Whose Story Gets Told?
A Qualitative Analysis of Cultural Diversity in Luxembourg's
Primary Schoolbooks

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Master's in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

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Department of Social and Organisational Psychology

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Resumo

Esta análise qualitativa explora a representação da diversidade cultural nos manuais escolares luxemburgueses do 1.º ciclo, de 1981 a 2010. O estudo analisa a evolução da forma como a diversidade cultural é retratada, bem como o alinhamento entre a representação nos manuais escolares e a realidade multicultural do Luxemburgo. Implementando a análise temática numa amostra de sete manuais escolares de língua alemã, o estudo analisa a representação dos grupos minoritários e maioritários, as relações intergrupais e as narrativas de diferentes grupos culturais. Os resultados revelam uma visibilidade proeminente do grupo maioritário, com representações limitadas e muitas vezes generalizadas das culturas minoritárias, particularmente nos manuais escolares mais antigos. Embora as interações intergrupais sejam representadas de forma positiva nos manuais escolares atuais, as narrativas das minorias são frequentemente marginalizadas. Estes resultados sugerem uma discrepância entre a diversidade da população luxemburguesa e a sua representação nos materiais didáticos. O estudo salienta a necessidade de uma reforma curricular capaz de promover representações inclusivas e equitativas da diversidade cultural, visando os objetivos de uma educação multicultural. As recomendações para investigação futura incluem a exploração das perspetivas de alunos e professores, e a análise dos processos de desenvolvimento e seleção de manuais escolares. Tal contribuirá para a reforma do sistema educativo no sentido da visibilidade e reconhecimento paritário dos grupos étnico-raciais.

Palavras-chave: Contato Theory, Diversidade Cultural, Estereótipos, Grupo Majoritário, Grupo Minoritário, Livro Escolar, Luxemburgo, Preconceito, Relações Intergrupais

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    3020 Processos de Grupo e Interpessoais

3500 Psicologia Educacional e Escolar

    3530 Currículo, Programas e Métodos de Ensino

    3550 Aprendizagem Acadêmica e Desempenho

    3560 Dinâmica de Sala de Aula, Ajuste dos Estudantes e Atitudes

Abstract

This qualitative analysis explores the representation of cultural diversity within Luxembourgish primary schoolbooks from 1981 to 2010. The study examines the evolution of how cultural diversity is portrayed as well as the alignment between the representation in the schoolbooks and Luxembourg's multicultural reality. Implementing thematic analysis on a sample of seven German-language textbooks, the research investigates the portrayal of Minority and Majority groups, intergroup relationships, and the narratives of different cultural groups. Findings reveal a persistent visibility of the Majority group, with limited and often generalized representations of Minority cultures, particularly in the older schoolbooks. While intergroup interactions are depicted positively in today's schoolbooks, Minority narratives are frequently marginalized. These results suggest a discrepancy between Luxembourg's diverse population and its representation in educational materials. The study highlights the need for curriculum reform to promote inclusive and equitable portrayals of cultural diversity and to get closer to the objectives of a multicultural education. Recommendations for future research include exploring student and teacher perspectives, and investigating the processes involved in the development and selection of schoolbooks. This will contribute to the reform of the education system towards the visibility and recognition of ethnic-racial groups.

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Introduction

"The only true exploration, the only true fountain of delight, would not be to visit foreign lands, but to possess others' eyes, to look at the world through the eyes of others" (Proust, 1923/2022). With this thought, Marcel Proust, a renowned French novelist, illustrates his belief that genuine understanding of others can be attained. Isn't reading a story in a book an opportunity to experience life through the perspectives of its characters? This notion is particularly relevant within the educational system, where children are required to read numerous stories. Wouldn't it be ideal to introduce more multicultural narratives in this context, especially in our current society, where multiculturalism has become more prevalent than ever before and where diverse cultures intertwine daily? One notable example of such multiculturalism is Luxembourg, a small country in the heart of Europe that has become synonymous with cultural diversity.

