period and their implications for English education, as follows:

1. The revolutionary period (1979 – 1989)
2. Period of reconstruction and privatization (1989 – 1997)
3. The period of global outlook (1997 – 2005)
4. Returning to revolutionary roots (2005 – 2013)

After reviewing the ideological reactions to the western-oriented content of textbooks, to English and to the western countries, particularly the USA in the revolutionary period, Borjian moves on to the period of reconstruction and privatization. Iraq-Iran war (1980 – 1988) and the decease of Ayatollah Khomeini (1989) are perceived as two milestone events of the 1980s, directing Iran towards a new era under the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei (1939 -). According to Borjian (2013), in the period of reconstruction and privatization, the country was still suffering from the consequences of the eight-year war, deconstruction and high rates of inflation and unemployment. President Hashemi Rafsanjani, according to her, selected his cabinet members from the western-educated technocrats and social reformers. His administration was called the 'Reconstruction Government' (Borjian, 2013). Accordingly, a privatization policy was

implemented in the reconstruction process of the country, including education. Therefore, new private language institutes reappeared to restrict the government's monopoly over language education (Borjian, 2013). According to her, ELT was reinforced by the private institutes, communicative language teaching was introduced to the country, and the public demand for English education increased in that period. It should be added that during the 1980s and 1990s, video and CD players, Atari and other video games, and the growing number of satellite receivers were the main sources of the Iranians' exposure to English.

During the period of global outlook (1997 – 2005), as Borjian argues, President Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and his cabinet, known as the 'Reformist Government', constructed a new discourse based on moderateness, tolerance and dialogue with others. Accordingly, Iran improved its relations with other countries and international organizations, including the United Nations and World Bank whose policies in the knowledge-based economy and international collaboration affected the country (Borjian, 2013). During this time, English education entered a new phase in which it was considered as *"the language of science, research and technology"* (p. 170). Borjian reports that the British council reopened after 23 years, private English institutes adopted many new pedagogies and textbooks; however, the formal educational system did not undergo any changes regarding ELT.

In the last phase investigated by Borjian, returning to revolutionary roots (2005 – 2013), Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a conservative politician, became Iran's President. He shifted the political gears from reformist discourse to the extreme conservative, reversing the country's political rhetoric to the first years of the Revolution. According to Borjian (2013), there were discrepancies between the government's ideological, anti-imperialistic rhetoric and its actual orientation towards interactions with international institutions. In fact, the country needed foreign loans and grants transferred from the UN agencies and the World Bank (Borjian, 2013). She also reported that English became the language of instruction in some universities and the national television channels broadcasted teaching English programs, which were not aligned with the state's explicit restrictive policies. The government tried to lessen foreign cultural and educational influence, and once again, British Council was closed. Borjian states that public demand for learning English increased and private institutes kept using external textbooks and materials.

5.2.1 Fifth period

Borjian's comprehensive study ends before the years of Hassan Rohani presidency (2014 – 2020). Naming his cabinet as the 'Government of Contrivance and Hope', Rohani appeared to be determined to improve foreign relations through diplomacy. His remarkable achievement was an international agreement on Iran's nuclear program, entitled The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or 'The Deal' in 2015. Iran's Foreign Minister, Javad Zarif, a graduate of the University of Denver in international politics and fluent in English, played a key role in reaching the nuclear deal. While JCPOA was a hallmark in the improvement of Iran-USA relations, its promising outlook was ephemeral. Donald Trump, the USA president (2016-) withdrew his country from the deal and reversed the lifted sanctions on Iran after his election in 2016. Consequently, Iran's economy "faced its worst challenges in 40 years", as President Rohani announced (Erdbrink, 2019). Many European companies left the country, *"leaving thousands of Iranians jobless. Reimposed banking sanctions have sharply curtailed foreign investment and access to international credit, and oil sanctions have more than halved Iran's crude exports, its main source of income"* (Erdbrink, 2019).

Regarding the educational sphere, the country's general policies remained the same during the Presidency of Hasan Rohani. Yet, English education, once again, became the target of the hardliner critics and teaching English in elementary schools was banned in 2018. The decision was made after the stormy attack of Ayatollah Khamenei against the country's educational system which, according to him, "insists on promoting the English language exclusively" instead of "learning other languages" (Enteghad, 2016). Dropping English from the elementary curriculum, however, does not necessarily mean that the Iranian children would not learn it; private institutes (characterized by a higher instructional quality) are available and attractive alternatives.

5.3 English in the formal educational system

As previously mentioned, the revolutionaries' negative perceptions on English as the language of Western powers had affected English education policy in the country. In the early-1980s, English education was postponed to the second year of middle school; yet, the policy was reversed after a few years. As part of the textbook revising procedure, the Graded English Series underwent several revisions after the Revolution (this will be discussed in the last chapter).

Eventually, GE gave its long-standing place to the third generation of English textbooks, Right Path to English (titled English Books), which represented the elements of Islam and the Islamic Revolution in their texts and pictures (see the final chapter). Developed by a team of Iranian experts, including Parviz Birjandi, Abolghasem Soheili, Mehdi Nowrouzi, and Gholam-Hossein Mahmoudi, the new English coursebooks consisted of reading passages, grammar instruction and vocabulary lessons. The books lacked practices targeting listening, speaking and writing skills, did not apply a communicative approach, did not share a united format and did not provide an instructional guide for teachers (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015). Right Path to English, however, kept its instructional status in the formal educational system for three decades (Kheirabadi & Alavi Moghadam, 2014).

Following an educational reform in 1991, the 12th grade was removed, and a year-long pre-university program was replaced. Consequently, a new English textbook was developed for the pre-university level, adopting the Situational Language Teaching (SLT) of 1960s and maintaining the reading approach. Long reading passages and grammar lessons were designed only to help students get better scores in the National University Admission Examination (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015). In 2003, the pre-university English textbook underwent a thorough revision to incorporate Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in an Iranian English textbook for the first time. The CLT principles were embedded within the textbook's "warm-up activities, role plays, context-based language and colorful illustrations" (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015, p. 60). At the same time, minor revisions were applied to the nineth, 10th, and 11th grade English textbooks.

The first years of the 2010s witnessed two main changes in the educational sphere: the release of National Curriculum (Barnameye Darsi, 2012) which, for the first time, delineated the objectives of foreign languages education, and elimination of the middle school and shifting to the 6-6 system. Iran's educational system, particularly foreign languages education, was always criticized for lacking a national curriculum. Many critics believed that English education was not boosted by a vivid roadmap upon which textbooks and teaching methods could be built (Kheirabadi & Alavi Moghadam, 2019). The English pedagogy was also blamed for its outdated emphasis on reading and grammar, and lack of communicative skills. To address these issues, the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution ratified the Comprehensive Scientific Roadmap and the National Curriculum in 2012 (Kheirabadi & Alavi Moghadam, 2014). Therefore, not only the

country's macro educational policies were developed for the first time, but the objectives and aims of foreign languages pedagogy were explicitly defined.

The National Curriculum stressed that foreign languages courses should hone learners' four language skills, meet their communicative needs in global settings, use the target languages as the medium of instruction, and build the learners' confidence (Barnameye Darsi, 2012). Also, the National Curriculum articulated that in learning other languages, the country's beliefs and values should be taken into specific consideration:

> "Foreign languages education should go beyond the restrictive theories, methods and strategies in the world, and be considered as a way to enriching the national culture and beliefs and the local values" (Barnameye Darsi, 2012, p. 38).

According to the National Curriculum, the educational content in the beginning levels of foreign languages education should prioritize domestic issues and informative topics, such as health, daily life, environment, as well as the Iranian society's values and culture. Additionally, the foreign languages textbooks in the higher levels should move towards various cultural, scientific, economic, and political functions. The document even envisaged the outcome of foreign languages education in the formal educational system:

> "By the end of the senior high school, foreign languages learners should be able to read and comprehend technical texts and write articles … they will be able to read and comprehend an intermediate text, and write a short essay in the target language" (Barnameye Darsi, 2012, p. 38).

The National Curriculum and its foreign languages education document, in fact, manifested the Islamic Revolution doctrine of prioritizing the Islamic culture and identity in education and textbooks. Simultaneously, the structure of formal education in Iran changed once again to 6-6 in 2012. The middle school was removed, and formal education consisted of a six-year elementary school, followed by six years of junior high school (three years) and senior high school (three years). The English course was offered in the first year of the junior high school or the seventh grade. New English textbooks had to be developed for the senior and junior high school by the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) at the Ministry of Education (Foroozandeh and Forouzani, 2015). For the first time in the history of English education in the Iranian educational system, all the English textbooks, entitled the Prospect (junior high school) and Vision (senior high school), were designed following the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) principles. The fourth generation of the English textbooks were provided by a team of six material developers (two

assistant professors of English Language Teaching, two experienced English teachers, and two linguists with doctoral degree). The Prospect and Vision textbooks are still in use in the formal educational system. Table 7 summarizes the Iranian English textbooks teaching methods from 1939 to the present time (2020):

Table 7. Iranian English textbooks and teaching methods in the past 80 years

Years	English Textbooks	Teaching Method	Skills
1939–1964	1st generation: A Course in English Series	Grammar Translation Method	Reading Vocabulary
1964-1982	2nd generation: Graded English	Situational Language Teaching (SLT)	Oral and writing skills Vocabulary within the context
1982-2011	3rd generation: Right Path to English	Reading Approach	Reading Grammar Vocabulary Less communicative
1993-2010 Pre-University Textbook	Pioneer of the 4th generation	Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)	Speaking Listening
2011 - Present All textbooks	4th generation: Prospect & Vision Series	Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)	Speaking Listening

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter elaborated on the main events that shaped the role and status of English, and contributed to its interpersonal, instrumental, and creative uses after the Islamic Revolution. In the past 40 years, English education policies have been influenced by political events and orientations. From the radical waves of the first decade after the Revolution, to the following years of reconstruction, the period of expanding global relations, returning to the revolutionary rhetoric, and finally, conservative changes, internal and external political dispositions impacted English education in the country. The third generation of the English textbooks, Right Path to English, were developed based on the Islamic Revolutionary values to end the dominance of Pahlavi's Graded English. The first National Curriculum (Barnameye Darsi, 2012) and its policies on foreign languages stressed the necessity of developing Islamic-friendly textbooks and honing learners'

communicative skills. Accordingly, the fourth generation of English textbooks, Prospect and Vision Series, were designed to mark the integration of Communicative Language Teaching in the Iranian English coursebooks. Despite restrictive policies to curtail the use of English, it remains the preferred language for learning in schools, both public and private, and many Iranian learners seek every opportunity to exploit the presence of English. The culture of Iran and the dominant role of the cities as centers of privilege impact the professional use of English among women, access to English in rural areas, and advancement in the quality of English language teaching in state schools. In sum, despite volatile policies towards the English language in the country, its status has been constantly growing in the past forty years.

Since the main focus of this research is the cultural representations in the Iranian English textbook, the notion of 'culture' in general, 'culture' in second language theories and practices, and cultural assessment methods will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6. CULTURE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

6.1 Culture in theory

6.1.1 Defining Culture

Defining the multifaceted notion of culture is not easy because culture has various meanings in different disciplines and at different times; even "new ideas give new contours to the definition of culture" (Baldwin, et. al, 2006, p. xvi). In 1952, the American anthropologists, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn compiled 164 definitions of culture from a variety of disciplines, and divided them into 6 groups: descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic (Baldwin, et. al, 2006). In 1994, Baldwin and Lindsley published a list of 200 definitions of culture which, according to Baldwin et al. (2006), lacked formal analysis. The seminal work of Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952), however, was updated over half a century later, by Baldwin et al. (2006) who had compiled 300 definitions since 1952. They introduced seven different types or themes of definitions for culture: structure/pattern, function, process, product, refinement, power or ideology, and group membership. Since the definitions' details are beyond the scope of this research, I limit the discussion to some anthropological and sociolinguistic definitions of culture which fits the objectives of this dissertation.

In his chronological review, Avruch (1998) elaborated on the three stages of culture definition (cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2012) as follows: (1) The definition of Matthew Arnold (1867), British politician and poet (1822 – 1888), equated culture with "intellectual or artistic products". Arnold's narrow definition restricted culture to the art creation, and its exclusive nature implied that only a small portion of a society who were able to create artistic products were privileged to possess culture while the rest (or the majority) were cultureless. (2) As a reaction to Arnold, Edward Tylor (1832 – 1917), English anthropologist and the founder of cultural anthropology, defined culture as a "complex whole" which "includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1870, p. 6). Tylor's definition, more inclusive than Arnold's, only included particular social groups and institutional products. Additionally, his cultural development pattern from savagery through barbarism to civilization reinforced the stereotypes of superior and inferior cultures. (3) Challenging Tylor's cultural view which became a fundamental reference in anthropology, Franz

Boas (1858–1942), German-born American anthropologist and a pioneer of modern anthropology, questioned the superiority of certain (read: Western) cultures and recognized the uniqueness of various cultures of different people. His Cultural Relativism theory indicates that human beings see the world through their own cultural lenses. Therefore, people's sets of beliefs, values, and practices should not be judged through the others' cultural criteria, but be understood based on their own cultural norms. According to Boas (cited in Kuper, 1999), culture is "an integrated system of symbols, ideas and values that should be studied as a working system, an organic whole" (p.56).

Intertwined with people's lives, culture is ubiquitous. This omnipresent phenomenon, as Kluckhohn (1949) argued, consists of the ways we live, think, believe and learn: "the total way of life of a people" (p. 17), "a way of thinking and believing" (p. 23), and a "storehouse of pooled learning" (p. 24). While Kluckhohn's definition simply related culture to living and thinking and learning, Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952), American anthropologists, added more complex interactive concepts, such as "patterns", "symbols" and "products" to the definition of culture:

> "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (p. 181)"

In their attempts to define culture, linguists and communication scholars introduced such jargon as "codes", "symbols", "communication" and "meaning" to the cultural field of study. The linguistic definitions delineate culture as "symbol systems and the information they convey" (Baldwin, et al., 2006, p. 35), insert culture in the contextual theme of "group membership" and define it as a shared understanding of the world, or a shared communication system. Smith (1966) argues culture is a code people learn and share through interactions; therefore, "communication and culture are inseparable" (Smith, 1966, p. 7, cited in Baldwin, et. al 2006). Culture was also defined as "a system-in-motion of signs and symbols" (Boon, 1986, p. 239, cited in Baldwin, et. al 2006) and a "symbolic reference system" (Allan, 1998, p. 4, cited in Baldwin, et. al 2006).

In his Iceberg Theory, Edward Hall (1914 – 2009), anthropologist and cultural researcher, compared culture to an iceberg whose tip, or the small portion, is visible whereas the largest part of the iceberg, submerged in water, cannot be easily seen. The cultural iceberg, similarly, consists of two parts: (1) the evident or external part which can be directly and easily experienced through

five senses, such as food, language, clothes, music, arts, rituals, games and celebrations; (2) the invisible or the external part whose manifestations includes beliefs, values, world view, spirituality, and perceptions (Hall, 1976). The more a person is immersed in a culture, the more they can decipher the implicit elements which affect people's behavior, feelings, thoughts and interactions.

Similar to the definition of Hall is that of Brooks (1960) which breaks the notion of culture into the Big C (Culture) and the little c (culture). The Big C Culture contains art, literature, music, cinema, places, architecture and other artistic productions. Visible and easy to analyze, Culture components are mostly taught in educational systems (Dervin, 2010). The little c culture, however, includes the most invisible features of societies, like beliefs, religions, behaviors, and values. According to Bennette, Bennette & Allen (1999), some interculturalists (such as Cushner & Brislin, 1996 and Bennett, 1998) associate the Big C with "objective" culture and the little c with "subjective" culture. Accordingly, objective culture (Culture) includes cultural creations and institutionalized patterns of everyday behavior (eating, shopping, artifacts and clothing) whose used and meanings are "…relatively easy to pick up, analyze and hypothesize" (Cushner and Brislin, 1996, cited in Bennette, Bennette & Allen, 1999). Subjective (little c) culture, however, consists of invisible and less tangible elements (like world views, cultural values, beliefs, assumption, or style) which are more difficult to observe and evaluate.

6.1.1.1. Culture in foreign language education

Teaching culture in foreign language classrooms has been among the main concerns of second/foreign language teachers and scholars since the second half of the 20th century. As I reviewed the literature, I outlined the main topics of the subject matter as follows: is culture the fifth skill of language learning? Should culture be taught through the factual knowledge or interpretative meaning? And what is the role of intercultural communicative competence in language education?

6.1.1.1.1 Culture as the fifth skill

Culture was not a topic of study or concern in foreign language teaching before the second half of the 20th century. Prior to the 1960s, the culture-free notion of "linguistic competence" by Noam Chomsky (1965) was a predominant term in the field of language acquisition. Linguistic

competence chiefly stresses the grammatical knowledge that a native speaker of a language applies to produce and understand language. This term and its related pedagogies neglected other contextual factors, particularly culture, in language learning.

The notion of culture which was academically brought to light during the 1960s and 1970s, impacted the field of foreign language education as well. The cultural views of eminent scholars, such as Hall (1959), Seelye (1974), Nostrand (1974), and Brooks (1960) provided new insights into the role of culture in language education. Brooks (1960) proposed 64 cultural topics (such as greetings, tobacco and smoking, restaurants and bars, and life in town versus country) to be discussed in language classrooms. His perspective, in fact, reflected a shift from teaching "geography and history as part of language learning to an anthropological approach" in teaching culture (Thanasoulas, 2001). His notion of the Big C Culture and the small c culture contributed to the new definitions which bestowed the merit of culture to all people, not only the elite.

Seelye (1974) emphasized the importance of designing cultural goals and objectives by language teachers; Stern (1983) suggested ways to integrate culture into language curriculum; Crawford-Lange and Lange (1984) showed how the interconnected concepts of language, culture, and communication affect higher levels of language learning; and Allen (1985) suggested that language learners could gain more awareness about other cultures and appreciate them through information, experience, and authenticity. Nostrand's (1974) Emergent Model scheme contained six main categories: value systems and habits of thought, societies' organizations and institutions (families and religions), interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict, sciences and technology (of plants, animals, travel, etc.), individuals and their intra/interpersonal variations (Thanasoulas, 2001). Nostrand provided a "procedural knowledge that would enable students to observe and analyze cultural elements and patterns" (Hadley, 2001, p. 350). Damen (1987) named culture as "the fifth aspect" or the fifth skill in addition to reading, writing, speaking and listening, to be learned in foreign language education. Many scholars, particularly the anthropologists (e.g. Buttjes, 1990; Peters & Boggs, 1986; Poyatos, 1985; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), however, attempted to show the interconnectedness of language and culture: "language and culture are from the start inseparably connected" (Buttjes, 1990, p. 55, cited in Lessard-Clouston, 1997). Similarly, Kramsch (1993) argued that language and culture are too inseparable to be individually categorized:

> "Culture in language learning is not an expendable fifth skill, tacked on, so to speak, to the teaching of speaking, listening, reading, and writing. It is always in the background, right from day one, ready to unsettle the good language learners when

> they expect it least, making evident the limitations of their hard-won communicative competence, challenging their ability to make sense of the world around them" (Kramsch, 1993: 1).

No doubt language and culture are deeply intertwined; yet, as the history of language learning indicates, they can be treated like two separate entities in language classrooms. As I mentioned, before the 1960s, language teaching was dominated by linguistic competence theory whose absolute focus on syntax and language structures did not leave any room for culture to be learned. Proposing culture as the fifth skill to be taught along with speaking, writing, listening and reading emphasizes the importance of bringing culture to language education. In other words, culture and language are inseparable in real life, but can be separated in language classrooms. The fifth skill perspective, I believe, attempts to glue the separated part, making culture and language as inseparable in classrooms as they are in daily life.

6.1.1.1.2 Culture as facts or an interpretative process?

One of the main questions regarding the cultural aspect of language learning is: which culture should be taught in language classrooms? Thanasoulas (2001) categorized two main perspectives which influenced language/culture education. The first approach introduces cultural facts and information of the target society, such as "the customs, habits, and folklore of everyday life", to language learners. The second perspective, built upon a cross-cultural approach, embeds the cultures of learners as well as the host or target culture within an interpretive framework. This approach may enhance the cultural knowledge of learners; yet, as Thanasoulas (2001) argues, learners would interpret their new cultural knowledge based upon their pre-gained cultural information:

> "…it can only furnish learners with cultural knowledge, while leaving them to their own devices to integrate that knowledge with the assumptions, beliefs, and mindsets already obtaining in their society" (Thanasoulas, 2001).

The Culture Triangle Model containing 3Ps (products, practices, perspectives) (Figure 14), however, suggests a new approach in language and culture learning. This approach originates in the definition of culture, provided by National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, (1999). Accordingly, culture "[…] includes the philosophical perspectives, the behavioral practices, and the products – both tangible and intangible – of a society" (p. 47, cited in Dema & Moeller, 2012). Cultural practices are defined as "patterns of behavior accepted by a society",

cultural products are either tangible (such as a sculpture, a painting, etc.) or intangible (political system, a system of education, etc.), and cultural perspectives include "popular beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions held by the members of L2 culture" (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999, cited in Dema & Moeller, 2012). The Culture Triangle Model which displays how perspectives, practices and products are interconnected, help language teachers plan more culturally oriented activities and lesson plans.

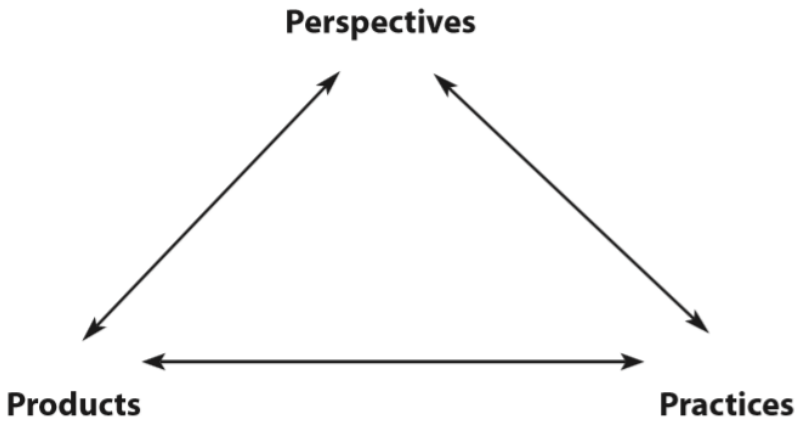

Figure 14. The Culture Triangle proposed by the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999

Among numerous definitions of culture, I found the Culture Triangle Model, or the 3P Model, suitable for the purpose of my dissertation research to build the study's theoretical foundation on and operationalization of its variable, which is culture. While the other definitions highlight some aspects of culture, the 3P Model considers culture as a multi-layer subject to be studied from the most visible layers (cultural products) to its pragmatic aspects (practices) to the deepest intellectual layers (perspectives).

While traditional approaches of cultural teaching only concern with the host culture or the culture(s) of Inner Circle countries, it is necessary to include a wider cultural context where English is used as the language of communication among people from different countries and cultures. Intercultural communicative competence which will be discussed in the next part, provides such thorough understanding of cultural diversities in language education.

6.1.1.2 Intercultural communicative competence

Foreign languages studies was influenced by Sociolinguistics and its emphasis on the situational context in the 1970s (Thanasoulas, 2001) followed by pedagogical shifts to use more cultural contents in language classrooms during the 1990s. Additionally, the Audiolingual Method in language education was replaced by Communicative Approach which enhanced the status of culture in language curriculum.

As a reaction to the monolithic linguistic competence, Dell Hymes coined "communicative competence" in 1966. Accordingly, in addition to learning sets of grammatical rules for communicative purposes, "social knowledge" is also required to learn "when" and "how" to produce an "appropriate" language (Hymes, 1972). In other words, communicative competence includes not only language (as grammar), but also the "appropriate" use of it (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002). Canale and Swain (1980) identified four components of communicative competence: **(**1) grammatical or formal competence reflects the same "Chomskyan concept of linguistic competence" (Alptekin, 2002, p. 57) by dealing with lexical, syntactic, morphological and phonological knowledge; (2) sociolinguistic competence explains "social rules of language use" (Alptekin, 2002, p. 58) or the "appropriate" use of language in a social context where the norms, values, belief and behavior patterns of a culture come into play; (3) discourse competence which inserts language use in a more complex context, includes "the knowledge required to combine forms and meanings to achieve unified spoken or written texts)" (Canale, 2014, p. 13); and (4) strategic competence or the ability to maintain communication despite linguistic limitations. By means of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies, a speaker can "compensate for limitation in one or more of the other areas of communicative competence" (Canale, 2014, p. 13).