In an interview, Luxembourg's minister of national education, Claude Meisch, highlighted the opportunities and challenges presented by the country's diverse, multilingual population:

> Luxembourg is a country marked by the diversity of its population and its languages. Multilingualism is an enormous opportunity. Just as it is an opportunity for young people to grow up in a multicultural environment. But for many, it is also a challenge, especially in our traditional schools with a traditional system geared towards a Germanophile Luxembourg population. Today, the population has diversified, and our schools are home to French, Portuguese and English speakers, as well as pupils from other parts of the world. (Meisch, as cited in Fassone, 2023)

Claude Meisch, the minister for national education, children and youth in Luxembourg, made it clear in his interview to the magazine Delano that Luxembourg needs to rethink the curriculum and the teaching practice in Luxembourgish schools. In one of his proposed programs from his campaign, he aims to modernize the school curricula at both primary and secondary school level (Fassone, 2023). In another interview, almost a year later, the minister still stands for his initial proposal by saying that he plans to diversify school programs to adapt them to the needs of Luxembourg's diverse population (360 Crossmedia, 2024). However, the question arises how and when the minister will put into action his plan to redesign the Luxembourgish curriculum so that it reflects the reality of Luxembourgish multicultural population.

The need for curriculum reform in Luxembourg, as emphasized by Minister Meisch, is directly linked to the country's evolving demographic profile. To fully understand this need, it is crucial to consider Luxembourg's historical experience with both emigration and immigration, and how these patterns have shaped its current multicultural society. Luxembourg

has been a country for immigration for many decades. Luxembourg's history is marked by both emigration and immigration. Initially Luxembourg was a rural country, from which many Luxembourgers emigrated, particularly to America and France. However, then the industrialization began in the late 19th century, particularly the growth of the steel industry. Thus, a shift began to happen, and Luxembourg became more attractive for the neighboring countries and the immigration began. There was a massive influx of workers, especially from Belgium, France and Italy. Another influx came after the World War II, when Luxembourg started to diversify its economy into the financial sector. This influx attracted financial professionals from both within and outside Europe. Today, Luxembourg has a highly diverse population, with a large number of foreign-born residents, as well as many refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine who have fled their countries due to war and natural disasters (Nienaber et al., 2023; Péporté, 2022).

Although Minister Meisch emphasizes that Luxembourg's curriculum needs to change, there have not been many investigative efforts to determine what is lacking or what should be included. In fact, Luxembourg has conducted little to no research regarding cultural diversity or the educational system. In 2023, three students from the University of Luxembourg took a significant first step in analyzing Luxembourgish school materials used in the lower cycle of classical and general secondary education, by examining the representation of diversity in the country's educational materials. Their analysis revealed a lack of diversity, both in terms of gender and specific groups such as non-white individuals, people with disabilities, and LGBTQ+ individuals. In numbers, their study showed that out of 61,409 characters counted, 58.8% are male, 21.1% are female, and 20.1% are characters whose gender could not be determined. Moreover, beyond gender, the categories "Disability," "Non-whiteness," and "Sexual Diversity" were also documented. Non-white characters are often not integrated into the Western society depicted in textbooks but are represented as a homogeneous group from a different society. Their findings indicate a significant lack of diversity among characters, with male characters vastly outnumbering female characters and specific groups like individuals with disabilities and LGBTQ+ characters being underrepresented or stereotyped. The researchers concluded that it is important to create a school environment that supports equality, as well as more progressive and representative materials (Université du Luxembourg, 2023).

Recognizing Luxembourg's limited research in multicultural education, this study aims to make a substantial theoretical contribution by presenting an updated framework for analyzing cultural diversity and racial and ethnic representations in schoolbooks. Building upon existing theories, such as the contact hypothesis and intergroup relations, this framework seeks to

provide a more nuanced understanding of how educational materials are shaped and to highlight the ongoing need for curriculum assessment, offering a model for future research.

These findings underscore the critical need to delve deeper into the curriculum of educational materials. The analysis clearly illustrates that the current representation of diversity is still not reflecting the reality of Luxembourg's population. This realization has motivated me to further explore the theme of cultural diversity in Luxembourgish educational books. Therefore, this study is an attempt to show how cultural diversity is portrayed in Luxembourgish schoolbooks of today, and also how the representation of Minority groups has changed over the years, comparing schoolbooks from different years. Resultantly, this study looked to answer the following question:

1. *How is cultural diversity portrayed in the texts and images of German-language Luxembourgish schoolbooks used in the educational system from 1981 to 2010, and what changes can be observed in this representation over that time period?*