Although communicative competence involved sociolinguistic, communicative and textual factors in language education, it was criticized for inheriting the standardized "native speaker" norms, treating English as the language of the Inner Circle countries, and setting the educational goals based on the characteristics of "native speakers" of English in those countries (Alptekin, 2002). In other words, communicative competence failed to reflect English as an international language and, instead, portrayed "a monolithic perception of the native speaker's language and culture, by referring chiefly to mainstream ways of thinking and behaving" (Alptekin, 2002, p. 57). Communicative competence was critically characterized as:

> "…utopian, unrealistic, and constraining in relation to English as an international language (EIL). It is utopian not only because native speakership is a linguistic myth, but also because it portrays a monolithic perception of the native speaker's language and culture, by referring chiefly to mainstream ways of thinking and behaving. It is unrealistic because it fails to reflect the lingua franca status of English. It is constraining in that it circumscribes both teacher and learner autonomy by associating the concept of authenticity with social milieu of the native speaker" (Alptekin, 2002, p. 57).

While communicative competence revolved around the Inner Circle norms, English use was increasingly growing in the Expanding and Outer circle countries as a result of globalization. It became the language for wider communication between culturally diverse speakers of different languages. Globalization, also, challenged the ownership of English and its forms (Block, 2004), and raised critical questions about the countries whose cultures should be presented in English classes. As Kramsch (2009) argued:

> "the goals of traditional language teaching have been found wanting in this new era of globalization. Its main tenets (monolingual native speakers, homogeneous national cultures, pure standard national languages, instrumental goals of education, functional criteria of success) have all become problematic in a world that is increasingly multilingual and multicultural." (p. 190)

The global use of English, in fact, impacted language education (Seidlhofer, 2005; Jenkins, 2007) and necessitated a new communicative approach which would recognize English as a world language, situated English use in both local and international contexts, involved various discourses, including those of native and non-native speakers, and incorporated intercultural knowledge in language pedagogic models (Alptekin, 2002). Therefore, the "intercultural" aspect of language and communication came into play, taking into consideration whatever the mono-cultural communicative competence had overlooked. Incorporating an intercultural approach into second/foreign language pedagogy would enable language practitioners:

> "…to give learners intercultural competence as well as linguistic competence; to prepare them for interaction with people of other cultures; to enable them to understand and accept people from other cultures as individuals with other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviours; and to help them to see that such interaction is an enriching experience." (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002, p. 10)

Intercultural communicative competence has been variously defined by many scholars (e.g. Fantini, 2000, Deardorff, 2006; Salo-Lee, 2006; see Praxmarer, 2013 for more definitions); yet, the definition of Byram (1997) is the most popular one: "intercultural communicative competence

is the ability to interact with people from another country and culture in a foreign language" (p. 70). Accordingly, a person who has developed their intercultural communicative competence would be able to communicate with others in another language while taking into consideration cultural commonalities and differences (López-Rocha, 2016). In this case, both cultural and linguistic competences are inseparably and equally considered in human communications. Intercultural communicative competence attempts to broaden the cultural horizons of interlocutors. Its emphasis is on consciously knowing "self" as well as "other", recognizing interlocutors' similarities and differences, and analyzing how people's values and beliefs may be reflected on their words and behaviors. According to Byram, Gribkova & Starkey (2002), intercultural communicative competence consists of: (1) intercultural attitudes or "curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own" (p. 12); (2) knowledge of social groups and their practices, as well as how to perceive each other; (3) skills of comparison, interpreting and relating, or ability to compare the components of various cultures, interpret them and find their similarities and differences; (4) skills of discovery and interaction, or ability to find new knowledge by appropriate ways of asking people about their beliefs, values and behaviors, and (5) critical cultural awareness, or becoming aware of one's values and how their views influence their perceptions of others and people's values (pp. 11-13).

Various definitions of intercultural communicative competence, despite slight differences, share the same outcome which is "the ability to understand cultures, including your own, and use this understanding to communicate with people from other cultures successfully" (British Council, 2015). Accordingly, an intercultural communicative competence approach in language classrooms would enable learners to not only learn a new language, but also explore their own and other people's lifestyle, values, worldviews, traditions, and social norms; compare them; and analyze how all these features may affect the interactions.

Despite their popularity in educational settings, such definitions of intercultural competence have been criticized for putting the responsibility of an effective communication only on one of the two interlocutors:

> "…it seems like it is up to the user to display the ability to communicate … thus ignoring the role of the interlocutor" (Dervin, 2006, no page number available)

Admittedly, communication as a two-way process requires both sides' attempts to increase its efficiency. Nevertheless, expecting that intercultural approach expands its target population to

cover all interlocutors is pedagogically neither logical nor possible, because in educational settings, only one side of the communication process -students or language learners- is the topic of research and target of teaching.

Dervin (2010) argues that intercultural competence has been abused and mistakenly used in recent years. Similar words and terms such as "cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural sensitivity, multicultural competence, transcultural competence, global competence (…)" (Deardorff 2004: 32 cited in Dervin, 2010) have been interchangeably used to refer to intercultural competence.

6.2 Culture in practice

6.2.1 How to incorporate culture into curricula

As I previously mentioned, cultural considerations in language curriculum have been oriented towards intercultural communicative competence (ICC) in the past decade (López-Rocha, 2016). Several scholars have studied the application of ICC in language classrooms (Byram, 1997; Honna, 2005, 2009; Alptekin, 2002; Kohn, 2013), whereas a critical question still exists:

> "The question that remains, which is indeed our concern, is how can we help students learn about culture and develop intercultural awareness and ICC?" (López-Rocha, 2016, p.106).

Despite numerous definitions of and theoretical approaches to the notion of culture and intercultural competence, teaching culture in language classrooms is still a difficult task for practitioners who confront dilemmas, such as what type of culture (Culture or culture) should be taught, and how to incorporate intercultural competence into language curricula (Kramsch, 2013). Dema & Moeller (2012) believe that delivering only portions of culture or "bits of trivia" in language classrooms seems to be "disconnected" and stereotypical (p. 70). They suggest that language teachers use the 3P cultural framework to investigate culture systematically, contextually and flexibly (Lang, 1999, cited in Dema & Moeller, 2012) and to "tie together the disparate knowledge about products and practices while helping students begin to relate products and practices to perspectives and acquire a deeper understanding of culture overall" (Dema & Moeller, 2012, p. 70).

In addition to applying the 3P Model in language classrooms, Frank (2013) recruits more items to be used for instructional purposes. In his prescriptive article, *Raising Cultural Awareness*

in the English Language Classroom, he proposes that teachers adapt Michael Paige's dimensions of culture learning model (Frank, 2013). According to Paige, Frank explains, culture learning is categorized into five topics: the self as culture (learning about self-culture), elements of culture (the 3Ps model: perspectives, practices, products); intercultural phenomena (acculturation challenges), particular cultures (Hall's theory of high- and low-context cultures), and acquiring strategies for culture learning (practices to become interculturally competent). Frank, however, is more interested in teaching the culture(s) of the English-speaking or the Inner Circle countries, such as the USA, Canada, Britain and Australia. Also, borrowing Hall's theory of high- and low-context cultures, Frank's hierarchy and judgmental categorization relegates cultural diversities to two types: *"Most native English-speaking countries are typically classified as low-context cultures, while many Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latin American cultures are classified as high-context cultures"* (Copeland & Griggs, 1985, p. 5). Culture in Iran, as an example, is so diverse and different from those of other Middle Eastern countries that Frank's region-based overgeneralization is neither true nor applicable in knowing Iran's cultural diversity.

Taking an intercultural approach in language classrooms becomes even more difficult if textbooks are more "authoritative and definitive" than "intercultural and critical" (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002, p. 21). To promote an intercultural dimension within an inflexible curriculum, Byram, Gribkova & Starkey (2002) suggest that teachers "start from the theme and content in the textbook, and then encourage learners to ask further questions and make comparisons" (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002, p. 21). They propose that teachers choose the intercultural and critical content rather than authoritative and definitive materials, if they have a choice. Similarly, Kramsch (1989) argues that teaching intercultural competence through locally developed language textbooks in formal educational systems might be problematic, for three reasons: (1) textbooks in monocultural educational systems do not meet the multicultural objectives of an intercultural approach; (2) the developers of local language textbooks might biasedly select only limited number of cultural groups; and (3) a "complexity may emerge from disjunctions between the focuses of similar groups in different societies" (Liddicoat and Scarino, 2013, p. 85). Textbooks, in fact, invite language learners to look at the world through the cultural lenses of the authors (Paige, et al., 1999) who might have been biased or limited.

To investigate the techniques language teachers use for teaching culture, Moore (1996) reviewed the literature published in the major journals over three decades (the 1970's through the

1990's). Moore identified nine techniques and grouped them into two types: Type A entailed the techniques which focused on only two components of the 3Ps model: products and practices of culture. Type B techniques, however, included people's perspectives in discussing the relationship between their products and practices. Moore emphasized that teachers should have a clear plan with certain outcomes to teach culture. In fact, another issues regarding the incorporation of cultural knowledge into English textbooks is their appropriateness and correctness. Some materials may introduce "constraining or perpetuating stereotypes instead of helping students understand diverging cultural practices" (López-Rocha, 2016, p. 108). Therefore, López-Rocha (2016) suggests that the teaching materials should be evaluated prior to their use in English classes.

6.2.2 New technologies in language/culture education

New technologies have compensated for the limitations of the traditional ways of teaching culture, particularly in formal education systems. They have provided practitioners with creative ways of teaching languages and cultures, and enabled language learners to directly access the languages and cultures of other societies. No longer relying solely on traditional materials, language learners are now able to receive, send, create and exchange linguistic and cultural information independently. Once passive receivers of information, language learners are now turned into active content constructors (Garrett-Rucks, 2014), able to investigate their own and others' cultures while they surf the Internet (Dema & Moeller, 2012). Desktop computers, laptops, smart phones, tablets, games, and other electronic devices are not only communicative devices, but educational assets to efficiently facilitate teaching and learning languages. Technology has, in fact, connected language learners to the most authentic materials through which they can immerse themselves in both language and cultural components of societies directly and autonomously (Lee, 2009, cited in Dema & Moeller, 2012). Additionally, millions of people who are connected to the worldwide network may experience the informal language learning (Kukulska-Hulme, 2010).

Several scholars have studied the use of new technologies in language and culture teaching and learning. In his book, *Brave New Digital Classroom, Technology and Foreign Language Learning,* Blake (2013) investigates the theory and practices of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) and introduces effective ways to use, for example, social networking, games and computer-mediated communication to enhance foreign language skills. Lavy (2009) suggests that language learners, using the Internet, can be exposed to not only foreign languages, but also

various cultures. Language teachers can benefit from various CALL activities listed by Kukulska-Hulme (2010) and Lee (2009). Social media such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, informative and news websites, audiobooks, online movies and podcasts are among may ways to enhance language skills and cultural knowledge (Blake, 2013; Kukulska-Hulme, 2010). Dema & Moeller (2012) discuss how digital movies, foreign language videos, folklores and fairytales, authentic pictures and art, and VoiceThread can be used in language and culture teaching.

Despite the easy access to a seemingly infinite amount of online information, Internet users and language learners might not get actively engaged with the cultural materials (Moore, 2006). Such concern necessitates purposeful use of the Internet content in language classrooms. An integration of traditional materials (like textbooks) and new technologies may enhance learning opportunities in language classrooms. Dema & Moeller (2012) suggest that if the cultural 3P model, as an example, is taught through new technologies, language teachers and students will enjoy more efficient ways to teach and learn languages and cultures.

6.3 Conclusion

A review of the definitions of culture and its scholarly evolution throughout the 19th and 20th centuries reveals that numerous definitions have highlighted certain aspects or features of culture. During the 1960s-70s, culture found its status in second/foreign language studies while various approaches took culture as either factual elements (facts) or an interpretive process of knowing the layers of the host culture. Incorporation of culture in language classrooms, however, raised concerns on separating culture from language, while the two were perceived naturally inseparable. I suggested that marriage between culture and language is, in fact, tangible in real-life experiences, and not necessarily in language classroom. Culture was granted a new aspect by the notion of Communicative Competence whose emphasis is on the appropriate use of language and cultural knowledge in real life situations. Contrary to the traditional emphasis on the host culture, Intercultural Communicative Competence situates culture in a more international context of World Englishes, languages and cultures. The topic of culture and language learning becomes even more complicated when educational materials come into play. While intercultural and critical textbooks are required to increase learners' intercultural knowledge, many English textbooks are reported as authoritative and definitive. Even in the most optimistic condition, English textbooks are not culturally neutral, as they convey their authors' cultural views. Among various definitions of and

approaches to culture in language learning, the multifaceted, umbrella-like 3P Model (Cultural Triangle) is the appropriate definition to operationalize the notion of culture for this study, because it encompasses multi-layered cultural products, practices and perspectives.

In the next chapter, I will introduce the topic of assessing culture and intercultural assessment methods, particularly English textbooks evaluation schemes, their features, applications and drawbacks.

CHAPTER 7. CULTURAL EVALUATION OF ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

7.1 General evaluations

According to Richards (2001), English textbooks should be generally evaluated to ensure that the instructional materials are aligned with pedagogical objectives. To assess English textbooks, schemes or checklists are used. Among the pioneer scholars who designed -more or less similar- checklists for the purpose of English textbooks evaluation are Tucker (1975), Williams (1983), Cunningsworth (1984), Matthews (1985), Sheldon (1988), and McDonough and Shaw (1993). Tucker's evaluation scheme, as an example, provides guidelines to assess English textbooks internally and externally. In the internal criterion, the linguistic features of textbooks, including pronunciation, grammar and content are designed to be quantitively evaluated. In the external criterion, authenticity of language, adequate guidelines for non-native teachers, competence of the author, appropriate level for integration, durability, quality of editing and publishing, and price and value are enlisted to be assessed.

Cunningsworth (1995) designed an evaluation criterion based on the supporting role of coursebooks in responding to the learners' needs and their uses of language. Accordingly, his checklist consists of aims and approaches, design and organization, language content, skills, topics, methodology, teachers' books and practical considerations (cited in Richards, 2001, pp. 258-9). Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998, cited in Richards, 2001, p.259) avoid broad evaluations of English textbooks, and limit their questions to the motivational aspects of textbooks, learning objectives and learning process.

According to Roberts (1996), English textbooks assessment schemes are either (1) quantitative (e.g. arithmetical scoring), such as the checklists of Tucker (1975) and Williams (1983), or (2) qualitative (e.g. descriptive comments), like the schemes of Matthews (1985) and McDonough and Shaw (1993), or (3) both qualitative and quantitative, such as the checklists of Cunningsworth (1984) and Sheldon (1988). Quantitative checklists are short and, as Roberts (1996) describes, provide "heading-type" criteria (p. 384), such as "Completeness of Presentation" in Tucker's checklist. Qualitative schemes, in contrast, consist of detailed questions which may contain over 50 words (Roberts, 1996). Tucker, however, provides a long description or key to interpret each criterion which should be fully read before the evaluation process. In sum,

quantitative checklists, as that of Tucker, contain a short checklist with a long and detailed key, whereas qualitative checklists consist of detailed questions and a shorter key (Roberts, 1996).

According to Roberts (1996), the advantage of quantitative checklists is that their numerical results can be easily calculated and compared among different evaluators. Their disadvantage is its lack of descriptive responses to cover the areas which are not included in the checklists. Qualitative schemes, on the other hand, provide such opportunity for the evaluators to express themselves freely and analyze the parameters which are not foreseen in the checklist. Their disadvantages, however, include imposing the laborious task of writing on evaluators as well as the difficult process of drawing results out of the descriptive answers (Roberts, 1996).

Such evaluation criteria as Tucker's (1975), Cunningsworth's (1995), Dudley-Evans and St. John's (1998) and Richards' (2001) do not -at least explicitly- address the cultural evaluations of textbooks. Richards (2011), in his evaluation inquiries, proposes numerous questions about textbooks, such as: their usability, flexibility, critical orientations and approaches, practical activities, grammar, vocabulary, listening comprehension, speaking, writing, and other topics which mainly target the language per se but not culture.

7.2 Assessing intercultural competence

Assessing English learners' intercultural communicative competence (ICC) has become a trend topic among some of the EFL/ESL assessment scholars. As Dervin (2006) mentions, some scholars have proposed the application of qualitative methods, such as "case studies, interviews, analysis of narrative diaries, self-report instruments observations by others/host culture, judgment by self and others" (Deardoff, 2006, cited in Dervin, 2006), "surveys, evaluation forms (…) reflective diary entries, critical incident reports, individual and group interviews…" (Jackson, 2005, cited in Dervin, 2006), or "autobiography of intercultural experiences" (Byram, 2005, cited in Dervin, 2006) to assess intercultural competence. A qualitative research framework build upon direct observation is proposed by Bennett (1993) to assess language users' intercultural competence through observing them in workshops, classes and educational programs. His developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS), containing six stages, evaluates learners' perspectives on their own and others' cultures. The first three stages of DIMS, including denial, defense and minimization, reflect an "ethnocentric" or "monocultural" view (Garrett-Rucks, 2014), where learners consider their own culture to be superior or better. The second three stages of DMIS,

acceptance, adaptation and integration, are “ethnorelative”, since learners acknowledge (and even practice) other cultures.

Following the DMIS model, which has been used predominantly in SLS/EFL cultural assessments, new evaluation criteria were created, such as the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), which is, however, a quantitative method (Garrett-Rucks, 2014). Additionally, many qualitative assessment methods have been developed based on Byram’s (1997) five-factor ICC model, including attitude, knowledge, skills of interaction/discovery and relating/interpreting and critical awareness (Garrett-Rucks, 2014).

Griffith et al. (2016) have provided a comprehensive research report on the assessment of intercultural competence in higher education. They categorized two predominant ICC assessment forms as surveys and portfolios, and listed 32 survey assessments, ranging from nine items to over 160 items. A portfolio assessment is “a collection of materials either by an individual over time or scores from various assessments or both” (Griffith et al., 2016, p. 7). They report that there is no standard portfolio assessment, and various institutions and studies may apply different portfolios in different contexts. Most ICC assessments Griffith and his colleagues (2016) reviewed, used self-report Likert items. Other assessing methods, such as multiple-choice items, implicit association tests (IATs) and Q-sort methodology, situational judgement test (SJT), and simulation-based measurement, may also be applied to measure intercultural competence.

Despite various ICC assessing methods, their reliability and validity are questioned. Dervin (2006) argues that assessing intercultural competence is impossible, for multiple reasons, including the honesty of learners in their diaries and real experiences, and the issues of “validity, interpretation and objectivity” of interpreting students’ journals (Rubben, 1989, cited in Dervin, 2006). Considering the influence of exterior factors, the issues of reliability and validity are also applicable to the other qualitative methods as observation. According to Dervin (2006), possible discrepancies between learners’ “beliefs” and “acts” may question the reliability of evaluations’ results:

> “I agree with Michael Byram and Carol Morgan (1994, cf. also Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002: 79) who underline the fact that there is a lack of reliability between acts and discourse/discourse and acts: an individual may behave in an "appropriate" manner (though the meaning of this needs further explanation) in a certain situation, though he/she may be disgusted by his/her behavior” (Dervin, 2006, p. 7)

Dervin (2006) borrows Sercu, et al's (2005) definition of intercultural competence as "the willingness to engage with the foreign culture" and raises an inquiry: "how might one prove the authenticity of such enthusiasm in an individual (they might pretend to be "willing")?" (Dervin, 2006, p. 3).

Similarly, Griffith et al. (2016) argue that "little consensus exists regarding the requisite skills and abilities that contribute to ICC" (p. 36). They conclude that current measurements of ICC over rely on self-report methods which "do not cover the entire spectrum of the construct" and do not capture "the affective and behavioral aspects of intercultural interactions" (p. 36).

7.3 Evaluating culture

To outline methodological approaches to cultural evaluations of foreign language textbooks, Weninger and Kiss (2015) reviewed studies in the last two decades which have analyzed textbooks from a cultural viewpoint. They identified three main methods used in cultural assessment of language textbooks: (1) content analysis, (2) critical discourse analysis (CDA), and (3) semiotic analysis.

7.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis, as Weninger and Kiss (2015) argue, is the most prevalent approach which "typically entails the coding of texts or images and subsequent frequency counts of coded units" (p. 40). Borrowing Krippendorff's (2013) definition of content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (p. 24), they explain that "texts as representation" is the key factor to analyze in textbooks' content analysis:

> "Analyses of textbooks as representations argue that since textbooks are institutionally sanctioned artifacts used within formal educational encounters such as school lessons, learners are likely to treat these textbooks as carriers of truth" (p. 40).

In some studies of textbooks analysis, the content or textual and visual data are categorized, coded and counted whereas a number of researchers may apply thematic categories or "a combination of categories and themes" (Weninger and Kiss, 2015). Weninger and Kiss report that many published studies of content analysis in English textbooks fail methodologically because of

the lack of procedure documentation and "an explicit theorization of text, context and inference" (p. 40).

7.3.2 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

The second approach Weninger and Kiss (2015) identified in the studies of textbooks cultural assessment is critical discourse analysis (CDA) which has been popular since the late 1980s. CDA's focus is on a problem which results in "the marginalization of social, cultural groups by others", and attempts to analyze "the role of discourse in creating, maintaining, or potentially changing, unequal and hegemonic power relations" (Weninger and Kiss, 2015, p. 42). CDA methods have no fixed procedure and might be as varied as linguistic details and socio-political issues they study (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, cited in Weninger & Kiss, 2015). Weninger & Kiss indicated the "methodological eclecticism" of CDA reappearing in English textbooks investigations.

7.3.3 Semiotic analysis

Semiotic analysis, as an approach to investigate culture in English textbooks, analyzes both image and text (Weninger and Kiss, 2015). For the first time in second/foreign language studies, Chen (2010a, 2010b) applied semiotic analysis to investigate the multimodal content (texts and illustrations) of English textbooks, whereas Weninger & Kiss (2013) adopted a Peircean semiotics approach in their study, *"Culture in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Textbooks*" (Weninger and Kiss, 2015). Weninger and Kiss reported that only few researchers have applied semiotic analysis in English textbooks evaluation.

7.3.4 Checklists

Checklists are used for the cultural evaluation of English textbooks. The schemes of Sercu (2000) (cited in Gray, 2010), Risager (1991) and Byram (1993) have been frequently used in many evaluative studies.

Using a four-level checklist, Risager (1991) analyzed the cultural development and tendencies of the foreign language textbooks in Scandinavia (focus on Sweden) throughout the second half of the 20th century. She categorized her checklist into four groups: the micro level –

phenomenon of social and cultural anthropology, the macro level – social, political, and historical matters, international and intercultural issues, and point of view and style of the author(s). Risager's comprehensive checklist contains various anthropologic, political, social, historical, international and intercultural aspects. As such it is a suitable tool to evaluate multiple cultural factors in a longitudinal research. This checklist, however, might be too general to serve well in more focused cultural studies.

Another checklist was provided by Sercu (2000) (cited in Gray, 2010) who enlisted six areas to be analyzed in language textbooks, including location (physical features of the textbook), characters (age, gender, interaction), cultural dimensions represented (micro level, macro level, international & intercultural issues), countries represented, intercultural contacts (type, background, situation), didactic approach (point of view of authors, text-types and visuals, task types, students' knowledge and attitude about foreign and domestic cultures), and space.
Secru's checklist is comprehensive; yet, it does not differentiate between the layers of culture or products, practices and perspectives.

Byram is another scholar whose cultural checklist has been widely adapted in the evaluative studies in the past three decades. His scheme includes eight areas of investigation as: social identity and social group, social interaction, belief and behavior (moral, religious beliefs; daily routines), social and political institutions, socialization and the life cycle, national history, national geography, and stereotypes and national identity (Byram, 1993, pp. 5-10). Byram's checklist is focused more on social factors; a suitable checklist to evaluate diversities represented in the textbooks of culturally colorful societies.

Modifying the previous schemes, numerous scholars have built new checklists. As an example, Hillard (2014) proposed a comprehensive scheme for analyzing cultural content in English language textbooks by combining the frameworks of Risager (1991), Sercu (2000), and Gray (2010). Her work includes "an emphasis on culture on multiple levels, a concern for the pedagogical implications of the cultural material, and the analysis of accents and varieties of English in the audio material" (p. 241). Hillard's framework incorporates both quantitative analysis (of pictures, topics, and audio material in Sections I and II) and qualitative analysis (of cultural values, perspective, and pedagogical implications in Sections III and IV). In Hillard's scheme, the topics of general information (containing 24 titles) are varied yet similar (since they are all cultural products) whose individual quantities may not provide meaningful results. Also, in

her checklist, “culture” is an item to be assessed in addition to other factors such as education, workplace, arts, politics, media, history, etc., whereas these elements are all cultural products. Additionally, Hillard’s checklist examines the textbooks’ images only from an “ethnicity” point of view.

The checklists are designed to accelerate finding answers for studies’ questions. While the studied checklists offer their merits, I found them not applicable in this research, particularly for eliciting cultural data out of the Iranian English textbooks. The checklists’ positioning to culture does not look as thorough as what the 3P Model of culture suggests. Also, their operationalizations often include only superficial cultural productions, and do not move towards the deeper layers of cultural perspectives and practices. Therefore, I have designed a new evaluation scheme based on the 3P-Model of culture, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

7.4 Conclusion

English textbooks’ qualitative, quantitative and mixed assessing methods offer their own merits and demerits for language scholars. Some assessment criteria may work perfectly for certain studies whereas they cannot be applicable in other research. Therefore, the most appropriate evaluation method should be thoughtfully selected based on the study’s objectives and questions. Similarly, various assessing tools have been suggested to evaluate language learners’ Intercultural Communicative Competence; yet, their reliability and validity are questioned due to the subjective nature of the responses. Cultural assessment of English textbooks, which is the focus of this study, do not seem to entail the ICC assessment complications, yet they share similar concern regarding the appropriate tool to be used. Various checklists examined in this chapter showed that they were unfit to the objectives of this research. Therefore, I developed a new set of criteria which enabled me to assess cultural representations in the Iranian English materials. This scheme will be elaborated on in the next chapter, along with a review of the existing studies on the Iranian English textbooks, the gaps which necessitate conducting this research, cultural data analysis, findings and final discussions which answer the study’s inquiries.

CHAPTER 8. IRANIAN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS EVALUATIVE ANALYSIS

8.1 Overview

From 1939, when the first sets of English textbooks were locally developed to be used at the Iranian schools, to the present time (2020), teaching English as a foreign language in the formal educational system has developed a history of 81 years. To recollect what I previously elaborated on the formation of four generations of English textbooks, the first series of six textbooks were designed in 1939 by a team of Iranian and English-speaking linguists and material developers adopting the Grammar Translation Method. Twenty-five years later, in 1964, the Graded English Series were designed based on the Situational Language Teaching (SLT) principles. After the 1979 Revolution, however, the series received frequent revisions; the order and sequence of the lessons changed; some lessons were bowdlerized and some were modified to assure that their content was de-Westernized and in accordance with the Islamic regime's political and ideological views. To fully expunge the Pahlavi's educational heritage, Right Path to English were produced in 1982 to mark the third generation of locally developed textbooks. Right Path to English Series maintained their educational status for over three decades, until 2012 when the Prospect and Vision textbooks were formed to introduce the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) method for the first time in the history of English textbooks.

Over the past 81 years, from the first to the latest generation of the Iranian English textbooks, their methods and consequently their content (both texts and images) have changed. On the other hand, the political and social events of the past 100 years have affected the country's educational system, particularly English education policies and textbooks. This assumption that the Iranian English textbooks have consequently been influenced by the political and ideological factors, raises couple of questions: how does the cultural content of English textbooks differ across the four generations? What is the dominant culture in each generation of English textbooks? Do the cultural representations in English textbooks reflect the source of the political and ideological influences at certain times?

Numerous evaluation studies have been carried out, particularly over the past three decades, on the Iranian English textbooks from various linguistic and cultural aspects, but have they (even a few of them) been able to address the aforementioned inquiries?

A review of the existing literature unveils the scope of the studies on the Iranian English textbooks, their viewpoint, questions, and concerns. The literature review will be followed by the methodology of this research, in which I explain the evaluation scheme I designed in the interest of conducting the current research. At the end, the quantitative data on the cultural representations will be presented and discussed.

8.2 Prior Evaluations of Textbooks

In the formal educational systems, as Davison (1975) argues, English textbooks play the second important role after language teachers. Likewise, the most essential instructional resource at the Iranian schools are the locally produced English textbooks. Such significant educational contribution makes the textbooks a hot topic to be examined by the Iranian scholars.

The history of evaluation studies on the Iranian English textbooks is not too old (Jamalvandi, 2014); yet, the existing literature is voluminous. Esmaili and Amerian (2012) claimed that English textbook investigation began in Iran by the comparative study of Amerian in 1987. I, however, could not corroborate this statement due to my geographical distance and limitations in accessing the physical archives inside Iran. Several scholars have evaluated textbooks from various perspectives (Jamalvandi, 2014), but a big portion of such copious reference list is, unfortunately, devoid of authenticity and academic integrity. Many empirical studies streaming from inside the country are plagiarized to the extent that they even share identical sentences and paragraphs. Additionally, many of the existing studies suffer from methodological issues.

Since the current research strives to culturally analyze both texts and images of the Iranian English textbooks, the literature to review in this chapter are likewise divided into two parts: (1) the studies on the texts of the Iranian English textbooks, and (2) the studies on the images of the Iranian English textbooks.

8.2.1 Studies on the textbooks textual content

The evaluations which target the textual content of the Iranian English textbooks entail a wide range of topics. Communicative Language Teaching CLT has constantly been a popular subject to be assessed in the locally developed materials, even before the integration of CLT with the Prospect and Vision (the fourth generation) series. During the pre-Prospect/Vision time,

particularly in the 2000s, several Iranian researchers evaluated the previous series, Right Path to English, from communicative lenses to conclude that those materials failed in preparing the learners for real-life interactions (e.g. Ahour, Towhidiyan & Saeidi, 2014; Azizfar, Koosha & Lotfi, 2010; Dahmardeh, 2009; Razmjoo, 2007; Riazi & Aryashokouh, 2007; Yarmohammadi, 2002). Communicative skills, however, remained a hot topic even after the new textbooks, Prospect and Vision, were designed following the CLT principles. Many scholars, this time, conducted evaluative studies to assess whether the newly developed coursebooks were successful at meeting their primary objective of honing learners' interactive skills (e.g., Razavipour & Rezagah, 2018; Kaffash, Yazdanmehr & Ghanizadeh, 2018; Khansir & Mahammadifard, 2015; Bagheri, et al, 2015; Pourahmad, Naderi & Heidarpoor, 2015).

Other popular topics among the Iranian scholars include English textbooks' merits and demerits (e.g., Riazi & Aryashokouh, 2007; Jahangard, 2008; Abbasian and Hassan Oghli, 2011; Zohrabi, Sabouri & Behroozian, 2012; Ahmadi & Derakhshan, 2014; Sardabi & Koosha, 2015; Saberirad et. al, 2016), students' and/or teachers' perceptions on English textbooks (e.g., Hashemnezhad & Maftoon 2011; Khosroshahi & Farrokhi 2013; Ostovar Namaghi, Moghaddam & Tajzad 2013; Ostovar Namaghi & Davari Torshizi 2015; Beydokhtinezhad, Azarnoosh, & Abdolmanafi - Rokni 2015), analogies between the locally developed and authentic textbooks (e.g., Talebinezhad & Mahmoodzadeh, 2011; Ghorbani, 2011; Gholampour, Bagherzadeh Kasmani & Talebi, 2013; Zohrabi, Sabouri & Kheradmand, 2014), authenticity (e.g., Kiyani, Navidiniya & Momeniyan, 2011; Maleki, Mollaee & Khosravi, 2014; Abdollahi-Guilani, Yasin, and Hua, 2011; Yarmohammadi, 2002), linguistic features such as lexicon (e.g., Riazi and Aryashokouh 2007; Koosha and Akbari, 2010), four skills such as speaking (Mizbani, Salehi and Tabatabaei, 2020; Mizbani and Chalak, 2017; Yarmohammadi, 2002), pronunciation and grammar (Safarnavadeh et al, 2010; Azizfar, Koosha, and Lotfi, 2010), learning objectives (e.g., Riazi and Mosalanejad, 2010), and gender representations (Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Hosseini Fatemi, Pishghadam and Heidarian, 2011; Amini and Birjandi, 2012; Gharbavi and Mousavi, 2012; Esmaili and Amerian, 2012) to name a few.

Several studies, particularly on the Right Path to English and the revised version of Graded English, attest their many weaknesses as not being communicative (Razmjoo, 2007; Azizifar, Koosha, & Lotfi, 2010), teaching vocabulary out of a communicative context (Jahangard 2008; Riazi and Aryashokouh, 2007; Rahimpour & Hashemi 2011; Dahmarde, 2013), targeting grammar

and reading (Riazi and Aryashokouh, 2007; Razmjoo, 2007; Jahangard, 2008; Dahmardeh, 2013), requiring memorization and reciting (Riazi & Aryashokouh, 2007; Riazi & Mosalanejad, 2010) poor integration of four language skills (Dahmardeh 2013; Ahour, Towhidiyan & Saeidi, 2014; Shabani & Safari, 2017) and low-quality illustrations and design (Jahangard, 2008; Shabani & Safari, 2017).

While most of the Iranian evaluation studies focus solely on a textbook or a series of them, the so-called pioneer of the textbook evaluation studies is, interestingly, a comparative one. Applying Tucker's checklist, Amerian (1987) compared the content and methodology of Graded English and Right Path to English, and reported "no considerable differences between the two series". In a similar study, Azizfar, Koosha and Lotfi (2010) found that GE series contained a small number of listening activities, neglected pronunciation and speaking, and prioritized mechanical drills over communicative practices. The RPE series, according to their study, provided adequate drill models and patterns, and contained satisfactory grammatical patterns, yet neglected pronunciation.

Since the thematic range of the textual evaluations exceeds the limited scope of this research, I focalize the cultural content analysis studies. In the past two decades, several researchers have culturally and interculturally evaluated the third and fourth generations of the Iranian English textbooks. Applying a modified version of Ramirez and Halls' (1990) model of textbooks analysis, Aliakbari (2005) examnined whether the high school English textbooks hones learners' intercultural competence. Concentrating on the textual content in English Book 1, 2, 3 and 4, his study indicated that the textbooks were culturally "shallow and superficial" (p. 1), and did not contain intercultural information to broaden the students' worldview and cultural understanding. Although Ramirez and Halls' (1990) model of textbooks analysis originally offers a text-image evaluation, Aliakbari's study did not include the textbooks' images, nor situated the intercultural failure of the textbooks in the political and ideological context of Iran.

In a religious study, Cheng and Beigi (2012) found that Right Path to English 1, 2 and 3 only represented the Islamic Shi'ite religion and did not reflect the Iranian cultural diversity. They, however, discussed that such monocultural representation aligned with the homogenous nature of religious and anti-western policies in the Iranian theocracy of post 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Khajavi and Abbasian (2011) assessed the notions of culture, national identity and globalization in English Book 1, 2 and 3 via Byram's (1993) checklist which revolves around

social identity and interactions as well as national history and steotypes. They found the studied textbooks culturally neutral and missing knowledge about the Iranian (Persian) ancient history, foreign cultures and globalization.

Jamalvandi (2014) solicited the perceptions of 30 English teachers on the suitability of Pre-university English textbook in seven criteria of culture, gender representation, communication, connections, comparisons, communities, and general elements. The results identified cultural deficiency in the textbook.

In spite of the integration of CLT which necessitates intercultural provisions (citations?), the fourth generation of English textbooks, Vision and Prospect, lack intercultural adequacy, based on several studies. Applying Hillard's (2014) framework in an intercultural analysis, Gholami Pasand and Ghasemi (2018) concluded that the three Prospect textbooks of junior high school limitedly incorporated cultural topics and missed the target and international cultural components. Likewise, the English teachers who participated in the study of Taherkhani et.al, (2017) believed that the textbook Prospect 2 was culturally poor, unable of preparing learners for using English in real life situations. According to Abbasian and Biria (2017), the Prospect series deliberately ignored the international and target cultures and made Iranian students familiar solely with their own national culture, because the textbooks' developers expected Iranian learners to import their domestic culture to other countries via English.

In separate studies, Pourshirvani (2017) and Ajideh and Panahi (2016) found Vision 1 not culturally adequate to educate students about other countries. The perceptions of 66 experienced English teachers who participated in Janfeshan's (2018) study, corroborated the previous findings on the cultural deficiency of Vision 1.

As the literature review reveals, most of the cultural content evaluations solely focalize one textbook or, at most, a series of textbooks. In other words, many studies have not longitudinally compared the status of culture across different series of English textbooks in different eras. The study of Dahmardeh, Parsazadeh and Parsazadeh (2017), however, exceptionally provides "*A Diachronic Analysis of the Cultural Aspect of Local English Coursebooks"*. Accordingly, 13 ninth-grade English textbooks of 1939, 1961, 1970, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1987, 1997, 2005, 2010, 2014, 2015, and 2016 were investigated to find "the commonly unnoticed side of culture" in the frequencies of their "perspectives", "names" and "images".

Based on the findings, perspectives could not be found in the textbooks of the Pahlavi era whereas the Post-Revolution textbooks (1981, 1987, 2015 and 2016) reflected perspectives. Accordingly, the textbook of 1939 contained many western statements; the textbook of 1970 had many non-western names; and the names in the 1979 textbook were mainly western. This comprehensive study also indicated that "the target culture" was not represented in the images of the 1961, 1970 and 1987 textbooks, and the images of the 1961, 1970, 1977, 1979 and 1981 textbooks misrepresented the local culture.

Despite the longitudinal approach of Dahmardeh, Parsazadeh and Parsazadeh's (2017) research, which made it positively distinct from the other cultural evaluations, the investigated material was only the nineth grade textbook. Additionally, the researchers chose 13 versions of the nineth grade English textbooks, some of which belonged to the same generation, and therefore, produced repeating data. The researchers seem to have applied the 3P Model of culture as the theoretical foundation of their study; yet, their application does not seem accurate, since they inserted "perspective" (which is a cultural category) besides "names and images" (which are operationalized product).

8.2.2 Studies on the textbooks images

The studies on the illustrations and visuals of Iranian English textbooks are not as prolific as those of the textbooks' textual content. The majority of image evaluations target either the quality of illustrations (e.g., Mahmoudi and Moradi, 2015; Ahmadpour, 2014; Jahangard, 2008), or gender representations (e.g. Baghdadi and Rezaei, 2015; Marefat and Marzban, 2014; Roohani and Zarei, 2013; Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012) and functions of the visuals (e.g., Ansary, 2004; Rohani, Azari & Moafian 2013; Janfeshan, 2018).

Most studies on the esthetical and educational quality of images in the Iranian English materials, particularly the first, second and third generations of English textbooks, have reported similar findings. According to Jahangard (2008), one of the drawbacks of English Book 1, 2, 3 and Pre-University textbooks was their low-quality papers and black and white images. Mahmoudi and Moradi (2015) considered "poor pictures" as one of the seventh grade English textbook demerits. Similarly, Ahmadpour (2014) attributed the educational failure of the high school English textbooks to their poor illustrations.

In a comparative study, Yazdanmehr and Shoghi (2014) investigated the value of the visuals in the Iranian high school English textbooks and their foreign counterparts from an efficiency perspective. They focused on the textbooks typography, visual arts, page layout, cover design and physical makeup and indicated that no attention was paid to the authenticity, size, and motivation factor of the images in the Iranian textbooks, whereas their positioning, clarity and relevance were acceptable.

One of the most comprehensive studies of images in the Iranian English textbooks belongs to Moghtadi (2012) who investigated the visuals' quality and functionality in English Book 1, 2, 3 (high school) and pre-university textbook. Using descriptive statistics, the researcher indicated that around 95.71% of the illustrations in all the four textbooks were drawings whereas 4.29 were photos. She categorized the images as 70.5% "stimulus-response" (which focused on low-level language skills), 29.49% "illustrative" and 0% "student-generated function" pictures. According to Moghtadi, 87.45% of the illustrations were used in the grammar lessons. Additionally, all images had to serve the purpose of "talking about a picture" but the researcher could not find any related activities under each image. Relying on the findings, Moghtadi suggested that "appropriate" images of "real people" and "real environment" should be used in the English textbooks as "sufficient input" for language learners.

The evaluative research on the images in the Prospect and Vision series (the fourth generation) entail both positive and negative results. Sixty six English teachers who participated in Janfeshan's (2018) study believed that the illustrations of Vision 1 were diverse, clear and real, made direct connections to the texts, triggered learners' creativity and made them pay more attention to the textual content of the textbook. Yet, the images and printing quality of Prospect 1, 2 and 3 were evaluated as poor by Kheirabadi and Alavi Moghaddam (2016).

Another theme which has been quested in the images of the Iranian English textbooks is gender. Several studies have reported gender inequality in favor of men in those materials. As Rohani, Azari and Moafian's (2013) and Janfeshan (2018) reported, the pictures of high school English textbooks and Vision 1 portrayed more men in political and social responsibilities compared to women. Also, males were three times more visible in the images of English Book 1, 2, 3, and Pre-university textbook compared to females (Gharbavi and Mousavi, 2012).

In an unprecedented study, Hodkinson, Ghajarieh and Salami (2016) compared the cultural representation of disability in the English textbooks of Iran and England. As part of their

multimodal investigation to analyze both images and texts, they found that people with disabilities were invisible in the images of the Iranian English textbooks. Another study which explored English textbooks images from a cultural view was that of Dahmardeh, Parsazadeh and Parsazadeh (2017). Accordingly, the images in the 1961, 1970 and 1987 textbooks did not contain "the target culture" whereas the illustrations of the 1961, 1970, 1977, 1979 and 1981 textbooks misrepresented the local culture.

8.3 Filling the cultural evaluation gap

As the literature review attests, there is a dearth of comparative, longitudinal cultural evaluations of the Iranian English textbooks which: (1) includes the textbooks of four generations (five series) from 1940s to the present time (2020), (2) investigates and compares the multimodal content (texts and images) of the textbooks across the four generations; (3) focuses on the cultural representations in the textbooks; (4) situates the findings in the political and social context of each era.

I previously discussed that Iran has been undertaking severe social, political and ideological changes in the past 100 years, particularly after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. I discussed how those alterations in both national and international levels have impacted the Iranian education in general and English learning in particular. Therefore, a longitudinal study seems essential to investigate and compare the cultural components of English textbooks with regards to the sociopolitical features of each era. The current study strives to fill the existing gap in the literature of the Iranian English textbook evaluations.

As the goal of this part of dissertation is to examine the status of culture in the four generations (five series) of the Iranian English textbooks in the past 81 years, I first needed to define and operationalize the notion of 'culture'. For this purpose, I borrowed the 3P Model of Culture or Culture Triangle Model (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999) containing 3Ps, products, practices, perspectives. This enabled me to find and compare representations of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultural products, practices and perspectives in the English textbooks, and any changes made to parallel to the socio-political context of the country since the 1940s. Accordingly, the main questions of this research are as follows:

1. What is the status of culture in the Iranian English textbooks of four generations? Or how much of the textbooks' multimodal content, or texts and images, is cultural?
2. How much of the textbooks' multimodal content represent the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures?
3. Which cultural element (products, practices and perspectives) is more highlighted in each series of the Iranian English textbooks?
4. Have the political and ideological factors of each era influenced the cultural content of English textbooks? If yes, how?

To answer questions 1, 2 and 3, the content of 18 textbooks have been quantitatively examined. Based on the designed scheme, the frequency of cultural products, practices and perspectives were calculated in each textbook first, and then in each generation. The same calculations were conducted to assess the countries' cultural presence in each textbook and then, in each series. While the quantitative measures of mean and percentage are used to find answers to inquiries 1 to 3, interpretive content analysis is applied to answer question 4 and discuss the English textbooks' latent content within their social and political contexts.

8.3.1 The Corpus

The corpus of this research consists of 17 Iranian high school English textbooks of four generations, developed and used from 1944 to 2020. High school textbooks were selected because of the length of their readings and passages which provided more room for cultural representations compared to the short lessons and sentences of the middle school English textbooks. Even though the Iranian English textbooks are historically categorized into four generations, I have chosen 5 series to study, because the original Graded English textbooks were frequently revised after the Islamic Revolution and their manipulated content was worth being culturally examined. The investigated textbooks are as follows:

A. First Series, Late 1930s and 1940s (The first generation):

1. A Course in English, Book Four, for Secondary Schools (Fourth Year), By: Arthur C. Boyce, Ali Pasha Saleh, Abdollah Faryar: [for] Vezārat-e Farhang, 1941 (1320), The Ministry of Education, Imp. Bank Melli Iran, Tehran.

2. A Course in English, Book Five, for Secondary Schools (Fifth Year), By: Arthur C. Boyce, Ali Pasha Saleh, Abdollah Faryar: [for] Vezārat-e Farhang, 1942 (1320), The Ministry of Education, Imp. Bank Melli Iran, Tehran.
3. A Course in English, Book Six, for Secondary Schools (Sixth Year), By: Arthur C. Boyce, Ali Pasha Saleh, Abdollah Faryar: [for] Vezārat-e Farhang, 1944 (1323), The Ministry of Education, Imp. Pharos, Tehran.

B. Second Series, the 1970s (The second generation: Graded English Series for high school)

1. Graded English 4, High School, First Year, By: Parivash Manoochehri, Ala'edin Pasargadi, Jeris Strain, 1976 (1355)
2. Graded English 5, High School, Second Year, By Parivash Manoochehri, Jeris Strain, 1973 (1352)
3. Graded English 6, High School, Third Year, By Parivash Manoochehri, Jeris Strain, 1976 (1355)
4. Graded English 7, High School, Fourth Year, By Parivash Manoochehri, Jeris Strain, 1976 (1355)

C. Third Series, the 1980s (Modified version of the Graded English generation)

1. English, First Year of High School, (No author), Revised by "Brother" Ahmad Aali (the expert of the English language in the Textbooks Development, Planning and Research), 1987 (1366)
2. English, Second Year of High School, (No author), 1989 (1368)
3. English, Third Year of High School, (No author), 1989 (1368)
4. English, Fourth Year of High School, (No author), 1989 (1368)

D. Fourth Series, the 2000s- early 2010s (Third Generation: Right Path to English Series for high school)

1. English Book 1, High School, 1st Grade. Developers: Parviz Birjandi, Abolghasem Soheili, Mehdi Nowrouzi, and Gholam-Hossein Mahmoudi, 2013/1392
2. English Book 2, High School, 2nd Grade. Developers: Parviz Birjandi (PhD), Mehdi Nowrouzi (PhD) and Gholam-Hossein Mahmoudi, 2013/1392
3. English Book 3, High School, 3rd Grade. Developers: Parviz Birjandi (PhD), Mehdi Nowrouzi (PhD) and Gholam-Hossein Mahmoudi, 2013/1392

E. Fifth Series, the 2010s (Fourth generation: Vision textbooks for high school)

1. Vision 1, English for Schools, Student Book, 10th Grade. Developers: Seyyed Behnam Alavi Moghaddam, Reza Kheirabadi, Mehrak Rahimi, Hossein Davari, 3rd Edition, 2018/1397
2. Vision 2, English for Schools, Student Book, 11th Grade. Developers: Seyyed Behnam Alavi Moghaddam, Reza Kheirabadi, Mehrak Rahimi, Hossein Davari, 2nd Edition, 2018/1397
3. Vision 3, English for Schools, Student Book, 12th Grade. Developers: Seyyed Behnam Alavi Moghaddam, Reza Kheirabadi, Mehrak Rahimi, Hossein Davari, 2nd Edition, 2018/1397

8.3.2 Units and sections of analysis

The units of content analysis in this research is 'sentence' in shorter passages, and 'paragraph' in long readings. Recurring cultural elements in a lesson or in a short passage have been calculated only once (for example, the frequency of "Reza" is calculated onetime even if this name is repeatedly used in a section). Depending on the structure of each series of textbooks, different parts of them were analyzed. The sections of investigation are follows:

A. First Series, Late 1930s and 1940s (The first generation): Main lessons or Readings.

B. Second Series, the 1970s (The second generation: Graded English Series for high school): Dialogue, Reading, Readings in the tests.

C. Third Series, the 1980s (Modified version of the Graded English generation): Dialogue, Reading, Readings in the tests, Review, and Enjoy it.

D. Fourth Series, the 2000s- early 2010s (Third Generation: Right Path to English Series for high school): New Words, Reading, Language Functions.

E. Fifth Series, the 2010s (Fourth generation: Vision textbooks for high school): Conversation, New Words, Reading, and the reading parts of Grammar, and Listening and Writing.

8.3.3 The Evaluation Scheme

As I mentioned in the previous part, the existing textbook evaluative schemes could not fully serve the objectives of this research. Therefore, I designed a new scheme based on the 3-P Model of culture (Figure 15). Accordingly, culture, as the main variable of this research, has been operationalized into three elements: products, practices and perspectives. The frequency of each element is calculated and sum up for the Iranian and non-Iranian (various countries) cultures. Based on my proposed scheme, cultural evaluation model can be designed as Figure 16 illustrates. It is noteworthy that this scheme is applicable to the cultural analysis of English textbooks for any countries.