Seven Luxembourgish schoolbooks for German courses from the 1st and 2nd grades, published between 1981 and 2010, were selected for analysis in this study. Thematic analysis was employed to examine the qualitative data, which included both images and texts. The books from 2008 and 2010 are the ones currently used in the educational system. This study explored themes such as the visibility and varying levels of representation of both the Minority and Majority groups, as well as the relationships between these cultural groups. By investigating how different cultures are depicted in these materials, I aim to contribute to the ongoing dialogue about equality and cultural representation in Luxembourg's educational framework.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

1.1. Demographic Diversity and Education in Luxembourg

Luxembourg is a small country located in the heart of Europe, welcoming numerous nationalities and cultures, which makes it not only multicultural but also remarkable in its demographic composition. The latest population count from 2021 indicates that 52.8% of the residents in Luxembourg are Luxembourgers, while 42.7% are foreigners. Among these foreigners, 38.2% hold another European nationality, particularly from Portugal, France, Italy, and Belgium. The remaining percentages comprise individuals from various Asian and African countries (*Nationalities*, 2023). These figures are not coincidental, as Luxembourg has been a destination for immigrants for over a century (*Governance of Migrant Integration in Luxembourg*, n.d.). Notably, in the second half of the 19th century, following the rise of the steel industry, waves of German, Italian, and Portuguese immigrants moved to Luxembourg for work and a better life (*Thriving Through Migration,* 2025). Currently, the influx of immigrants is primarily driven by war and conflict in other countries, resulting in the Luxembourgish population being enriched by refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine (Nienaber et al., 2023).

For the purposes of this study, we define the Minority and Majority groups based on numerical size and in terms of power and/ or status, following the approach of previous researchers (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001; Tajfel, 1981). Therefore, in this context, the Majority group is defined as the Luxembourger cultural group, while all other cultural groups residing in Luxembourg are encompassed within the Minority groups.

In terms of educational policies, Luxembourg is highly innovative and offers a range of initiatives aimed at ensuring equal educational opportunities for every child. Other objectives include providing equal starting points for all students and facilitating access to quality education through modern curricula and content (*Fundamental Principles and National Policies*, 2024; *Education Policy Priorities*, n.d.).

In this richly multicultural context, Luxembourg's school population reflects the nation's diversity. To support the educational policies that the government aims to implement, there should be a curriculum that incorporates all cultural groups residing in Luxembourg.

1.2. Culture, Diversity, Race and Ethnicity

1.2.1. Culture & Cultural Diversity

Culture can be defined as "the dynamic system of rules, both explicit and implicit, established by groups to ensure their survival. It involves attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviors shared by a group but expressed differently by each specific unit within that group. Culture is communicated across generations, is relatively stable, but has the potential to change over time" (Matsumoto & Juang, 2004). Baldwin et al. (2006) describe culture as a structure or pattern that embodies a system of meanings shared among members of a group. These meanings include beliefs, values, attitudes, and norms. Additionally, the authors note that culture serves a functional role as an adaptation to past environments. Another characteristic associated with culture is that it is also a cognitive process shaped by socialization (Baldwin et al., 2006). While there are many definitions of culture, this study will rely on these two.

Culture is a broad concept that encompasses terms such as race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and identity (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). In order to achieve the objectives of this study and with regard to Luxembourg, the focus will be on culture in terms of race and ethnicity.

Cultural diversity refers to the wide range of human societies and cultures found globally or within a specific area. This includes not only visible differences like language, clothing, and customs, but also deeper variations in social structures, moral values, and environmental interactions (Kerwin, 2010; Stepney, 2022).

Luxembourg is defined by its remarkable cultural diversity, stemming from a substantial non-national population that enriches every facet of its society (*Nationalities*, 2023). This study's analysis will focus on the dimensions of race and ethnicity, chosen for their critical potential in analyzing imagery and text within schoolbooks. These two aspects offer valuable insights into representations of cultural diversity.

1.2.2. Race & Ethnicity

Race is a complex and dynamic construct that is shaped by historical and institutionalized ideas and practices. In humans, biological diversity does not align with the concept of race, as there are no clear biological markers that consistently separate people into folk racial categories (Cavalli-Sforza, 1997; Templeton, 2013). Therefore, from a scientific perspective, race lacks validity as a biological concept. Instead, it is understood as a social construct, reflecting human intentions to differentiate and categorize groups (Graves, 2004; Keevak, 2011). It involves categorizing individuals into groups based on perceived physical and behavioral characteristics.