<table>
<tr><td>Non-Cultural Topics
1.
2.
3.
4.
..
..
..</td><td colspan="6">Cultural Topics
<table>
<tr><th>IR Products</th><th>IR Practices</th><th>IR Perspectives</th><th>Non-IR Products</th><th>Non-IR Practices</th><th>Non-IR Perspectives</th></tr>
<tr><td>1.
2.
3.
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..</td><td>1.
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..</td><td>1.
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..</td><td>1.
2.
3.
4.
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..</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total:
n=
%</td><td>Total:
n=
%</td><td>Total:
n=
%</td><td>Total:
n=
%</td><td>Total:
n=
%</td><td>Total:
n=
%</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Total # of non-cultural Topics:
n=
%</td><td colspan="6">Total # of Iranian Cultures:
n=
%

Iranian Cultures:
Ancient Persia: n=
Pahlavi: n=
Islamic/Ideological: n=
Ordinary: n=

Total # of Non-Iranian Cultures:
n=
%

Global:
n=
%

Countries:
USA: n=
UK: n=
Europe: n=
Africa: n=
Asia: n=
Other: n=

<table>
<tr><td>Total # of Products:
n=
%</td><td>Total # of Practices:
n=
%</td><td>Total # of Perspectives:
n=
%</td></tr>
</table>
Total # of Cultural Topics:
n=
%</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 15. The author's proposed scheme for assessing culture in the Iranian English textbooks

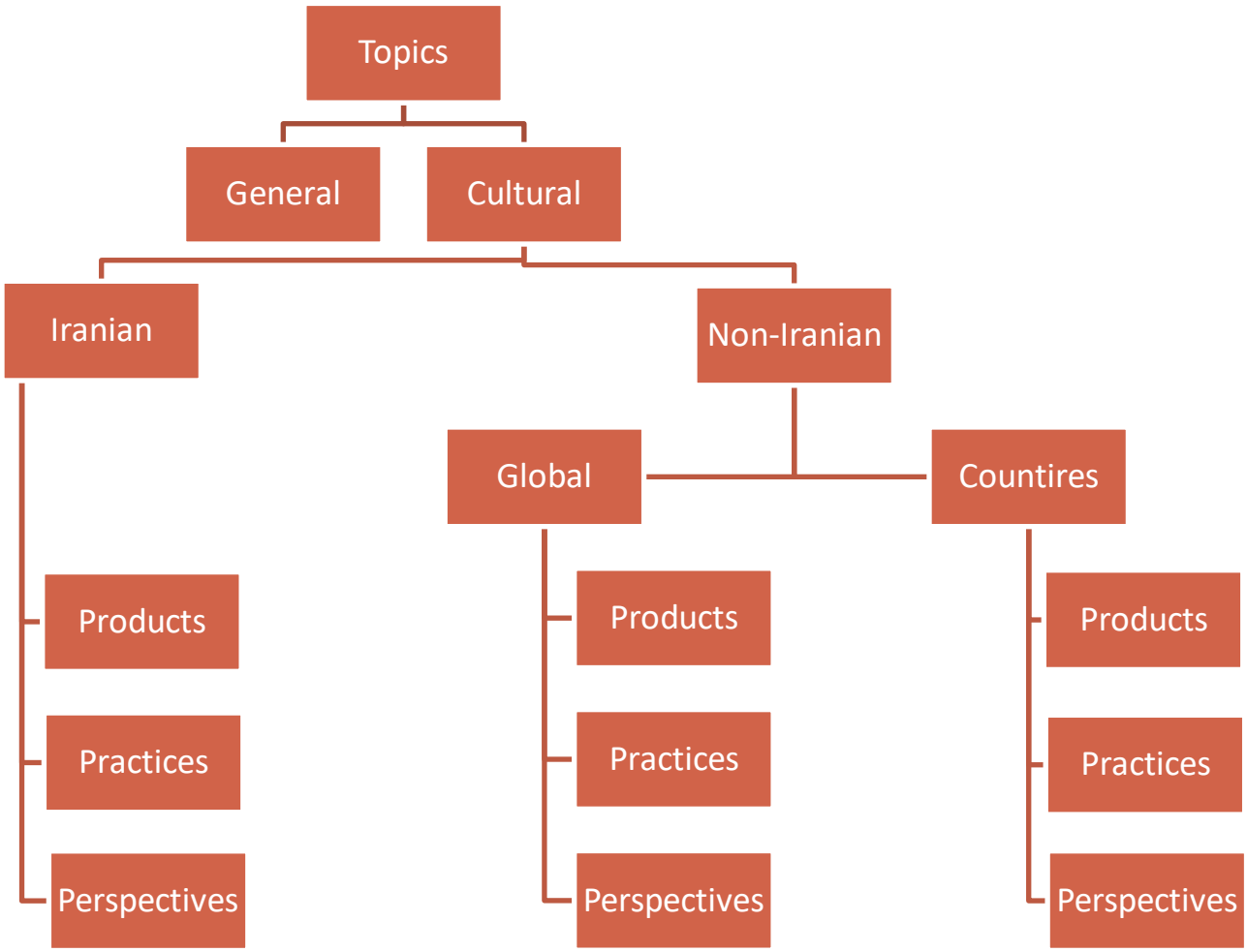


Figure 16. Iranian English Textbook evaluation model, proposed by the author

The definitions of the scheme components are as follows:

Topics: the total number of the cultural and non-cultural topics or subjects.

General topics: the topics/subjects which do not make a direct reference to a country or culture.

Cultural topics: the topics/subjects which make a direct reference to a country or global culture.

Iranian Cultural Topics: the topics/subjects that make a direct reference to the Iranian cultures, including Ancient Persia; Pahlavi monarchy and modernism; Islamic, Ideological, Revolutionary culture; and ordinary Iranian culture which does not reflect any political party or regime.

Non-Iranian cultures, including:

Global Cultural Topics: the topics/subjects that make a direct reference to the global culture (without any attributions to a certain country).

Countries' Cultural Topics: the topics/subjects that make a direct reference to a country's culture.

Products: such as names, places, literature, artwork, dress, language, educational systems, sports, music and musical instruments, dance, archeology, and history.

Practices: such as gestures and non-verbal interactions; traditions related to holiday; celebrations; socially appropriate behavior for weddings, funerals, dating, interviewing, parties etc.; table manners; the use of space (norms of respect in social interactions); the use of forms of discourse (formal and informal forms of address); forms of communication; playing behaviors.

Perspectives: such as ethics/morals; views about family; views about peace; values of love, help and friendship; humanitarian views; values attached to diversity of languages and cultures; value associated with personal privacy; importance of individual freedom; independence; valuing of sports/entertainment over education or vice versa; belief that humans are part of the natural world and must respect and care for it; minorities' rights.

A sample of data coding and counting is provided in the next page.

8.3.3.1 Sample of data coding and counting

Lesson 2 (from Graded English 5, 1973)

(Homa is Iranian. Jane and the English teacher are both American)

AN INFORMAL DINNER PARTY

Jane: What's the matter, Homa?

Homa: Oh, nothing. I'm all right, I guess.

Jane: Did something happen last night? You were invited to your English teacher's house for dinner, weren't you?

Homa: Yes, but it wasn't a very pleasant evening for me.

Jane: I'm sorry to hear that! Was this the first time that you were invited to your teacher's home?

Homa: Yes, it was. In fact. it was the first time that I was in a foreigner's house.

Jane: Then, some of the customs probably seemed very different.

Homa: They did seem different! In, fact, some seemed to be just the opposite.

Jane: I know what you mean, but they are well worth learning. I was uncomfortable the first time I went to an Iranian dinner party, but later one of my friends kindly explained a few of the Iranian customs to me. I think customs and behavior must be learned together with a language. Customs are neither right nor wrong by themselves; they are a part of the life of each country, just as a language is.

<table>
<tr><td>Non-Cultural Topics</td><td colspan="6">Cultural Topics</td></tr>
<tr><td>0</td><td>IR Products
1.Homa

Total:
n=1
%</td><td>IR Practices
1.Appropriate behavior in an Iranian party

Total:
n=1
%</td><td>IR Perspectives
0

Total:
n=0
%</td><td>Non-IR Products
1. Jane (USA)
2. The English teacher (USA)

Total:
n=2
%</td><td>Non-IR Practices
1. Appropriate behavior in an American party (USA)

Total:
n=1
%</td><td>Non-IR Perspectives
1. Explain customs to understand them (USA)
2. Learn customs and behaviors with a language (USA)
3. Customs are neither right nor wrong by themselves (USA)

Total:
n=3
%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total # of non-cultural Topics:
n=0
0%</td><td colspan="6">Total # of Iranian Cultures:
n=2
25%

Iranian Cultures:
Ancient Persia: n=0
Pahlavi: n=0
Islamic/Ideological: n=0
Ordinary: n= 2, 25%

Total # of Non-Iranian Cultures:
n=6
75%

Global:
n=0
0%

Countries:
USA: n=6, 75%
UK: n=
Europe: n=
Africa: n=
Asia: n=
Other: n=

Total # of Products:
n=3
37.5%

Total # of Practices:
n=2
25%

Total # of Perspectives:
n=3
37.5%

Total # of Cultural Topics:
n=8
100%</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 17. Sample of cultural evaluation scheme

Based on the scheme (Figure 17), 8 (100%) topics are identified in the excerpt, all of which are cultural (n=8, 100%). Out of all cultural topics, 75% (n=6) represent the American culture whereas 25% (n=2) is attributed to the Iranian culture. Also, perspectives and practices are equally highlighted (n=3, 37.5% for each) whereas cultural practices are represented in 25% (n=2) of the excerpt. In sum:

Total number of the topics: n=8 (100%)
Non-cultural (general) topics: 0
Cultural topics: n=8 (100%)
Products: n=3 (37.5%)
Practices: n=2 (25%)
Perspectives: n=3 (37.5%)
Iranian Cultural presentation: n=2 (25%)
Non-Iranian cultural presentation:
Global: 0
Countries: n=6 (75%) (The American culture: n=6 or 75%)

The next part presents the findings of cultural analysis in the Iranian English textbooks across four generations (five series) from 1929 to the present time (2020). Following Chen's (2010) multimodal analysis, data on each textbook series is provided in two parts; their textual content and their images. Regarding the study's three questions, the results correspond to the percentage of each series cultural content; distribution of the Iranian cultures, including ancient Persian, Pahlavi monarchy, Islamic/Ideologic, and ordinary cultural references; distribution of non-Iranian cultures, including global, American, British, European, Asian, African, and other cultures. The findings also assess distribution of cultural products, practices and perspectives in each series' texts and images.

8.4 Cultural Analysis of the Texts and Images

8.4.1 Group 1: First Generation (1940s)

Text: Out of 547 (100%) topics within the contextual content of three high school English textbooks of the first generation, *A Course in English Book 4 (1941), A Course in English Book 5 (1942) and A Course in English Book 6 (1944)*, 19% (n=102) are non-cultural, that is, they do not refer to any specific culture, whereas 81% (n=445) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 14% (n=75) of the topics directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 67% (n=370) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 75% (n=56) of the Iranian cultural texts represent ancient

Persia, 8% (n=6) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 17% (n=13) represent Pahlavi monarchy, and 0% contains Islamic beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural topics (81%, n=445) is, respectively, 31% (n=171) for products, 3% (n=19) for practices and 47% (n=255) for perspectives (Figure 18).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
Book 4	213	45	168
Book 5	184	47	137
Book 6	150	10	140
Total	**547**	**102 19%**	**445 81%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
61	6	101
55	13	69
55	0	85
171 31%	**19 3%**	**255 47%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
Book 4	36	132
Book 5	25	112
Book 6	14	126
Total	**75 14%**	**370 67%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
Book 4	22	6	8	0
Book 5	20	0	5	0
Book 6	14	0	0	0
Total	**56 75%**	**6 8%**	**13 17%**	**0 0%**

Figure 18. Cultural distribution in the texts of the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural topics (67%, n=370) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the textual content of three high school English textbooks of the first generation, is as follows:

UK: 34% (n=189)
USA: 16% (n=87)
Europe: 9% (n=47) including the following countries:
- France: 3.5% (n=18)
- Germany: 2.3% (n=13)
- Scandinavian: 2 % (n=11)
- Poland: 1% (n=4)
- Italy: 0.2% (n=1)

Ancient World: 5% (n=29)
- Greece: 3% (n=19)
- Ancient Rome: 2% (n=10)

Global (the cultural topics which are common between some countries or do not provide an attribution to a certain country): 2.1% (n=12)
Asia: 0.9% (n=6)
- China: 0.3% (n=2)
- India: 0.3% (n=2)
- Tibet/Nepal: 0.3% (n=2)

Figure 19 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the texts of the Iranian high school English textbooks of the first generation (1940s).

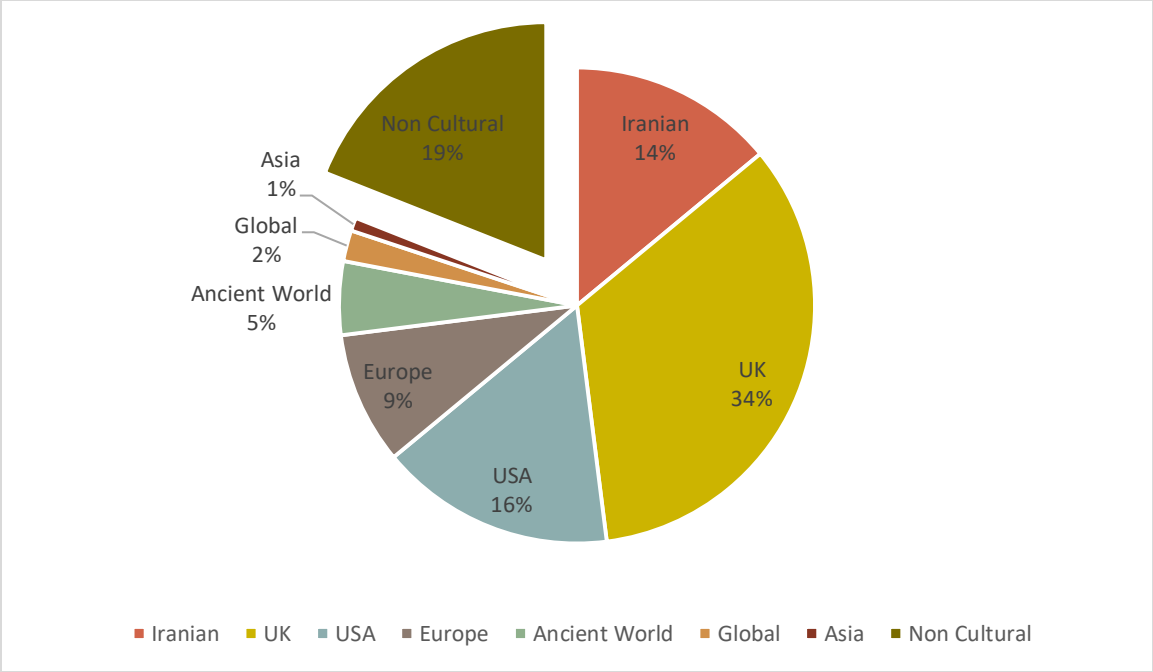


Figure 19. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks (1940s)

Images: Out of 121 (100%) pictures in three high school English textbooks of the first generation, including A Course in English Book 4 (1941), A Course in English Book 5 (1942) and A Course in English Book 6 (1944), 29% (n=35) images are non-cultural, whereas 71% (n=86) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 11% (n=13) of the images directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 60% (n=73) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 54% (n=7) of the Iranian cultural images represent ancient Persia whereas 46% (n=6) reflect Iranian ordinary culture. No images reflect Pahlavi and Islamic ideologies. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural images (71%, n=86) is, respectively, 52% (n=63) for products, 0 for practices and 19% (n=23) for perspectives (Figure 20).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
Book 4	78	29	49
Book 5	22	6	16
Book 6	21	0	21
Total	**121 100%**	**35 29%**	**86 71%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
28	0	21
15	0	1
20	0	1
63 52%	**0**	**23 19%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
Book 4	5	44
Book 5	7	9
Book 6	1	20
Total	**13 11%**	**73 60%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
Book 4	1	4	0	0
Book 5	5	2	0	0
Book 6	1	0	0	0
Total	**7 54%**	**6 46%**	**0**	**0**

Figure 20. Cultural distribution in the images of the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural images (60%, n=73) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the pictures of three high school English textbooks of the first generation is as follows:

Global: 26.5% (n=32)
UK: 16.5% (n=20)
USA: 13% (n=16)
Europe: 3.5% (n=4) including the following countries:
    France: 2% (n=2)
    Germany: 0.7% (n=1)
    Poland: 0.7% (n=1)
Ancient World: 0.5% (n=1)
    Greece: 0.5% (n=1)

Figure 21 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the images of the Iranian high school English textbooks of the first generation (1940s).

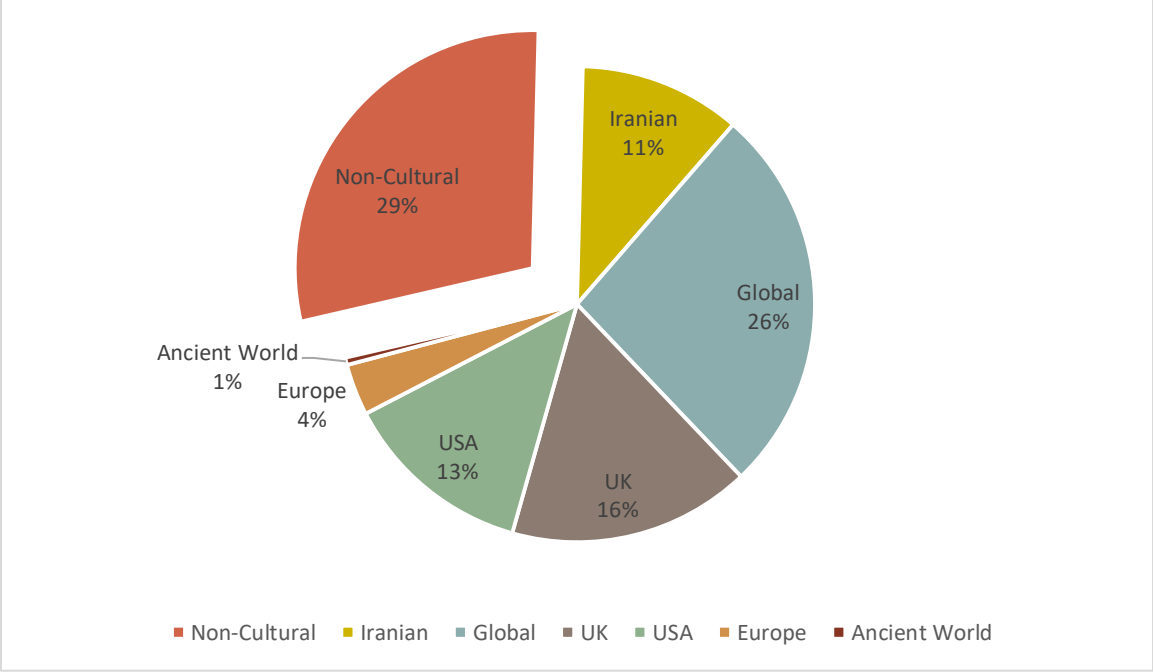


Figure 21. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the images of the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks (1940s)

8.4.2 Group 2: Second Generation (1970s)

Texts: In the textual content of four high school English textbooks of the second generation, third year Graded English 3 (1977), fourth year Graded English 4 (1971), fifth year Graded English 5 (1972) and sixth year Graded English 6 (1977), out of 563 (100%) topics, 9% (n=49) are non-cultural, whereas 91% (n=514) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 32% (n=180) of the topics directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 59% (n=334) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 21% (n=38) of the Iranian cultural texts represent ancient Persia, 16% (n=29) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 55% (n=99) represent Pahlavi monarchy and ideology, and 8% (n=14) represent Islamic beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural topics (91%, n=514) is, respectively, 58% (n=327) for products, 7% (n=40) for practices and 26% (n=147) for perspectives (Figure 22).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
GE 4	151	19	132
GE 5	151	9	142
GE 6	211	12	199
GE 7	50	9	41
Total	**563**	**49 9%**	**514 91%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
91	4	37
92	16	34
128	19	52
16	1	24
327 58%	**40 7%**	**147 26%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
GE 4	32	100
GE 5	44	98
GE 6	92	107
GE 7	12	29
Total	**180 32%**	**334 59%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
GE 4	0	4	24	4
GE 5	0	8	28	8
GE 6	38	17	35	2
GE 7	0	0	12	0
Total	**38 21%**	**29 16%**	**99 55%**	**14 8%**

Figure 22. Cultural distribution in the texts of the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks (1970s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural topics (59%, n=334) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the textual content of four high school English textbooks of the second generation, is as follows:

USA: 26% (n=146)
Global: 12% (n=69)
Europe: 7.6% (n=43)
- Italy: 3.5% (n=20)
- France: 1.5% (n=9)
- Germany: 1.3% (n=7)
- Others: 1.3% (n=7)

UK: 6.7% (n=38)
Ancient world: 4% (n=22)
- Greece: 3.5% (n=20)
- Rome: .5% (n=2)

Asia: 1.5% (n=9)
- Japan: 1% (n=6)
- China: 0.3% (n=2)
- India: 0.2% (n=1)

Africa: 1% (n=6)
Soviet Union: 0.2% (n=1)

Figure 23 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the texts of the Iranian high school English Textbooks of the second generation (1970s).

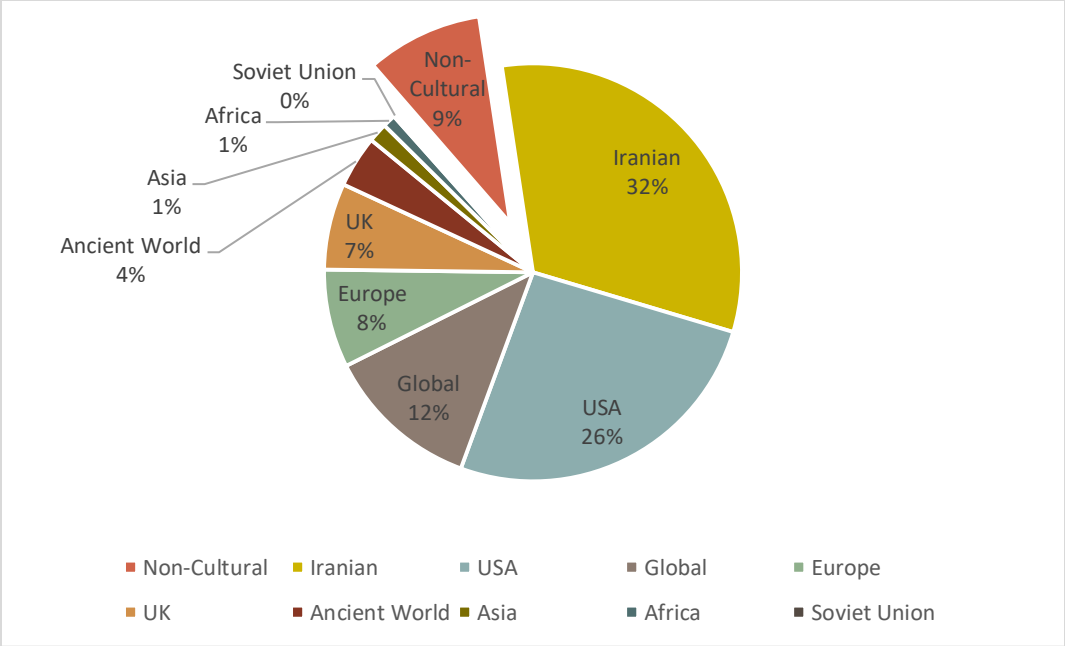


Figure 23. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks (1970s)

Images: In the illustrations of four high school English textbooks of the second generation, third year Graded English 3 (1977), fourth year Graded English 4 (1971), fifth year Graded English 5 (1972) and sixth year Graded English 6 (1977), out of 253 (100%) images, 36% (n=92) are non-cultural, whereas 64% (n=161) pictures provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 12% (n=29) of the images directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 52% (n=132) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 21% (n=6) of the Iranian cultural images represent ancient Persia, 27% (n=8) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 45% (n=13) represent Pahlavi monarchy and ideology, and 7% (n=2) contain Islamic beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural pictures (64%, n=161) is, respectively, 48% (n=121) for products, 1% (n=2) for practices and 15% (n=38) for perspectives (figure 24).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
GE 4	91	22	69
GE 5	68	12	56
GE 6	66	36	30
GE 7	28	22	6
Total	**253**	**92 36%**	**161 64%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
62	0	7
35	0	21
21	2	7
3	0	3
121 48%	**2 1%**	**38 15%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
GE 4	6	63
GE 5	8	48
GE 6	12	18
GE 7	3	3
Total	**29 12%**	**132 52%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
GE 4	0	1	5	0
GE 5	0	0	6	2
GE 6	6	4	2	0
GE 7	0	0	3	0
Total	**6 21%**	**8 27%**	**13 45%**	**2 7%**

Figure 24. Cultural distribution in the images of the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks (1970s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural images (52%, n=132) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the images of four high school English textbooks of the second generation, is as follows:

Global: 30% (n=75)
USA: 13% (n=32)
UK: 4% (n=11)
Europe: 3% (n=8)
    Italy: 2% (n=6)
    France: 0.5% (n=1)
    Germany: 0.5% (n=1)
Asia: 1% (n=3)
    Japan: 0.5% (n=2)
    India: 0.5% (n=1)
Ancient world: 0.5% (n=2)
    Greece: 0.5% (n=2)
Africa: 0.5% (n=1)

Figure 25 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the images of the Iranian high school English textbooks of the second generation (1970s).

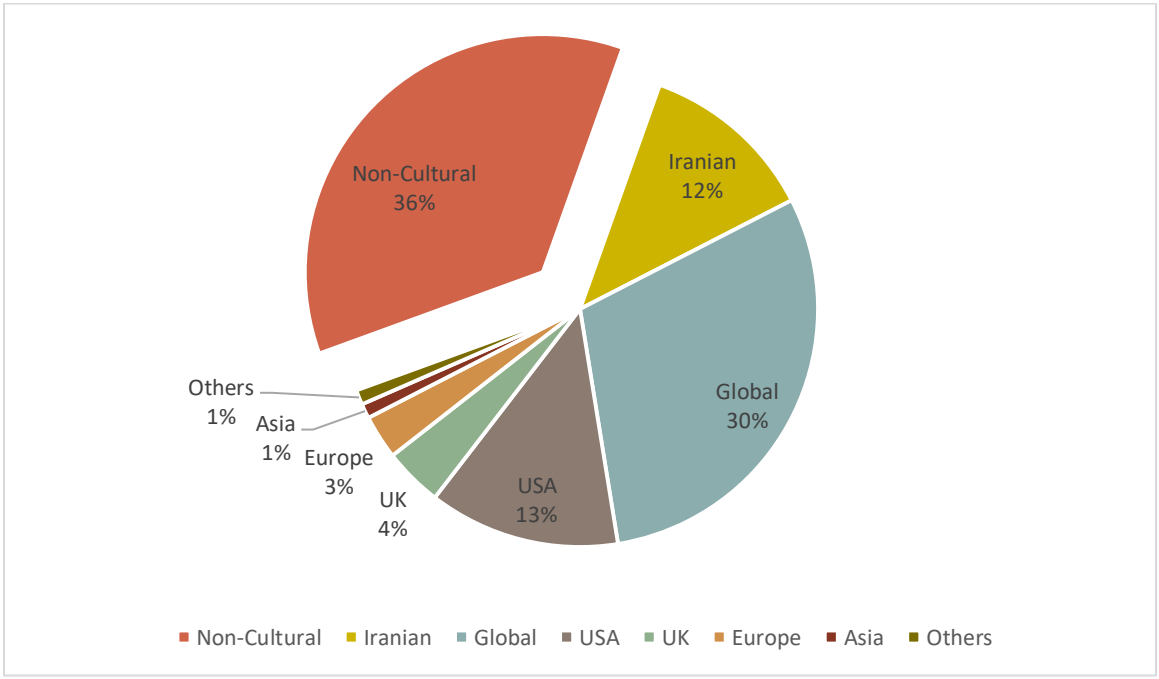


Figure 25. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the images of the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks

8.4.3 Group 3: Revised Graded English (1980s)

Texts: In the textual content of the modified version of Graded English textbooks for high school, including first year English (1987), second year English (1989), third year English (1989) and fourth year English (1989), out of 423 (100%) topics, 32% (n=133) are non-cultural, whereas 68% (n=290) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 31% (n=134) of the topics directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 37% (n=156) contain non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 7% (n=10) of the Iranian cultural texts represent ancient Persia, 38% (n=51) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 0% shows Pahlavi monarchy, and 55% (n=73) represent Islamic/Ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural texts (68%, n=290) is, respectively, 43% (n=183) for products, 2% (n=8) for practices and 23% (n=99) for perspectives (Figure 26).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
English 1	89	14	75
English 2	64	6	58
English 3	170	67	103
English 4	100	46	54
Total	**423 100%**	**133 32%**	**290 68%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
34	1	40
44	3	11
64	3	36
41	1	12
183 43%	**8 2%**	**99 23%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
English 1	53	22
English 2	24	34
English 3	57	46
English 4	0	54
Total	**134 31%**	**156 37%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
English 1	0	21	0	32
English 2	0	6	0	18
English 3	10	24	0	23
English 4	0	0	0	0
Total	**10 7%**	**51 38%**	**0**	**73 55%**

Figure 26. Cultural distribution in the texts of the modified version of Graded English (1980s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural topics (37%, n=156) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the textual content of four high school English textbooks of 1980s, is as follows:

Global: 12% (n=50)
UK: 7.4% (n=31)
Europe: 5% (n=22)
    Italy: 3% (n=13)
    France: 0.6% (n=3)
    Germany: 0.4% (n=2)
    Others: 0.9% (n=4)
Ancient World: 4% (n=18)
    Greece: 3% (n=13)
    Latin: 0.4% (n=2)
    Turkey: 0.4% (n=2)
    Egypt: 0.2% (n=1)
Africa: 3% (n=12)
Asia: 3% (n=12)
    India: 1.4% (n=6)
    Japan: 0.7% (n=3)
    China: 0.4% (n=2)
    Asia: 0.2% (n=1)
USA: 2% (n=8)
Other: 0.6% (n=3)
    Arabian: 0.4% (n=2)
    Australia: 0.2% (n=1)

Figure 27 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the texts of the modified version of Graded English (1980s).

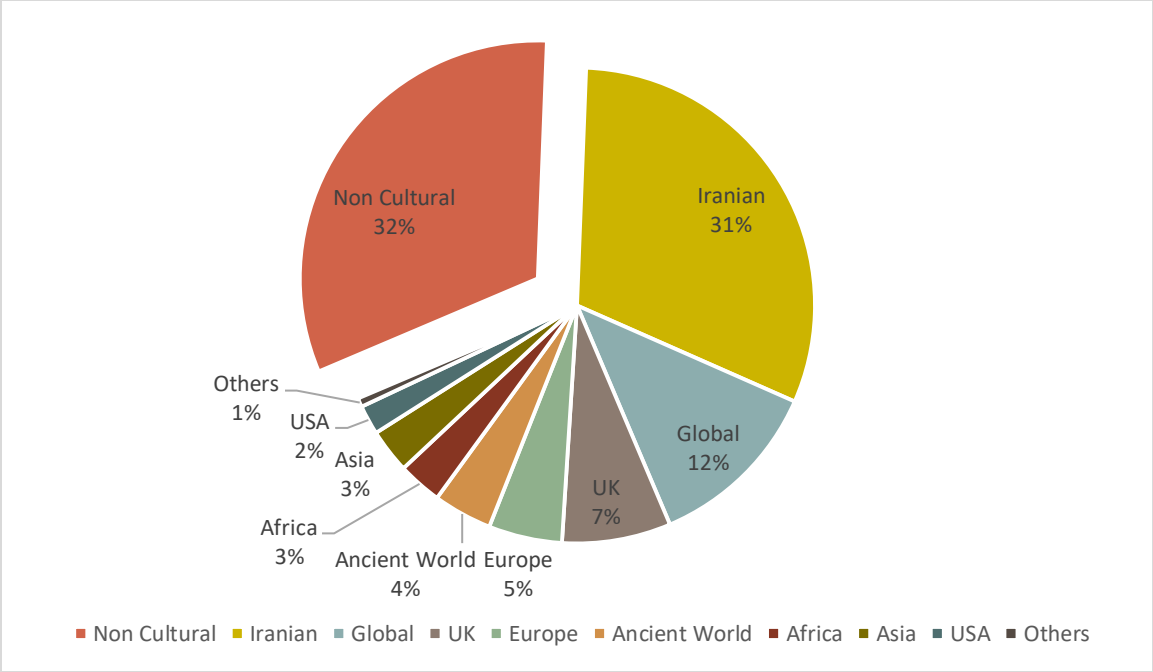


Figure 27. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of the modified version of the Graded English series (1980s)

Images: In the images of the modified versions of Graded English textbooks for high school, including first year English (1987), second year English (1989), third year English (1989) and fourth year English (1989), out of 119 (100%) images, 68% (n=81) are non-cultural, whereas 32% (n=38) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 27% (n=32) of the images directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 5% (n=6) pictures provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 9% (n=3) of the Iranian cultural images represent ancient Persia, 38% (n=12) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 0% represents Pahlavi monarchy, and 53% (n=17) contain Islamic/ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural images (32%, n=38) is, respectively, 18.5% (n=22) for products, 0 for practices and 13.5% (n=16) for perspectives (Figure 28).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
English 1	37	29	8
English 2	40	24	16
English 3	23	14	9
English 4	19	14	5
Total	**119**	**81 68%**	**38 32%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
4	0	4
9	0	7
6	0	3
3	0	2
22 18.5%	**0**	**16 13.5%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
English 1	7	1
English 2	14	2
English 3	9	0
English 4	2	3
Total	**32 27%**	**6 5%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
English 1	0	2	0	5
English 2	0	7	0	7
English 3	3	3	0	3
English 4	0	0	0	2
Total	**3 9%**	**12 38%**	**0**	**17 53%**

Figure 28. Cultural distribution in the images of the modified version of Graded English (1980s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural images (5%, n=6) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the images of four high school English textbooks of 1980s, is as follows:

Europe: 1.8% (n=2)
    Italy: 0.8% (n=1)
    Germany: 0.8% (n=1)
Ancient World: 0.8% (n=1)
    Greece: 0.8% (n=1)
Africa: 0.8% (n=1)
Mexico: 0.8% (n=1)
Asia: 0.8% (n=1)
    Japan: 0.8% (n=1)

Figure 29 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the images of the modified version of Graded English (1980s).

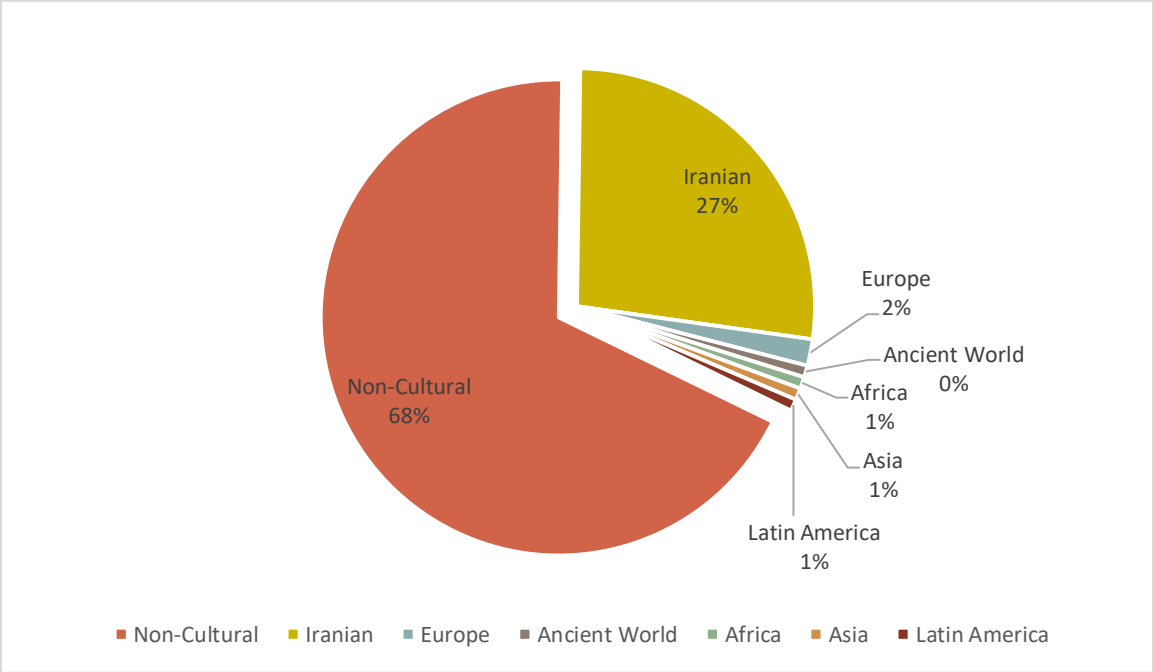


Figure 29. Distribution of the Iranian/Islamic/Revolutionary and non-Iranian cultures in the images of the modified version of the Graded English series (1980s)

8.4.4 Group 4: Third Generation (2010s)

Texts: In the textual content of three high school English textbooks of the third generation, Right Path to English, including English 1 (2013), English 2 (2012) and English 3 (2012) (revised in the late 1990s), out of 364 (100%) topics, 41% (n=151) are non-cultural, whereas 59% (n=213) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 29.5% (n=106) of the topics directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 29.5% (n=107) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 5% (n=5) of the Iranian cultural texts represent ancient Persia, 59% (n=63) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 0% shows Pahlavi monarchy, and 36% (n=38) represent Islamic/Ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural topics (59%, n=213) is, respectively, 45% (n=163) for products, 3.5% (n=12) for practices and 10.5% (n=38) for perspectives (Figure 30).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
RPE 1	156	66	90
RPE 2	100	30	70
RPE 3	108	55	53
Total	**364 100%**	**151 41.%**	**213 59%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
66	6	18
60	5	5
37	1	15
163 45%	**12 3.5%**	**38 10.5%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
RPE 1	45	45
RPE 2	38	32
RPE 3	23	30
Total	**106 29.5%**	**107 29.5%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
RPE 1	2	19	0	24
RPE 2	0	34	0	4
RPE 3	3	10	0	10
Total	**5 5%**	**63 59%**	**0**	**38 36%**

Figure 30. Cultural distribution in the texts of the third generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural topics (29.5%, n=107) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the texts of three high school English textbooks of the third generation, is as follows:

Global: 16% (n=57)
Europe: 5% (n=18)
- Germany: 3% (n=10)
- Holland: 1% (n=4)
- France: 0.5% (n=2)
- Spain: 0.5% (n=2)

UK: 3% (n=11)
Asia: 2% (n=8)
- Japan: 1.3% (n=5)
- India: 0.8% (n=3)

USA: 1.5% (n=5)
Ancient World: 0.5% (n=2)
- Greece: 0.5% (n=2)

Other: 1.5% (n=6)
- Canada: 0.5% (n=2)
- Turkey: 0.5% (n=2)
- Russia: 0.25% (n=1)
- Egypt: 0.25% (n=1)

Figure 31 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the texts of the Right Path to English Series (2010s).

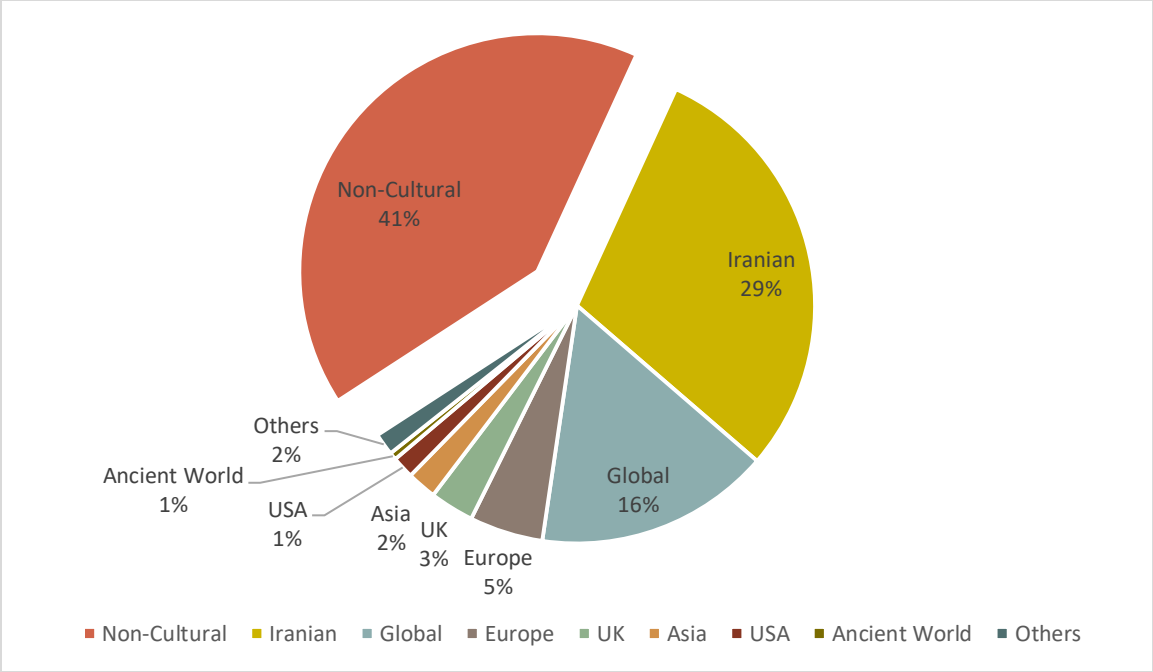


Figure 31. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of the third generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

Images: In the illustrations of three high school English textbooks of the third generation, Right Path to English, including English 1 (2013), English 2 (2012) and English 3 (2012) (revised in the late 1990s), out of 334 (100%) images, 32% (n=107) are non-cultural, whereas 68% (n=227) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 57% (n=190) of the images directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 11% (n=37) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 0% of the Iranian cultural images represent ancient Persia, 6% (n=12) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 0% shows Pahlavi monarchy, and 94% (n=178) contain Islamic/ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural images (68%, n=227) is, respectively, 9% (n=29) for products, 0 for practices and 59% (n=198) for perspectives (Figure 32).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
RPE 1	127	38	89
RPE 2	102	48	54
RPE 3	105	21	84
Total	**334** **100%**	**107** **32%**	**227** **68%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
16	0	73
10	0	44
3	0	81
29 **9%**	**0**	**198** **59%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
RPE 1	80	9
RPE 2	45	9
RPE 3	65	19
Total	**190** **57%**	**37** **11%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
RPE 1	0	8	0	72
RPE 2	0	3	0	42
RPE 3	0	1	0	64
Total	**0**	**12** **6%**	**0**	**178** **94%**

Figure 32. Cultural distribution in the images of the third generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural images (11%, n=37) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the illustrations of three high school English textbooks of the third generation, is as follows:

Global: 9.1% (n=31)
UK: 1% (n=3)
Asia: 0.6% (n=2)
    Japan: 0.3% (n=1)
    India: 0.3% (n=1)
Europe: 0.3% (n=1)
    Holland: 0.3% (n=1)

Figure 33 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the images of the Right Path to English Series (2010s).

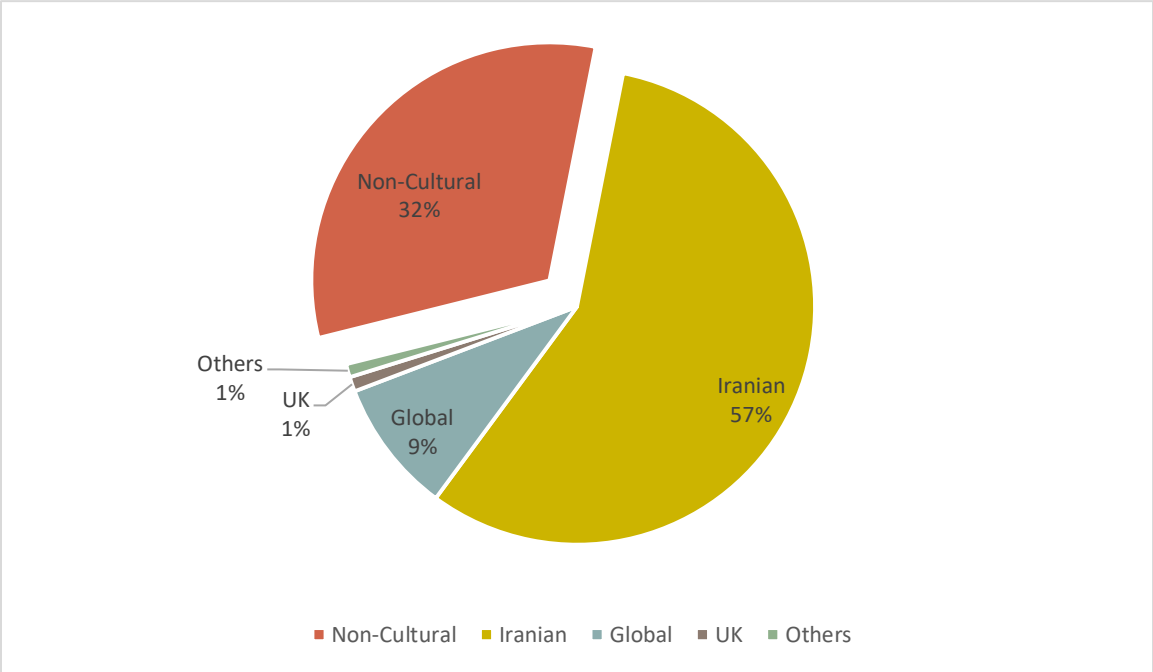


Figure 33. Distribution of the Iranian/Islamic/Revolutionary and non-Iranian cultures in the images of the third generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

8.4.5 Group 5: Fourth Generation (2010s)

Texts: In the textual content of three junior high school English textbooks of the fourth generation for the 10th, 11th and 12th grades, Vision 1 (2018), Vision 2 (2018) and Vision 3 (2018), out of 378 (100%) topics, 22% (n=83) are non-cultural, whereas 78% (n=295) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 44% (n=168) of the topics directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 34% (n=127) contain non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 4% (n=7) of the Iranian cultural texts represent ancient Persia, 71% (n=119) reflect Iranian ordinary culture and 25% (n=42) represent the Islamic/Revolutionary/ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural topics (78%, n=295) is, respectively, 55% (n=208) for products, 3.5% (n=13) for practices and 19.5% (n=74) for perspectives (Figure 34).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
V1	146	26	120
V2	100	20	80
V3	132	37	95
Total	**378**	**83 22%**	**295 78%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
83	5	32
56	5	19
69	3	23
208 55%	**13 3.5%**	**74 19.5%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
V1	76	44
V2	30	50
V3	62	33
Total	**168 44%**	**127 34%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
V1	6	50	0	20
V2	1	22	0	7
V3	0	47	0	15
Total	**7 4%**	**119 71%**	**0**	**42 25%**

Figure 34. Cultural distribution in the texts of the fourth generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural topics (34%, n=127) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the cultural texts of three high school English textbooks of the fourth generation, is as follows:

Global: 17% (n=66)
Europe: 5% (n=18)
    Spain: % (n=6)
    France: % (n=5)
    Italy: % (n=3)
    Germany: % (n=2)
other: 0.5% (n=2)
Asia: 5% (n=18)
    China: % (n=6)
    Asia: % (n=6)
    Japan: % (n=3)
    India: % (n=3)
Africa: 3% (n=11)
USA: 1.3% (n=5)
Russia: 1% (n=4)
South America: 0.7% (n=3)
Australia: 0.5% (n=2)

Figure 35 illustrates the Iranian and other countries cultural representations in the texts of the Vision series (2010s).

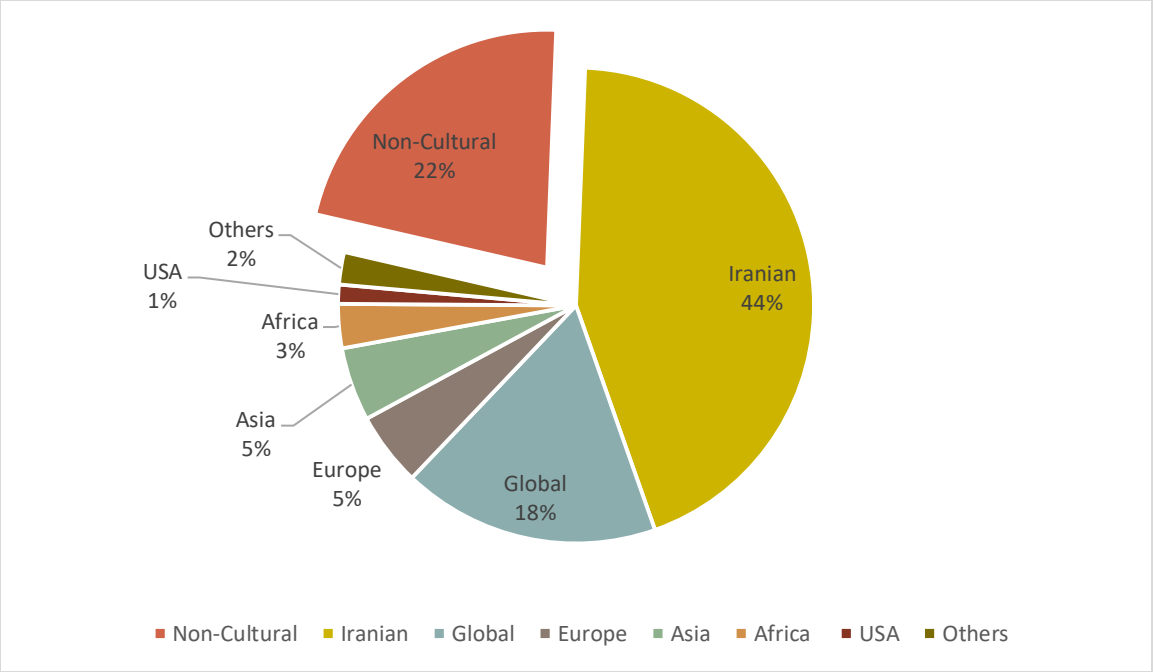


Figure 35. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of the fourth generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

Images: In the illustrations of three junior high school English textbooks of the fourth generation for the 10th, 11th and 12th grades, including Vision 1 (2018), Vision 2 (2018) and Vision 3 (2018), out of 451 (100%) images, 56% (n=253) are non-cultural, whereas 44% (n=198) provide cultural attributions. Accordingly, 31% (n=141) of the pictures directly represent the Iranian culture whereas 13% (n=57) provide non-Iranian cultural references. Additionally, 1% (n=2) of the Iranian cultural images represent ancient Persia, 63% (n=89) reflect Iranian ordinary culture, 0% shows Pahlavi monarchy, and 36% (n=50) contain Islamic/ideological beliefs. Also, the distribution of the 3Ps (based on the Rectangular Model of culture) within the cultural images (44%, n=198) is, respectively, 31% (n=141) for products, 0 for practices and 13% (n=57) for perspectives (Figure 36).

Textbooks	#Topics	Non-Cultural	Cultural
V1	198	126	72
V2	150	82	68
V3	103	45	58
Total	**451** **100%**	**253** **56%**	**198** **44%**

Products	Practices	Perspectives
59	0	13
48	0	20
34	0	24
141 **31%**	**0**	**57** **13%**

Textbooks	Iranian Topics	Non-Iranian Topics
V1	52	20
V2	55	13
V3	34	24
Total	**141** **31%**	**57** **13%**

Textbooks	Ancient Persia	Ordinary Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/ Revolutionary
V1	1	39	0	12
V2	0	35	0	20
V3	1	15	0	18
Total	**2** **1%**	**89** **63%**	0	**50** **36%**

Figure 36. Cultural distribution in the images of the fourth generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

The distribution of the non-Iranian cultural images (13%, n=57) or the countries whose cultures are represented in the images of three high school English textbooks of the fourth generation, is as follows:

Global: 9% (n=40)
Europe: 1.5% (n=7)
Italy: 0.7% (n=3)
France: 0.4% (n=2)
Spain: 0.4% (n=2)
Africa: 1% (n=5)
Egypt: 0.8% (n=4)
Africa: 0.2% (n=1)
Asia: 0.7% (n=3)
Asia: 0.45% (n=2)
Japan: 0.25% (n=1)
USA: 0.25% (n=1)
Latin America: 0.25% (n=1)
Brazil: 0.25% (n=1)
(0.3 belongs to the decimals)

Figure 37 illustrates the distribution of the Iranian and other countries cultures in the images of the Vision series (2010s).

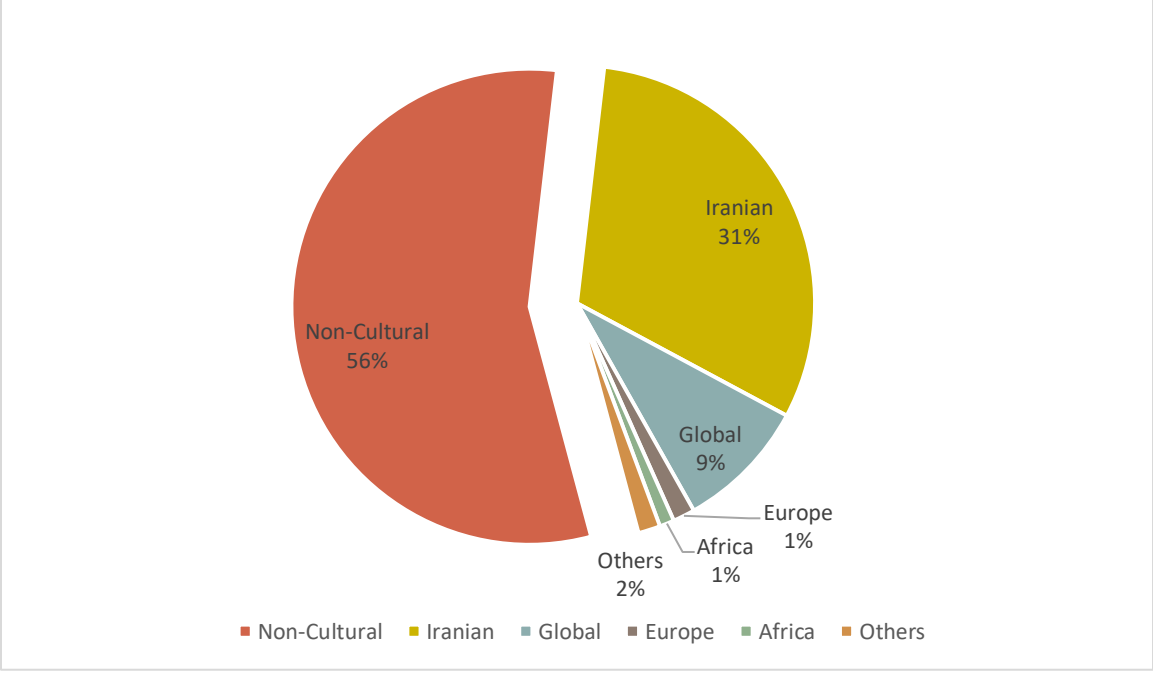


Figure 37. Distribution of the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the images of the fourth generation of the Iranian English textbooks (2010s)

8.5 Answering the research questions

As previously mentioned, the numerical findings of the Iranian English textbooks content analysis correspond to the study's four main inquiries on the distributions of cultural content, Iranian and non-Iranian cultural representations, various Iranian cultures (ancient Persia, Pahlavi monarchy, Islamic ideology and ordinary cultures), various non-Iranian cultures as well as cultural products, practices and perspectives. In this part, each question is answered in detail based on the collected data.

Q1: What is the status (percentage) of culture in the Iranian English textbooks of four generations?

Texts: The results indicate that the texts in the Pahlavi's English textbooks (first and second generations) are culturally richer than their post-Revolutionary counterparts in a ratio of 86% to 68%. In other words, culture has been 18% more delivered in the texts of the Pahlavi English textbooks. Also, the post-Revolution textbooks look more inclined to provide non-cultural topics, as 32% of their textual content consists of general subjects devoid of cultural attributions. This measure in the Pahlavi's textbooks is almost half, meaning only 14% of their textual content are non-cultural (Table 8).

Table 8. Cultural distribution in the texts of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Non-Cultural Texts	Cultural Texts
G1	19%	81%
G2	9%	91%
Mean	**14%**	**86%**
Series 3	32%	68%
G3	41%	59%
G4	22%	78%
Mean	**32%**	**68%**

Images: Like the textual results, the images in the Pahlavi's English textbooks (first and second generations) are culturally richer (68%) than their post-Revolutionary peers in a ratio of 68% to 48%. In other words, culture has been 20% more delivered in the images of the Pahlavi English textbooks compared to the next generations. Also, the post-Revolution textbooks look more inclined to provide non-cultural images, as over half (52%) of their images portray general

topics with no cultural attributions. This measure in Pahlavi's textbooks is 20% lower, meaning 32% of their images were non-cultural (Table 9).

Table 9. Cultural distribution in the images of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Non-Cultural Images	Cultural Images
G1	29%	71%
G2	36%	64%
Mean	**32%**	**68%**
Series 3	68%	32%
G3	32%	68%
G4	56%	44%
Mean	**52%**	**48%**

Figure 38 compares the distributions of cultural texts and images across the generations of the textbooks. While the texts look to have conveyed more cultural messages compared to the images, images fluctuations (changes) are more evident, particularly after the Revolution.

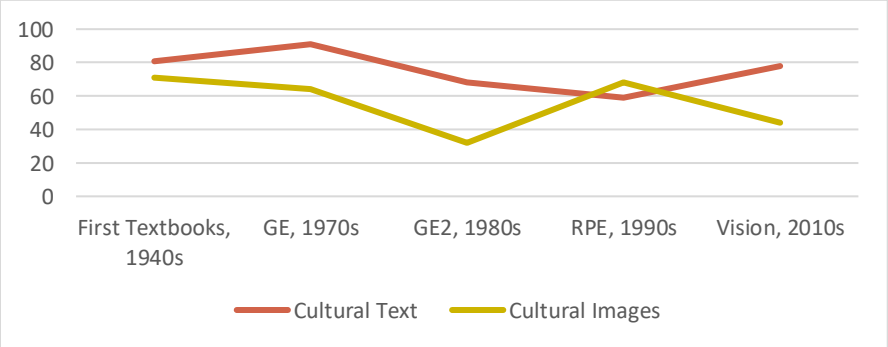


Figure 38. Distribution of cultural texts and images in English textbooks

Q2. How much of the textbooks' multimodal content represent the Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in each generation?

Texts: The findings indicate that Iran has occupied only 23% of the textual content of the Pahlavi's English textbooks of the 1940s and 1970s (first and second generations) as they displayed higher interest (63%) in representing the non-Iranian cultures. Additionally, the English textbooks of the post-Revolutionary time (including the modified version of Graded English, and

the third and fourth generations) almost leveled off the amount of Iranian and non-Iranian cultures by reflecting them in respectively 35% and 34% of their textual content (Table 10).

Table 10. Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Iranian Texts	Non-Iranian Texts
G1	14%	67%
G2	32%	59%
Mean	**23%**	**63%**
Series 3	31%	37%
G3	29.5%	29.5%
G4	44%	34%
Mean	**35%**	**34%**

Figure 39 compares the distribution of cultural, non-cultural, Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the texts.

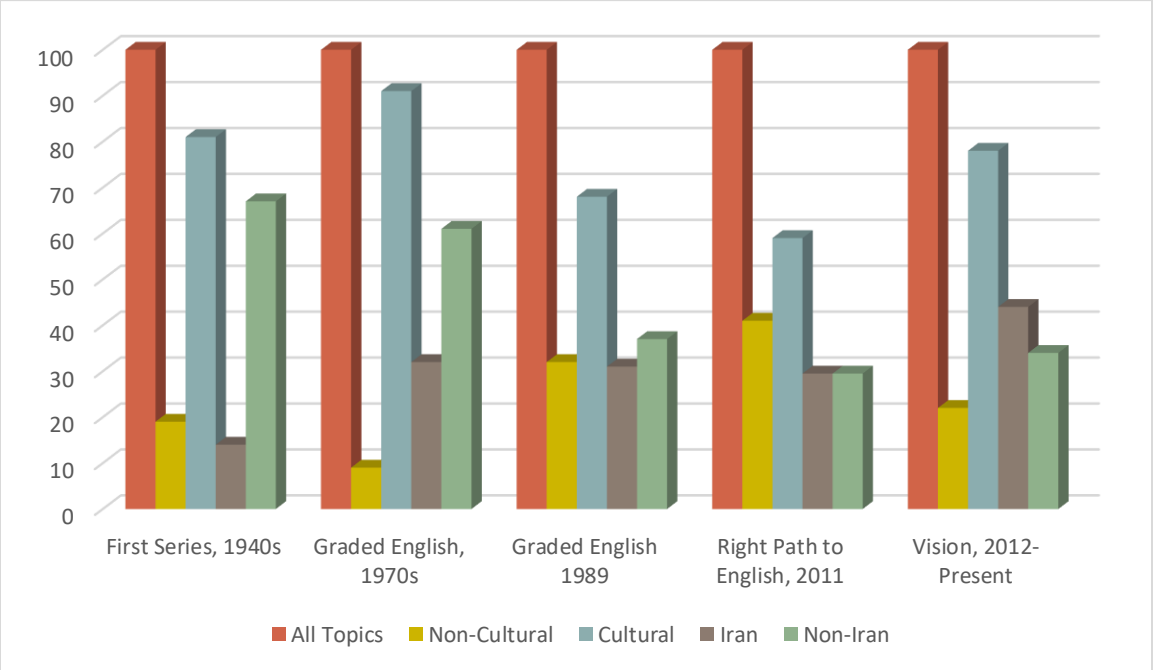


Figure 39. Cultural representations in the texts of Iranian textbooks (overview)

Figure 40 compares the Iranian and non-Iranian cultural content in the textbooks across four generations.

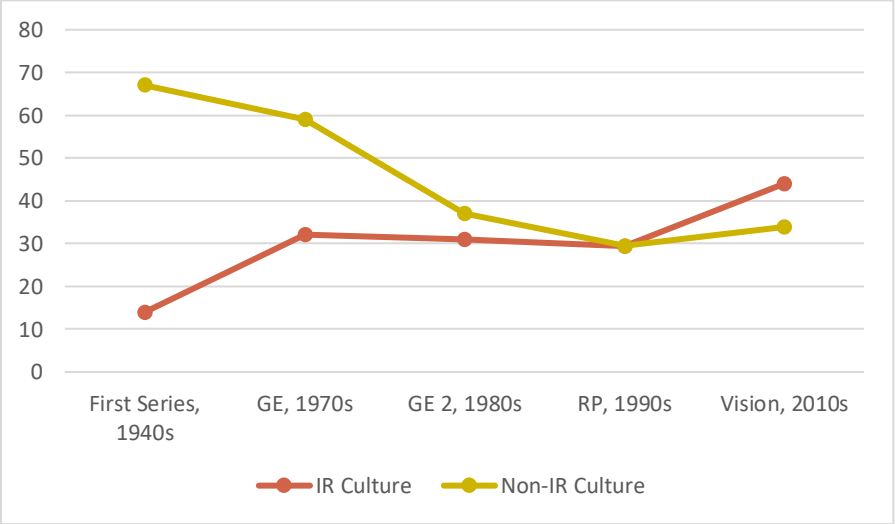


Figure 40. Iranian & non-Iranian cultures in the texts of Iranian textbooks

The Iranian cultures distribution across the English textbooks of four generations (five series) shows that ancient Persian culture has been presented in almost half (48%) of the Iranian content of the Pahlavi textbooks whereas only 5% of their post-Revolutionary peers are dedicated to Ancient Persian culture. Iranian regular cultural elements (or the topics which are not attributable to any political or ideological references) made 12% of the texts in the Pahlavi's textbooks whereas over half (56%) of their post-Revolutionary counterparts were dedicated to such Iranian neutral topics. Also, Pahlavi monarchy and ideological topics were presented in 36% of the English textbooks of that era. Not surprisingly, Pahlavi's culture is not reflected in the post-Revolutionary textbooks (0%) at all. While only 4% of the textual content of the Pahlavi's textbooks reflect religious beliefs, 39% of the post-Revolutionary's texts represent the Islamic beliefs and revolutionary ideologies (Table 11).

Table 11. Iranian cultures in the texts of English textbooks

Generations	Ancient Persia	Common Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/Revolutionary
G1	75%	8%	17%	0%
G2	21%	16%	55%	8%
Mean	**48%**	**12%**	**36%**	**4%**
Series 3	7%	38%	0	55%
G3	5%	59%	0	36%
G4	4%	71%	0	25%
Mean	**5%**	**56%**	**0**	**39%**

The study shows that in the first and second generations (Pahlavi time) of the Iranian English textbooks, the American, British and European cultural components (respectively 21%, 20% and 8%) were dominantly used in almost 30% of the textbooks' textual content whereas in the post-Revolutionary series, those countries and continent were represented only in 10% of the texts. The dominant non-Iranian cultural materials in the post-Revolution textbooks are the global cultures (15%) which do not explicitly make any attribution to a certain country (Table 12).

Table 12. Iranian and other countries in the texts of English textbooks

Generations	IR	Global	UK	USA	Europe	Africa	Asia	Ancient	Other	Total
G1	14%	2%	34%	16%	9%	0	1%	5%	0	81%
G2	32%	12%	6.5%	26%	7.5%	1%	1.5%	4%	0.5	91%
Mean	**23%**	**7%**	**20%**	**21%**	**8%**	**1%**	**1%**	**4%**	**1%**	**86%**
Series 3	31%	12%	7.5%	2%	5%	3%	3%	4%	0.5%	68%
G3	29.5%	16%	3%	1.5%	5%	0	2%	0.5%	1.5%	59%
G4	44%	17.5%	0	1.5%	5%	3%	5%	0	2%	78%
Mean	**35%**	**15%**	**3%**	**2%**	**5%**	**2%**	**3%**	**2%**	**1%**	**68%**

Figure 41 compares the distributions of cultural representations of Iranian and non-Iranian countries in the textual content of the textbooks.

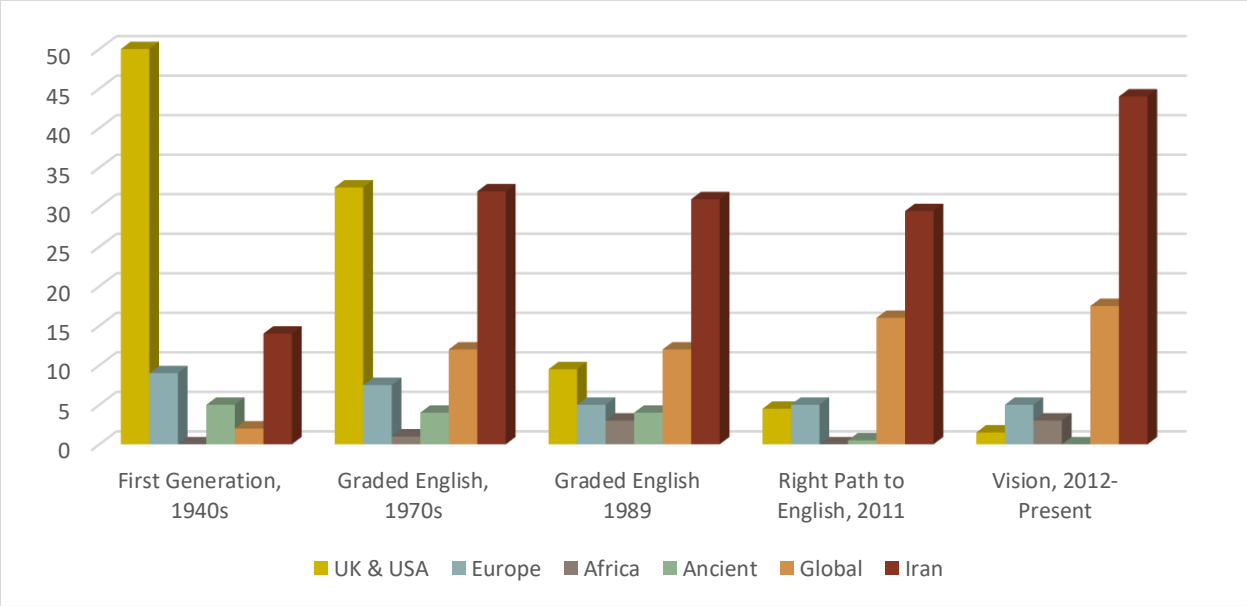


Figure 41. Cultural representations in the textbooks' texts

Images: The findings indicate that Iran is portrayed only in 12% of the Pahlavi English textbooks' images (first and second generations) as they display higher interest (56%) in representing the non-Iranian cultures. On the contrary, the post-Revolutionary English textbooks favorably dispose towards the Iranian topics by portraying them in 38% of the images versus showing non-Iranian cultures in 10% of the illustrations (Table 13).

Table 13. Iranian and non-Iranian cultures in the images of English textbooks

Generations	Iranian Images	Non-Iranian Images
G1	11%	60%
G2	12%	52%
Mean	**12%**	**56%**
Series 3	27%	5%
G3	57%	11%
G4	31%	13%
Mean	**38%**	**10%**

Figure 42 compares the distribution of Iranian and non-Iranian cultural images in English textbooks.

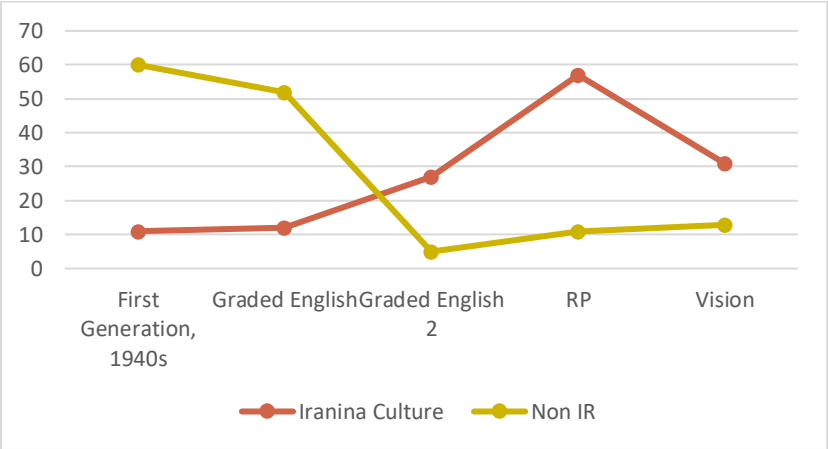


Figure 42. Iranian & non-Iranian cultures in the illustrations of English textbooks

The distribution of Iranian cultures across the images of English textbooks generations shows that ancient Persian culture is presented in 38% of the Iranian images of the Pahlavi textbooks (both first and second generations) whereas 37% of their Iranian images reflect regular Iranian culture, 23% Pahlavi monarchy and ideology and 4% religious Islamic views. On the contrary, Ancient Persian culture has received the lowest portrayal rate (3%) in the post-Revolutionary English textbooks' images. The third series as well as the third and fourth generations are, instead, inclined to favorably represent the Revolutionary, Islamic beliefs (61%) and regular Iranian culture (36%) (Table 14).

Table 14. Iranian cultures in the images of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Ancient Persia	Common Iranian	Pahlavi	Islamic/Revolutionary
G1	54%	46%	0	0
G2	21%	27%	45%	7%
Mean	**38%**	**37%**	**23%**	**4%**
Series 3	9%	38%	0	53%
G3	0	6%	0	94%
G4	1%	63%	0	36%
Mean	**3%**	**36%**	**0**	**61%**

The findings shows that in the first and second generations (Pahlavi time), the Global, American, and British cultural components (respectively 28.5%, 13% and 10%) are dominantly used in over half (totally 51.5%) of the textbooks' images whereas in the post-Revolutionary series, they are represented in less than 7% of the pictures. The dominant non-Iranian cultural illustrations in the post-Revolution textbooks are the global cultures (6%) which do not explicitly make any attribution to a certain country. All countries are barely portrayed in the images of the post-Revolution English textbooks (Table 15).

Table 15. Iranian and other countries in the images of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	IR	Global	UK	USA	Europe	Africa	Asia	Ancient	Other	Total
G1	11%	27%	16.5%	13%	3.5%	0	0	0.5%	0	71%
G2	12%	30%	4%	13%	3%	0.5%	1%	0.5%	0	64%
Mean	**11.5%**	**28.5%**	**10%**	**13%**	**3%**	**0.5%**	**0.5%**	**0.5%**	**0**	**67.5%**
Series 3	27%	0	0	0	1.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	32%
G3	57%	9%	1%	0	0.5%	0	0.5%	0	0	68%
G4	31%	9%	0	0.5	1.5%	1	0.5	0	0.5	44%
Mean	**38%**	**6%**	**0.5%**	**0.2%**	**1.5%**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.2**	**0.5**	**48%**

Figure 43 compares the distributions of cultural representations of Iranian and non-Iranian countries in the textbooks' images.

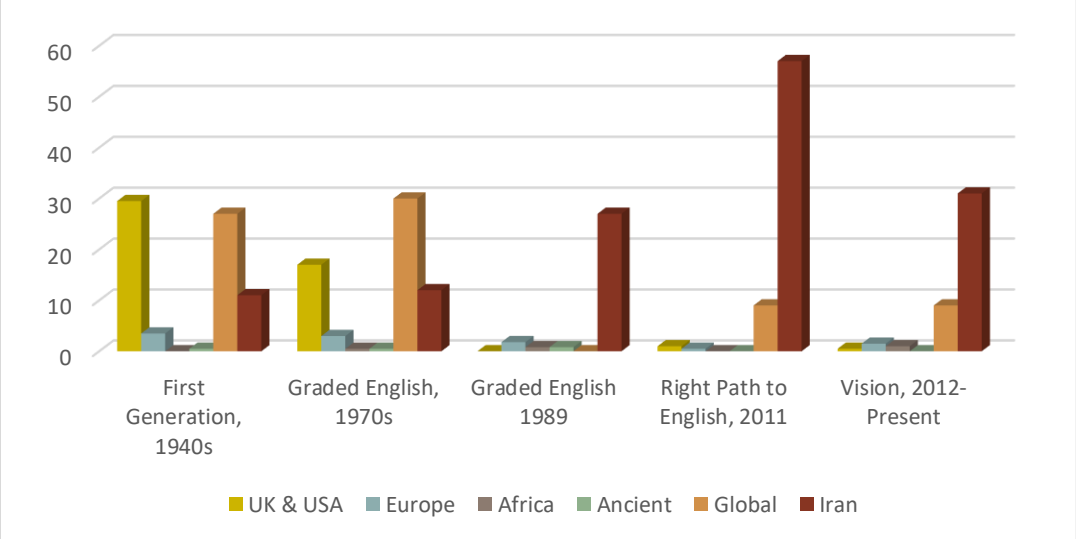


Figure 43. Cultural representations in the textbooks' images

Q3. Which cultural element (products, practices and/or perspectives) is more highlighted in the multimodal content of each series of the Iranian English textbooks?

Text: The findings indicate that cultural products constitute almost half of the textual content of all the Iranian English textbooks. Accordingly, 44.5% and 47.5% of the texts in the Iranian English textbooks of the Pahlavi and post-Revolution periods represent cultural products whereas cultural practices have scored the lowest rates of 5% and 3% in those series. Additionally, cultural perspectives are reflected in 36.5% and 17.5% of the textual content of the Pahlavi and post-Revolutionary periods. The only generation in which cultural perspectives have outnumbered cultural products is the first series of English textbooks (developed in the 1940s) in which 47% of the textual content are built based upon cultural perspectives versus 31% of cultural products (Table 16).

Table 16. Distribution of 3Ps in the texts of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Products	Practices	Perspectives	Cultural Content
G1	31%	3%	47%	81%
G2	58%	7%	26%	91%
Mean	**44.5%**	**5%**	**36.5%**	**86%**
Series 3	43%	2%	23%	68%
G3	45%	3.5%	10.5%	59%
G4	55%	3.5%	19.5%	78%
Mean	**47.5%**	**3%**	**17.5%**	**68%**

Images: The results indicate that cultural products are portrayed in over half (52%) of the images of the Pahlavi English textbooks whereas cultural practices have scored the lowest rates of 0.5% and perspectives are reflected in 17% of their images. On the contrary, cultural perspectives are relatively dominant in the images of post-Revolutionary period as 28.5% of them contain cultural perspectives and 19.5% images represent cultural products. Cultural practices seem not to be portrayed in the images of the post-revolutionary English textbooks (Table 17).

Table 17. Distribution of 3Ps in the images of 4 generations (5 series) of the Iranian English textbooks

Generations	Products	Practices	Perspectives	Cultural Content
G1	52%	0	19%	71%
G2	48%	1%	15%	64%
Mean	**50%**	**0.5%**	**17%**	**67.5%**
Series 3	18.5%	0	13.5%	32%
G3	9%	0	59%	68%
G4	31%	0	13%	44%
Mean	**19.5%**	**0**	**28.5%**	**48%**

Figures 44 and 45 illustrate the distributions of products, practices and perspectives in the texts and images.

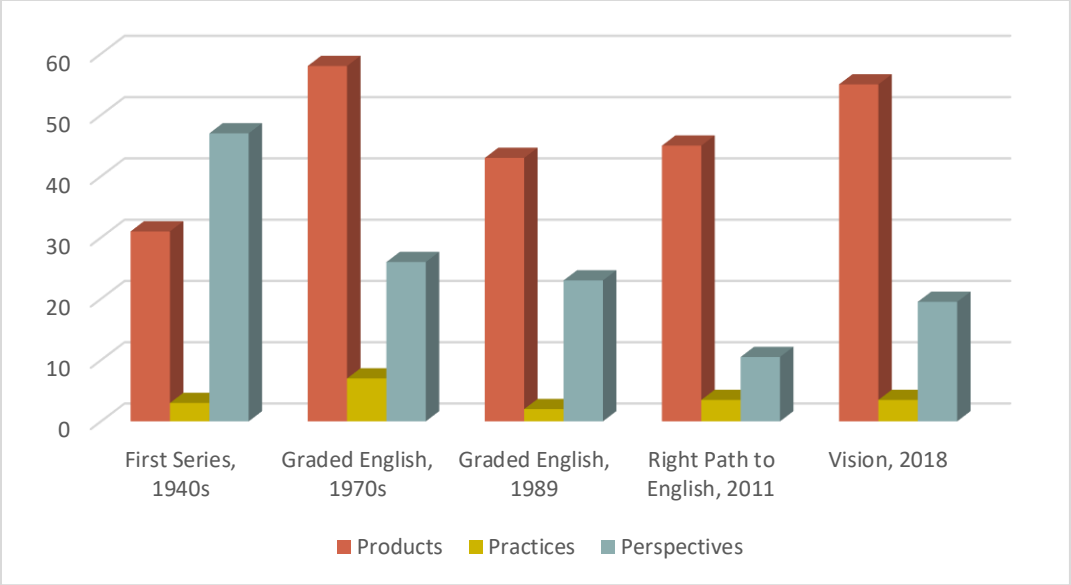


Figure 44. 3Ps in the English textbooks' texts

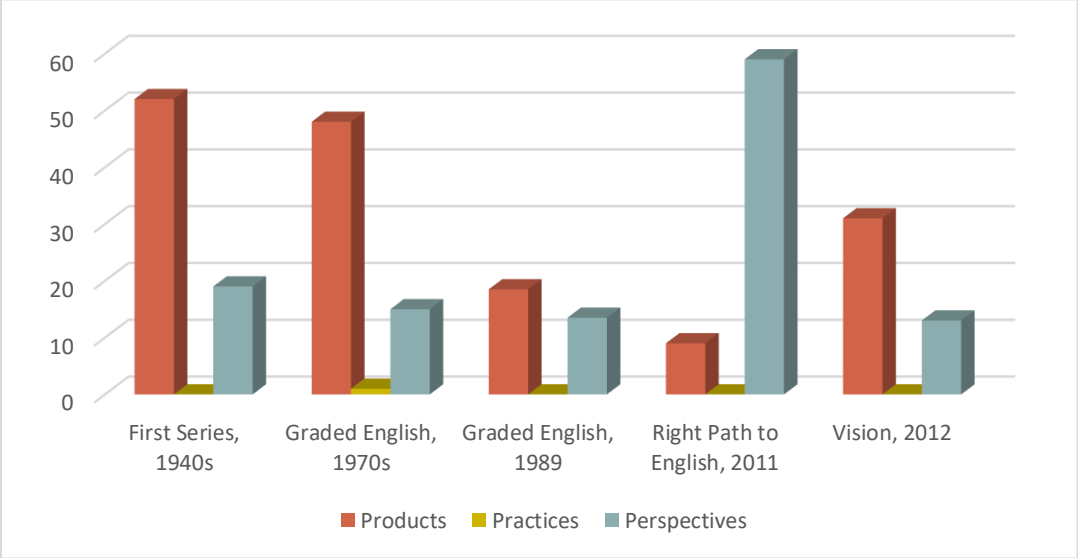


Figure 45. 3Ps in the English textbooks' images

The numerical data of the cultural analysis respond to the questions 1-3. Yet, the study's final question should be examined via interpretive content analysis. Accordingly, I have scrutinized the content of each textbook to identify and analyze their latent cultural representations. The part responses to the study's curiosity on the political and ideological influences of each era on the English textbooks' multimodal content.

8.6 Discussion

In this part, I discuss the results of the quantitative analysis through a qualitative comparison of the English textbooks series from 1940s to the present time (2020).

The first generation of the Iranian English textbooks was developed in 1939 (called the 1940s series in this research) by a team of native and non-native English speakers, including Arthur C. Boyce, American professor of English (see page 73), Ali Pasha Saleh, professor of English in the University of Tehran, and Abdollah Faryar, teacher of English in the University of Tehran. The textbooks were voluminous, containing 98 lessons (285 pages) in Book 1, 92 lessons (257 pages) in Book 2, and 53 lessons (238 pages) in Book 6.

Despite the contribution of the Iranian scholars in designing the first English textbooks, the material favored the non-Iranian classic literature and cultures in 63% of the entire series. The textbooks reliance on classic literature could be mainly due to the dominance of the Grammar Translation Method which had inherited "literary reading" as the main objective of learning foreign languages from its ancestor, the Classical Method (Brown, 2007). In the Grammar Translation Method, instructional material consisted of some excerpts of or the entire classic texts to be used even in the early stages of language learning. The results of this study indicated that nearly 60% of the textual content of the 1940s English textbooks comprised the classic prose and verses of the British (34%), American (16%), and European (9%) authors. The findings showed that among the long list of the non-Iranian authors and poets, the literary pieces of William Wordsworth, Robert Montgomery, Daniel Defoe, Johnathan Swift, Sir Walter Scott, Oliver Goldsmith, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry W. Longfellow, George P. Morris, Hans Christian Andersen, Henry W. Longfellow, Edouard Rene Lafebvre de Laboulaye, and Peter Christen Asbjornsen represented the British, American and European products (27%), practices (3%) and perspectives (37%) in the first series of the English materials. Based on the results, the Iranian content constituted only 14% of the investigated English textbooks, most of which was crafted by the British and American authors and orientalists, such as Edward Gibbon, Lord Curzon, Sir Roberts Ker Porter, and Williams Jackson.

The first series of English textbooks recorded the highest rate of perspectives (47%) across the four generations of English textbooks in Iran. The investigated high school textbooks were filled with morals, didactic lessons, beliefs and values, such as patriotism, honesty, love (true love,

love for people, love for family), kindness, friendship, virtuous deeds, value of learning and education, happiness, and truth.

The first generation of the Iranian English textbooks were designed a decade after the transition of the political power from the Qajar to the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. Following the Western modernization patterns, Reza Pahlavi intensified the pace of the country's transition into a nation-state in the second quarter of the 20th century. Reza Pahlavi (and his successor son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi) passionately glorified the country's ancient (pre-Arab invasion) history or the so called "2500 year-old civilization", its mythological products and traditions, including Zoroastrianism, the country's ancient religion before Islam. Such glorification of the past grew to serve as the ideological foundation of the Pahlavi reign (Ashraf, 2006). Over half (54%) of the Iranian lessons of the first English textbooks represented the glorious time of the Achaemenid Empire (550 BC – 320 BC), testimonies of the Persian kings' gallantry and conquests, their love for their people and interest in knowledge, and in some cases, their intellectual and military superiority over their ancient competitors, the Greek and Roman empires (e.g. lessons 33, 34, 36, 38 and 80 in Book 6, lessons 14, 51, 62, 70 and 73 in Book 5, and lesson 77 in Book 4).

Additionally, the first generation of the Iranian English textbooks slightly echoed the country's modernization and progressive infrastructure projects (such as the trans-Iranian railway in lesson 24, Book 4, and the Red Lion and Sun or joining Red Cross in lesson 2, Book 5). The textbooks also extensively presented biographies of western political and economic leaders and pioneers, such as Abraham Lincoln (lessons 25, 28, 29 and 31, Book 6), Booker Washington (lesson 5, Book 4) and Andrew Carnegie (lessons 94 and 96, Book 4).

The 1940s English textbooks were found gender biased in multiple directions: the textbooks developers were all male, 100% of the cultural (literary) products in the textbooks were male crafted, most of the texts used male pronouns (he/his/him) to address a typical human being, and women were defined only through their motherhood (e.g. lesson 24, Book 5), negative traits (e.g. "the mean mother" and "the ugly girl" in lesson 62, Book 4) or their household skills (e.g. lessons 71 and 82 in Book 4, The Mistress of Home I and II). Nevertheless, Iran's move towards engaging women in the country's modernization and social and political activities was also evident in the textbooks, where both boys and girls were equally addressed:

> "But, if Iran is to continue to be great, it is you, the boys and girls of today, who will make and keep it such … Boys and girls have often done heroic things." (pp. 31-32, Book 4). Similarly, the Iranian women's contribution in the progressive plans were recognized: "The women of Iran were urged to rally to welfare work under the direction of the Red Lion and Sun" (p. 3, Book 5) or "Women meeting the flag will merely stand facing the flag and thus pay their respect" (p. 46, Book 5).

The next content of investigation in the 1940s textbooks was images. While most of the textbooks' pages were plain with no images, their few illustrations were low quality black and white photos or handwritten pictures in a haphazard order. The majority (71%) of the first-generation images were cultural, mostly portraying other countries (60%). Iran was illustrated in only 11% of the images, half of which (54%) was dedicated to the glorious ancient Persia; an evident of Reza Pahlavi's interest in demonstrating the country's antique identity. One of the noticeable points in the images of the first-generation textbooks was the clothing of women which exemplified the European style (see pages 41, 92, 126, and 189-191 in Book 4). The clothing of Iranians, both men and women, underwent drastic alternation during the Pahlavi dynasty. The traditional clothing of Iranian men during the Qajar consisted of a cap, lose pants, a fabric belt to be wrapped around the waist, a shirt, three types of coat (Ghab, Kamarchin and Kolija) and Jobba (a precious piece of clothing for the educated and influential men). Women used to wear long scarfs, shirts and skirts over pants. In the last quarter of the Qajar era (1900 - 1925), women had to wear "chador" (long black cover) for going out to cover their entire body from head to their foot (Figure 46) (for a comprehensive article on the clothing of Iranians, see Diba, 2012).

Figure 46. Clothing of regular men and women in the Qajar era

Although many Persian men who, during the Qajar period, had travelled to and studied in the European countries, adopted European fashion, including suits, pants, bow ties and neckties, the clothing of regular Persians complied with the Qajar fashion until Reza Pahlavi declared his secular clothing policies in 1928, 1934 and 1936, requiring men to dress like Europeans and women to unveil (Saidi Sijani, 1992). The new (European) clothing fashion was portrayed in the first generation of the English textbooks to implicitly confirm and promote Iranians' new style (Figure 47). Based on the author's personal memories, many Iranian women used to take photos like the one illustrated in Lesson 24, Book 5 (Figure 47, Right), a personal testimony of the western cultural influence.

Figure 47. European fashion in lesson 15, Book 4, 1941 (Left); Motherhood in lesson 24, Book 5 (Right)

Two decades later, in the mid-1960s and under the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the second generation of the Iranian English textbooks, Graded English (GE) series, replaced the previous material. In designing the GE series, an Iranian female scholar, Parivash Manoochehri, collaborated with an American professor, Jeris E. Strain (see pages 74-77). A third Iranian scholar, Alladein Pazargadi, also joined the team to design the fourth-year high school textbook. The GE textbooks were thinner than the first series.

The GE textbooks marked a historical transition from the classic literature and the Grammar Translation Method of the first generation to a carefully crafted educational production which applied Situational Language Teaching (SLT) principles. The new series situated English in real-life settings where regular Iranian and non-Iranian interlocutors spoke in English in their daily written or verbal interactions. The GE textbooks, based on the findings of this research, provided the highest rate of the cultural textual content (91% of the entire series) among all Iranian English textbooks across the generations. The findings indicated that 30% of the GE series contained Iranian culture, which was twice as that of the first series (14%). Following their ancestor's tradition, the new textbooks were favorably disposed towards the Persian cultural heritage. According to the results, 21% of the total content on Iran reflected the ancient Persian culture whereas 54% was dedicated to the Pahlavi's insights and ideology.

The tradition of dedicating the initial page(s) of each textbook to the country's leader and his family was established during the Pahlavi era, as a testimony of the nation's praise and loyalty to the king. Accordingly, each GE textbook opened to the royal family's portraits, including the Shah (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), the Queen (Farah Pahlavi) and the Prince (Reza Pahlavi). Also, the Pahlavi's disposition towards arts and music (e.g. lessons 8, 9, 13 and 14 in GE 5 and lesson 8 in GE 7), and knowledge (e.g. lessons 4 and 11 in GE 5; lessons 1 and 6 in GE 6 and lesson 5 in GE 7) were evident in the textbooks. Similarly, some aspects of modernization were, explicitly or implicitly, introduced or promoted in the textbooks, such as modern infrastructures, (e.g. a modern hospital and pharmacy in GE 4 and Mehrabad Airport in GE 6), modern activities and institutions (e.g. Olympic Games and United Nations in GE 6), contemporary environmental concerns (e.g. pollution in GE 7) and scientific topics (e.g. planets and ecology in GE 7).

The topic of women *("Women Around the World"*, lesson 3, GE 7) can be perceived as the culmination of the Pahlavi's modern perspectives reflected in the English textbooks second generation. In addition to discussing the women's movements in such pioneer countries as the USA and UK, this lesson echoed an Iranian feminist voice through which women's achievements were elaborated on, from their participation in the Reza Pahlavi's modernization of the country to women's suffrage in 1963, their educational and occupational progress to their new roles in family and society:

> "Since the condition of women is greatly affected by their educational achievements, our women have tried to get more and more education. In 1970, the number of women studying at the universities was 17,000 and in 1976 it increased to 38,000" (p. 31, GE 7). The lesson also addressed both men and women "to reevaluate and question their traditional role in the home. Equality in the family life and sharing in family responsibilities by men, women and children should be taken into consideration" (p. 32, GE 7).

Such declaration on the necessity of reconsidering both genders' responsibilities in and out of the house makes an example of embedding an Iranian feminist perspective within the educational material (see Commeyras, 1996; Thompson Tetreault, 1986). The feminist document even challenged the traditional assumption of male superiority and questioned the stereotypical attitudes towards genders' roles: *"family power as a unit should take the place of the power of the man. Changing attitudes among men and women will help us to get rid of sex-role stereotyping for both sexes in home and community life, in employment, in education and in general life patterns. A real equality will be achieved only when women regard themselves as separate independent and vulnerable persons and when men also regard them this way"* (p. 32, GE 7). Unprecedented throughout the four generations of the Iranian English textbooks, *Women Around the World*, in fact, echoed the efforts of Pahlavi's secular perspective in granting the Iranian women equal rights as men.

Imposed from above, Pahlavi's reformist plans positively impacted the lives of Iranian females (Sedghi, 2012). By the 1970s, women were allowed to vote and pursue their education in a wide range of academic fields of study, like engineering, law and medicine. Consequently, their employment horizon expanded to becoming senators, professors, doctors, police officers, pilots, engineers and athletes (see Moghadam, 1994). The contribution of a female scholar, Parivash Manoochehri, in developing the Graded English series is another testament to positive changes in the social roles of women during the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi[4].

The findings also showed that 26% of the GE textual content demonstrated western cultures and lifestyles, particularly American figures and practices (e.g. Abraham Lincoln, scouting, English clubs and pen pals in GE 4; Mark Twain in GE 5, and A Day in Bob's Life in GE 5). Also,

[4] The Pahlavi's feminist policies mostly affected the lives of the urban middle-class Iranian women, having left behind the huge population of working class and peasant females (Sedghi, 2012). Also, such secular and western-like policies and practices were constantly banished by the traditional and religious forces, particularly the clergymen and uneducated populations. Similarly, the public sphere was still inclined to maintain the women's traditional roles.

the British and American Englishes, or the Englishes of the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985), were equally recognized as *"acceptable all over the world"* (p. 24, GE 4). Iranians, at the same time, were engaged in interacting with Americans in some of the GE's conversations and lessons (e.g. an Iranian girl writing letters to an American pen pal in GE 4). The USA marked the highest rate of non-Iranian cultural representation in the GE series compared to all English textbooks, mirroring the strong political and cultural bonds between the two countries during the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

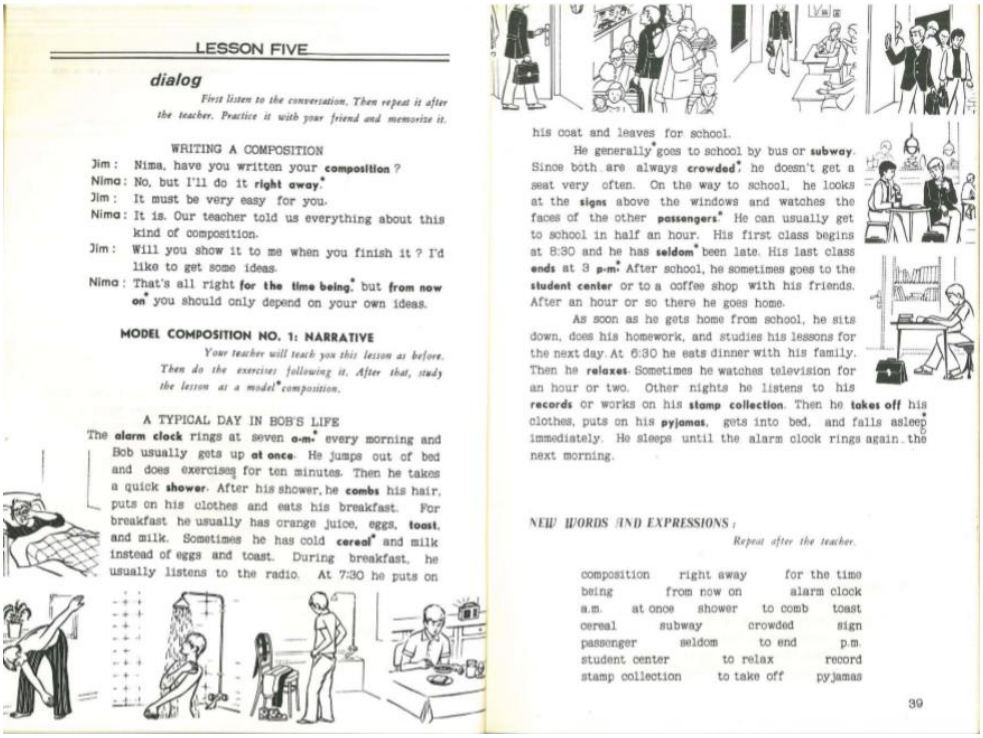
The GE developers adopted a comparative cultural approach, influenced by the cultural discussions in language learning during the 60s and 70s (Hall, 1959; Brooks, 1960; Seelye, 1974; Nostrand, 1974), and in some of the lessons, made analogies between the Iranian and American customs, such as party manners (lesson 2 in GE 5), Mehregan and Thanksgiving celebrations (lesson 7 in GE 6) and Nowruz and Christmas (lesson 7 in GE 6). Such a cross-cultural approach, which highlighted the cultural similarities and discrepancies between the Americans and Iranians, granted the GE textbooks the highest rate of cultural practices (7%) among the four generations.

The GEs' images, like their ancestors of the first generation, were black and white photos or hand-drawn pictures. Their quality, however, was higher than those of the first generation due to the country's progress in the printing industry. The results indicated that 52% of the GEs images (or 82% of the cultural images) portrayed non-Iranian cultures. The most salient cultural aspect demonstrated in the GEs' images were the individuals' lifestyle, clothing and housing, which were similar for both Iranians and non-Iranians. The Iranians images mostly portrayed the urban middle-class groups, the main beneficiaries of the country's progressive plans.

After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, all textbooks underwent gradual revisions (Ferdows, 1995). Similarly, the Graded English series experienced stages of political and ideological revisions to be purged of the western content. In the GE revised version of 1981, 18 original lessons which reflected the American/Western culture were removed. The deleted lessons were as follows: The Pen Family, If…, and 20 Questions in GE 4, Learning How to Study, Mark Twain, Customs, Beethoven, the USA, and Nations and Names introducing the UK in GE 5, Who Knows Everything, Listening, Effective Reading, Customs in Iran and America, and William Wordsworth in GE 6, and Women Around the World, Solar System Time, Reading as Complete Process and Pollution in GE 7. Therefore, the total number of the lessens were reduced from 60 (in the original series)

to 42 lessons in the first revised version, meaning 30% (n=18 lessons) of the original GE content was eliminated.

In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution (1980-1983), which led to closing the universities and de-westernizing their educational material, another 19 lessons of the original GE could not pass through the ideological filters of the investigators. Additionally, the content of some of the 23 original lessons were changed or fabricated to ensure their cultural and ideological messages aligned with the Islamic Revolution doctrine. For instance, the lesson of Scouting in the original GE 4 (1971) turned into The Baseej in GE 4 of 1986. The Baseej (or Basij) is a paramilitary volunteer militia established right after the 1979-Revolution by the decree of Ayatollah Khomeini. Replacing Scouting by Baseej, some of the original sentences of scouting were used to introduce the new revolutionary militia to the young generation. Another example of an altered lessons was A Typical Day in Bob's Life in the original GE 7 which turned into A Typical Day in Ali's Life in the revised GE 2 (Figure 48) where the American boy, Bob, turned into an Iranian Muslim boy, Ali, who *"performs his ablution, then he says his prayers … As soon as the bell rings, the students stand in lines in the school yard and listen while a student reads a few verses from the Holy Koran … After lunch they say their afternoon prayers in a group in the school prayer hall…"* (p. 38, Revised GE 2, 1989). The quotation on Ali's religious practices actually reflected the post-Revolutionary rules and regulations, according to which all students were required to start every school day by reading verses in the Quran in the morning lines, and pray to Allah in the schools prayer halls.



LESSON FIVE

dialog

First listen to the conversation. Then repeat it after the teacher. Practice it with your friend and memorize it.

WRITING A COMPOSITION

Jim : Nima, have you written your **composition** ?
Nima : No, but I'll do it **right away**.*
Jim : It must be very easy for you.
Nima : It is. Our teacher told us everything about this kind of composition.
Jim : Will you show it to me when you finish it ? I'd like to get some ideas.
Nima : That's all right **for the time being**,* but **from now on*** you should only depend on your own ideas.

MODEL COMPOSITION NO. 1: NARRATIVE

Your teacher will teach you this lesson as before. Then do the exercises following it. After that, study the lesson as a model composition.*

A TYPICAL DAY IN BOB'S LIFE

The **alarm clock** rings at seven **a-m.*** every morning and Bob usually gets up **at once**. He jumps out of bed and does exercises for ten minutes. Then he takes a quick **shower**. After his shower, he **combs** his hair, puts on his clothes and eats his breakfast. For breakfast he usually has orange juice, eggs, **toast**, and milk. Sometimes he has cold **cereal*** and milk instead of eggs and toast. During breakfast, he usually listens to the radio. At 7:30 he puts on his coat and leaves for school.

He generally* goes to school by bus or **subway**. Since both are always **crowded***, he doesn't get a seat very often. On the way to school, he looks at the **signs** above the windows and watches the faces of the other **passengers*** He can usually get to school in half an hour. His first class begins at 8:30 and he has **seldom*** been late. His last class **ends** at 3 **p-m.*** After school, he sometimes goes to the **student center** or to a coffee shop with his friends. After an hour or so there he goes home.

As soon as he gets home from school, he sits down, does his homework, and studies his lessons for the next day. At 6:30 he eats dinner with his family. Then he **relaxes**. Sometimes he watches television for an hour or two. Other nights he listens to his **records** or works on his **stamp collection**. Then he **takes off** his clothes, puts on his **pyjamas**, gets into bed, and falls asleep immediately. He sleeps until the alarm clock rings again the next morning.

NEW WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS :

Repeat after the teacher.

composition	right away	for the time being
from now on	alarm clock	a.m.
at once	shower	to comb
toast	cereal	subway
crowded	sign	passenger
seldom	to end	p.m.
student center	to relax	record
stamp collection	to take off	pyjamas

39

LESSON EIGHT

A TYPICAL DAY IN ALI'S LIFE

Ali **wakes up** when the alarm clock rings. He gets up before **sunrise**. First he performs his **ablutions**, then he says his prayers. He often does exercises for ten or fifteen minutes after his morning prayers. Then he **combs** his hair and gets ready for breakfast. His simple breakfast which he eats with his family consists of bread, cheese and tea.

Ali **generally** leaves for school at about seven **a.m.** On his way to school, he walks along a **crowded** street. Sometimes he reads the **signs** above the shop windows and looks at the **passengers** on the buses.

His first class begins at 8 a.m. and he has **seldom** been late. As soon as the bell rings, the students stand in **lines** in the school yard and listen while a student reads a few **verses** from the **Holy** Koran. After the morning classes Ali and his friends buy their lunch from the school **buffet**[1]. After lunch they say their afternoon prayers in a group in the school prayer **hall.** Ali goes home immediately after school.

[1] buffet = ['bufei]

38 Lesson Eight

Figure 48. The revision of "A Typical Day in Bob's Life" (lesson 5, GE 5) to "A Typical Day in Ali's Life" (lesson 8, revised GE 2)

By the late 1980s, 37 lessons (62%) total of the original GE textbooks (1970s) were removed. The ideological revisions, in fact, wiped out all of the GEs' original attributions to the Pahlavi's nationalism, modernization, Western (American) culture, arts and music. Thus, the American cultural representation dropped from 26% in the original GE to 2% in the revised version. Instead, the Islamic beliefs and Revolutionary perspectives occupied 55% of the revised GE textbooks, based on the results. Such censorship in the textbooks mirrored, in fact, the dichotomy of Pahlavi's Persian nationalism and westernized modernization versus the new regime's Islamic identity and anti-western doctrine.

In the revised GEs, the names of the original textbooks' developers (Parivash Manoochehri and Jeris Strain) were deleted. Also, the Royal family's portraits were substituted by that of Ayatollah Khomeini. Each textbook started with the Revolution leader's quotation: *"We will export our Revolution to the whole globe"*. The political-ideological notion of "exporting revolution", as one of the Islamic regime's objectives in the international level, has been dissected by several scholars (see Metz, 1987; Ram, 1996; Emadi, 1995). Accordingly, the Islamic Revolution is perceived as "the means whereby Muslims and non-Muslims can liberate themselves from the oppression of tyrants who serve the interests of international imperialism" (Metz, 1987). Although banning the English language was part of the Revolution's initial plans, the revolutionists soon realized that they could not expand their ideological influence globally devoid of "the language of imperialism" (Sharifian, 2010).

Following the quotation of Khomeini in the introductory pages, an introduction elaborated on more reasons for learning English: *"The imperialist powers have been dominating over the globe in the past and present time, promoting their language in many areas, and even replacing the indigenous languages by it [English] or making it as the people's second language. This is the global status of English at the present time, and we need to learn this language to be able to interact with many people around the world. The Islamic Revolution enemies are thriving to tarnish the beautiful divine spirit of this revolution through their false propaganda in the world, and we are obligated to echo the Islamic truth to the truth seekers through more communications. The English language is, therefore, one of the means for establishing such communication. Additionally, we are determined to bail ourselves out of the scientific, industrial, and economic dependencies, and reach independency; thus, we should be able to use the world's scientific books.*

Most of those books are written in the English language, and our familiarity with this language is a means helping us to reach dependency" (translated into English by the author). Such ideological justification of learning English is an example of politicizing an ordinary life (Hoodfar & Sadeghi, 2009) in the post-Revolutionary era.

The findings indicated that unlike the original GEs, whose cultural images constituted 64% of the entire series, the cultural pictures of the 1980 textbooks were reduced to 32%, meaning that 32% of the culturally loaded pictures were removed. Contrary to the original GEs images which mostly illustrated non-Iranian cultures, pictures in the revised series displayed the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary culture. Women in Islamic clothing and segregation of sexes were salient in the revised series images. Additionally, the individuals which were portrayed in the revised textbooks mainly represented the grassroots populations, such as the children in Hossein Abad village (lesson 4 in Book 1).

The third generation of textbooks, Right Path to English (RPE) or English Books, were shaped by a team of Iranian (male) scholars, Parviz Birjandi, Abolghasem Soheili, Mehdi Norouzi and Gholamhossein Mahmoudi. They were in use from the mid-1980s throughout early 2010s. The series authors had adopted the Reading approach and later on, added audio CDs (the educational innovation of the time) to meet the learners' need of four skills, particularly speaking and listening, which were neglected in the previous series. The investigated textbooks, including Book 1 (high school first year, 2011) contained 9 lessons in 109 pages, Book 2 (high school second year, 2011) possessed 7 lessons in 105 pages, and Book 3 (high school third year, 2011) consisted of 6 lessons in 107 pages.

The Right Path to English (RPE) series came into play during the politically eventful years of the 1980s. The Iran hostage crisis (1979 – 1981), the American sanctions, raging Iraq-Iran war (1980 – 1988) and the United States' disposition to support the Iraqi's side, had not only escalated the USA-Iran tensions, but also intensified the anti-American rhetoric in the Iranian political arena.

Resuming the same ideological tradition, the opening page of each RPE textbook was allocated to the portrait of Ayatollah Khomeini, followed by new quotes: *"Today the West and East are pretty aware that the only force able to cast them out is Islam"* (Book 2), and *"There was no need to the (foreign) languages in the past. Today it is needed. The world's live languages should be part of the schools' propaganda (curricula)… Today is unlike yesterday that our voice*

could not be transferred to out of Iran. Today we can be [physically] inside Iran but propagate all over the world in another language" (Book 1 and Book 3, translated into English by the author). While the initial pages and images of the textbooks delineated the Islamic Revolutionary perspectives, most of the lessons were either scientific or containing general topics devoid of any cultural attribution. Only one lesson in Book 1 *("The Holy Prophet")* conveyed strong Islamic perspective , for this reason the entire Book 1 was evaluated as "ideologically appropriate" by the evaluators of the state-funded Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies (see Karimi Motahar and Ramezani, 2014).

The other sections of RPEs (New Words, Reading and Language Function) included in this study displayed more cultural positioning compared to their main lessons. A around 60% of the series were cultural, equally representing both Iranian (29.5%) and non-Iran (29.5%) cultures. Accordingly, 16% of the textbooks' non-Iranian textual content could not be directly attributed to any country. Also, British and American cultures recorded low rates of cultural representation, respectively 3% and 1.5%.

The textbooks' introduction, by the Foreign Languages Team at the Office of Textbooks Development, emphasized that in developing the textbooks, "our national/Islamic identity and values" have been taken into consideration. Yet, the results of this study indicated that the ancient Persian culture, as the source of the Iranian "national" identity, were present in only 5% of the Iranian textual content whereas the Islamic Revolutionary cultural references had occupied 36% of the content. The textbooks' introduction prose was a religious, philosophical, sophisticated piece, filled with divine references and spiritual concepts which, by all means, advocate the marriage of education and Islamic perspective: *"the objectives of the new textbooks planning is to qualifying language learning through the [Islamic] monotheism insight into the goals, content, teaching method and production evaluation"* (Translated into English by the author; the actual text in Persian is as meaningless as its English translation).

The RPEs, which marked the first series locally designed after the Revolution, reflected the highest rate of Islamic ideological references in its illustrations (94%), mainly because the pictures of men and women in their Islamic clothing saliently manifested the Islamic regime's (imposed) dress code. Even foreign women in the textbooks were portrayed covering their head and body, reflecting the regime's policy of compulsory "hijab" (cover) which was (and still is)

imperative for all Iranian females and non-Iranian women travelling to the country. Women in the RPE series were mainly portrayed in their traditional roles as mother doing chores and taking care of children. The images of the third generation were hand-written and not skillfully crafted.

Similar to the Graded English series, the English Books underwent some revisions throughout two decades. The quality and quantity of the revisions, however, could not be investigated in this study, as the series' primary editions of the 1980s and 1990s were not available.

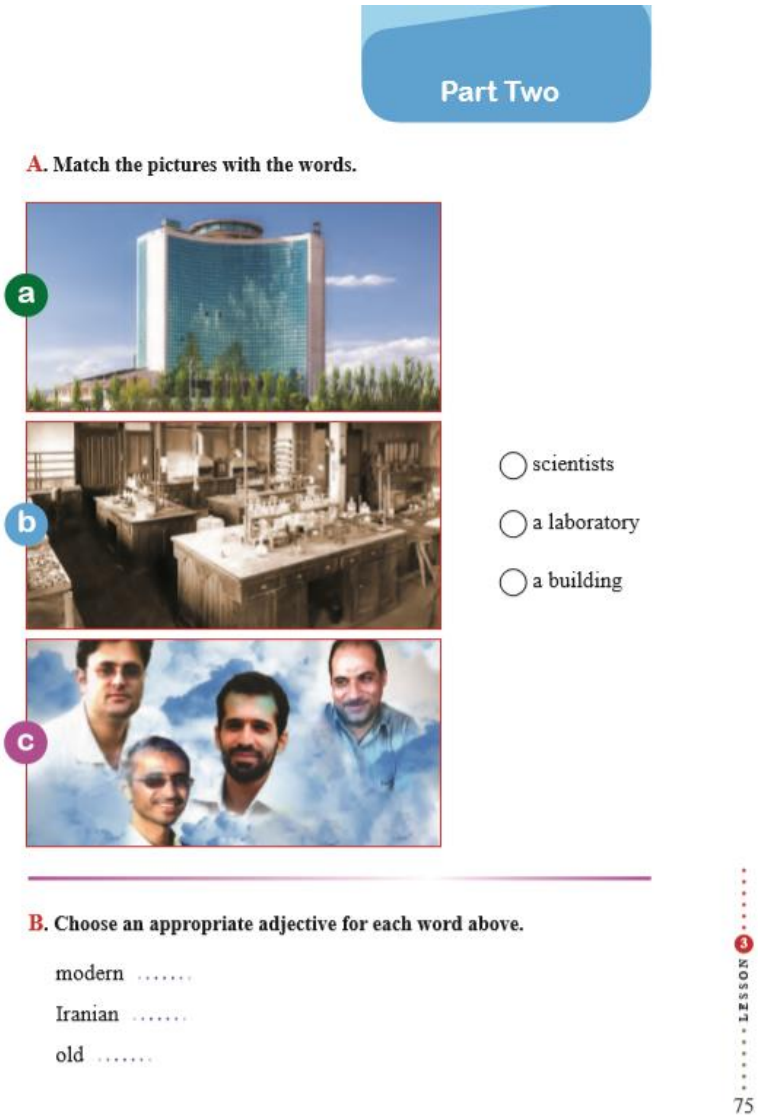
The fourth generation of the English textbooks were designed in 2012 as a result of the establishment of the Comprehensive Scientific Roadmap and the National Curriculum which defined the objectives of foreign languages education for the first time (Kheirabadi & Alavi Moghadam, 2014). In addition to emphasizing the learners' communicative skills, the National Curriculum highlighted the ideological objective of "enriching the national culture and beliefs and the local values" (Barnameye Darsi, 2012, p. 38) through foreign language education. Therefore, the fourth generation of locally developed textbooks, named Prospect (for middle school level) and Vision (for high school level), were designed to address the national document's concerns.

The authoring team of the Vision series consisted of Seyyed Behnam Alavi Moghadam, Reza Kheirabadi, and Hossein Davari, as well as one female scholar, Mehrak Rahimi. The three Vision textbooks contained a noticeably small number of main lessons compared to the previous series. Accordingly, Vision 1 consists of 4 lessons (125 pages), Vision 2 has 3 lessons (110 pages), and Vision 3 contains 3 lessons (102 pages). Each lesson's layout, instead, consists of 9 parts (Get Ready, Conversation, New Words and Expressions, reading, Vocabulary Development, Grammar, Listening Comprehension, Writing and What You Learned) to meet the learners' various linguistic needs.

Like the previous textbooks, Visions opens with Ayatollah Khomeini's portrait and his previously used quotation, *"There was no need to the (foreign) languages in the past. Today it is needed…",* attesting that four decades after the formation of the Islamic Republic and the decease of its founding father, the regime's rhetoric regarding foreign languages learning has not changed yet, and its educational policies still derive from the Revolution's earliest radical orientation. The Ayatollah's page is followed by a Quran verse (in 3 languages, Arabic, English and Persian) reads : "*And of Allah's Signs of Power is the creation of the heavens and the earth and also the variation of the languages and the color of you people; verily, in all these are Signs for men of knowledge"*

(translated into English by Tahereh Saffarzadeh). This verse exemplifies the "Islamization" of knowledge (in this case, diversity) or the "reform of knowledge in Islam" (Had & Ationg, 2020), which provides intellectual distance from the western schools of thought and perspectives. Therefore, the notion of "diversity" in the textbook was presented as a divine production (and not a western concept) in the first place. Similarly, each lesson in Vision 1 begins with a Quran verse to serve as an ideological juxtaposition of Islamic perspectives with the lessons' topics.

The fourth-generation series, marked culturally the richest English textbooks after the Revolution, as 78% of the Visons' textual content conveyed cultural references. Many lessons in the Visions appear, in the first look, general (e.g. Saving Nature and Traveling the World in Vision 1, Art and Culture in Vision 2, and Renewable Energy in Vision 3); yet, their content make surprising twists to the Iranian contexts. The Iranian content of the Vision series outweighed that of non-Iranian in a ratio of 44% to 34%, a reflection of "enriching the national culture and beliefs and the local values" addressed in the National Curriculum. Apparently, the current political and ideological events should be promoted in the textbooks through occasional revisions. Accordingly, the so called 'Nuclear Martyrs' pictures are added in the latest version of Vision 1 (p. 75) (Figure 49). These martyrs were Iranian nuclear scientists who were assassinated between 2010 and 2012. The Iranian government accused Israel of complicity in the assassinations. Those events added a new concept, 'Nuclear Martyrs', to the ideological repository of the Islamic regime, a new Revolutionary lesson to be taught to the younger generations. Even some streets in different cities were named after the Nuclear Martyrs.


Part Two

A. Match the pictures with the words.

a

b

c

scientists

a laboratory

a building

B. Choose an appropriate adjective for each word above.

modern .....

Iranian .....

old .....

LESSON 3

75

Figure 49. An image of the 'Nuclear Martyrs" in Vision 1, 2018

Unlike all the previous textbooks, images in the Vision series are appealing and thoughtfully placed within the textual content. Over half (56%) of the Visions' images are general, not attributable to any specific culture, whereas 44% of them convey cultural meaning. Images referring to Iran (31%) are used twice as much non-Iranian pictures (13%). Iranian images rarely portray ancient Persia (4%), yet mostly display Iran today (96%). Like all post-Revolution textbooks, Islamic compulsory hijab is saliently portrayed in the images of the Vision series, where cultural products (31%) outnumbered cultural perspectives (13%).

Comparatively, the multimodal content (Chen, 2010) of the Pahlavi English textbooks were 20% more cultural than their post-Revolution counterparts. In the Pahlavi textbooks, the non-Iranian cultures were dominant; yet, the Iranian cultures were in majority in the Post-Revolution material. Ancient Persia was represented in 38% of the Pahlavi textbooks compared to that of 3% in the other series. Sixty one percent of the post-Revolution textbooks reflected an Islamic ideological perspective whereas religious content was present in only 4% of the Pahlavi material. All Iranian English textbooks highlighted only the Englishes of the inner circle countries (USA and UK). European, Asian and African countries were barely represented across the four generations of English textbooks. All in all, the Pahlavi textbooks provided more cultural perspectives (36.5%) compared to that of 17.5% in the Islamic regime textbooks. Cultural products were dominant in all Iranian English textbooks.

8.7 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I first provided quantitative data on the Iranian high school English textbooks of 4 generations (5 series) from 1940s to the present time (2020). Then, I discussed the main findings on each generation of textbooks within the country's political and social context in each era.

According to the findings, a big portion of the texts and pictures in the first generation of textbooks (1940s) were cultural, containing classic literature of the American and British authors. I discussed how didactic nature of and moral lessons in classic literature gave the highest rate of cultural perspectives to the first series compared to the next generations. I argued that some of the images promoted the European fashion to influence the Iranians' clothing style during the Reza Pahlavi's reign. Iranian content of the 1940s textbooks displayed the glorious ancient Persia as well as the country's industrial progress. I argued that the first generation of English textbooks partially reflected Pahlavi's endeavors to craft a modern Iranian national identity based on Persia's glorious pre-Arab history (Adib-Moghaddam, 2006), as well as modernizing the country in various industrial, social, educational, and cultural aspects.

The second generation of English textbooks, Graded English (GE), designed in the mid-1960s during the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Pahlavi showed a remarkable change in the EFL methodology and educational material within the Iranian formal educational system. Similar

to its ancestor, most of the GEs' content was cultural, representing ancient Persia, Pahlavi's modern plans and actions (like the feminist document), as well as western cultures, particularly that of the Americans. I argued that the second generation of English textbooks manifested some aspects of the country's political and social trajectory in both national and international levels. The GEs noticeable cultural practices recorded the highest rate among all English textbooks; that is, cultural manners and traditions between various nations were more evident in those textbooks. I argued that such cultural pragmatism could be explained through the 1960 and 1970 global discussions on the importance of culture in language learning. The results showed that GEs images, like their ancestors, confirmed and promoted the Iranian modernized lifestyle, which was rooted in that of the western countries.

After the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the original GE textbooks underwent several revisions to de-westernize and purge their content of secular and liberal influences (Borjian, 2013). The ideological rivalry between "nationalism" (rooted in the ancient Persian culture of pre-Arab invasion) and the "Islamic Shia identity" (derived from the Islamic doctrine of Prophet Mohammad) (Ashraf, 1993) was reflected in removing ancient Persian and Pahlavi era content and replacing religious Revolutionary perspectives in the textbooks. The findings indicated that most of the images in the revised GE series were neutral or non-cultural; yet, the remainder mostly portrayed the Islamic perspectives and grassroots populations which were left behind the Pahlavi's modernizing train.

The third generation, Right Path to English were developed amidst the eventful 1980s when the Islamic ideological rhetoric was even more intensified in the country. Accordingly, the English textbooks represented the Islamic Revolutionary perspectives more than any other cultural elements. In fact, the most obvious cultural representations manifested in those images portrayed the Islamic compulsory hijab and sex segregation. The RPEs' textual content equally represented the Iranian Islamic and non-Iranian cultures while most of the foreign cultural components did not make clear connections with their resources.

The fourth series were the most cultural English textbooks of the post-Revolutionary era. The Vision textbooks initiated the Communicative Language Teaching principle for the first time in the history of Iranian English textbooks. Excessive use of the Quran verses as a way of

Islamicizing the topics and bolstering their religious perspectives mirrored the National Curriculum obligations of enriching Iranian (Islamic) beliefs and values.

The analysis of the cultural representations in the locally developed English textbooks over the past 80 years unveiled the role of the political leaders in crafting, presenting and legitimizing certain cultural values in the Iranian society. The active involvement of the political leaders in the formation and legitimization of their favorite cultural values is what some scholars have called "politicized culture" (De Jong, 2013, p. 102). More precisely, politicized culture is, in fact, "a purposefully created view on the development and origins of a group (mostly nations) created by political leaders" (De Jong, 2013, p. 102).

Such politicization is seen in the Pahlavi dynasty's (1925-1979) juxtaposition of the cultural pieces of ancient Persia and western countries to create its own politicized culture. Reza Pahlavi, in fact, established a modern secular Iranian nation-state on the pillars of Persepolis and Achaemenian heritage (Ashraf, 2006). Accordingly, the notions of nationalism and national identity were associated with the ancient religion of Zoroastrianism, pure Persian language, arts, literature, music, festivals, ceremonies, and the other cultural products, practices and perspectives of the Achaemenid empire (550 BC–330 BC). The Pahlavi kings also implemented western-like industrial and modernizing plans as well as propagating western cultural values and lifestyle. The manifestations of the dynasty's ancient and modern cultural elements (or its politicized culture) were evident in the first and second generations of the English textbooks of 1940s and 1970s.

The Pahlavi's Persian-Western cultural castle, however, was toppled by the 1970 Islamic Revolution, which was opposed to the "oppressive monarchies" of the past (Achaemenid Empire) and "imperialist powers" of the present (Western countries). The revolutionists not only refused the Persian and Western cultural components, but also reshaped, constantly propagated and soon legitimized their own sets of values and perspectives whose core was Islam. The previous political, cultural notion of "national identity" was replaced by another political, cultural notion, "Islamic identity". The Arab invasion of Iran, which had officially terminated the fainting ancient Persia tyranny in 651 AD, was the starting point of national pride and glory for the Islamic revolutionists. The post-Revolutionary textbooks have vividly portrayed the elements of the Islamic regimes' politicized culture (such as Islamic Hijab, sex segregation policy in public places, and banning some types of arts and music).

As I previously mentioned, this research has added new insights into the cultural analysis of English textbooks and to the interaction between the status of English in Iran and cultural representations in Iranian English textbooks. The descriptive part of the study provided the first comprehensive sociolinguistic profile of English in Iran. Consequently, a more comprehensive report is available on the status, functions, uses, and users of this language in the county's social and political context from 1795 forward. Second, the evaluative part of this research entailed a longitudinal, comparative, cultural analysis of Iranian high school English textbooks across four generations (and five series) from 1939 to 2020. This is a marked contrast to most prior evaluative studies which investigated only one English textbook. While prior studies have limited their analytical scope to a certain cultural aspect (such as gender), this research analyzed multiple layers of cultural products, practices and perspective in the Iranian English materials. Finally, this study introduced a new scheme to culturally evaluate English textbooks based on the 3P Model of culture, which has the advantage of being applied in analyses of various cultural representations in textbooks and teaching materials.

8.8 Limitations of this study

Geographical distance from Iran restricted my access to the physical material in the country's archives and libraries, particularly the historical documents on the status of English in Iran. For example, I could not find the original versions of Right Path to English (1980s-1990s) which would have allowed a comparative evaluation. Also, due to time and geographical constraints, it was difficult to interview Iranian scholars and experts who could shed more light on the historical aspects of English in Iran.

Additionally, this study's reliability could be challenged as only one coder categorized the cultural representations based on the 3P Model. Other coders from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, however, may code the multimodal content of English textbooks slightly different. At least one additional coder could address this concern. However, my identity as an Iranian cultural insider who is bilingual in both Farsi and English does strengthen the validity and reliability of my perceptions on the cultural texts and images and thus mitigates this issue to some extent.

8.9 Further Research

The findings of this study raise more questions to be discussed on the nature of culture: what is culture in second language learning? Can culture be also neutral or is it always a political craft? To what extent can language textbooks reflect 'real', non-politicized cultures? Or does non-political culture ever exist? Reflection on these inquiries may provide new insights into further research on the cultural evaluations of English textbooks. Additionally, a complementing study is suggested to investigate cultural representations in the Iranian English textbooks of middle school level.

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