The physical characteristics often refer to skin color or eye shape (Markus & Moya, 2010; Spencer-Oatey, 2012). At times, race and culture appear to work in tandem to create significant and visible distinctions among groups within a larger society. Additionally, race can contribute to the formation of distinct cultural groups and consequently form the basis for prejudicial communication that can be a major obstacle to intercultural communication (Spencer-Oatey, 2012).

Ethnicity is another term often used interchangeably with culture. Ethnicity allows individuals to identify with, or be identified by, specific groupings based on presumed commonalities. These commonalities typically include language, history, nationality or region of origin, customs, behavioral patterns, religion, names, physical appearance, and genealogical or ancestral connections. Furthermore, ethnicity can serve as a vital source of meaning, action, and identity, while fostering a sense of belonging, pride, and motivation within particular communities (Markus & Moya, 2010; Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Within this study, the focus lies on language, nationality and customs, as these are concepts that can be identified in the dataset.

1.3. The potential of Schoolbooks in Multicultural Education

1.3.1. Definition of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has its origins in the United States and emerged during the civil rights movement of the 1960's. Since then, there has been a great interest and research on multicultural education (Banks, 1993). Banks and Banks (2016) define multicultural education as "an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, cultural, and religious groups will have an equal opportunity to achieve academically in school" (Banks & Banks, 2016, p. 1). Other researchers have also come forward with definitions around the term multicultural education, such as "antiracist education (…) a process important for all students" (Nieto & Bode, 2017), or "the common term used to describe the type of pluralist education (…) seeking for all children receiving education" (Jay, 2005). The National Association for Multicultural Education describes multicultural education as philosophical concept built on the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity as acknowledged in various documents, such as the U.S. Declaration of Independence, constitutions of South Africa and the United States, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations

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(*Definitions of Multicultural Education - National Association for Multicultural Education*, n.d.).

1.3.2. Multicultural Education in the curriculum

In addition to the definition of multicultural education, its implementation within educational environments is often challenging, and its positive outcomes are not brought to its full potential.

Schools hold the potential to improve cross-cultural relations in offering significant opportunities for positive intercultural interaction (Pagani et al., 2011). However, Pagani et al. (2011) found in their study with Italian pupils, that the potential of the educational environment is often unrealized. To achieve the benefits of the intercultural interaction, schools must provide a systematic, school-wide approach that includes fostering empathy, promoting positive contact (both direct and indirect) and addressing underlying anxieties and prejudice. The authors therefor also recommend curriculum revisions to better reflect the multicultural and intercultural nature of society (Pagani et al., 2011).

Revisions of the curriculum could make significant differences, as schoolbooks are still used in many educative centers, also in Luxembourg, especially for the younger children. Textbooks are a tool to not only transmit comprehension and learning, but also to transmit culture and ways of understanding the world. The very choice of which historical events, figures, or cultural aspects are included or excluded shapes students' understanding of the world and their place within it. Therefor schoolbooks influence not only what students learn but also how they learn and understand (Listán & Pérez, 2013).

It is proven that the school curriculum has the capacity to promote a more well-informed and tolerant understanding of others among younger generations. It can shape students' fundamental attitudes towards others. Stereotypical negative attitudes can develop among pupils even from the presence of a small amount of biased material in schoolbooks. Consequently, when biased material is present, textbooks can act as a barrier to establishing social cohesion, respect for diversity, and tolerance towards others (Greaney, 2006). In this context Moya-Mata et al. advocated that schoolbooks should primarily aim to enhance equal opportunities for everyone and therefor also represent cultural diversity (Moya-Mata et al., 2013).

Basnet (2024) studied cultural diversity in education in the context of Nepal and depicted several benefits as well as challenges that come with integrating cultural diversity into the curriculum. The benefits include cognitive and academic gains, cultural competence, global

awareness, reduced stereotyping, workforce readiness, improved communication skills, enhanced creativity, and positive social-emotional development. However, the challenges are often originated in resistance from traditional education systems, inadequate teacher training, limited representation in materials, time constraints, curriculum overload, pushback from learners and parents, and gaps in cultural competence among educators. Basnet himself suggests as a solution to implement cultural diversity into curricula to gain the advantages from a multicultural education (Basnet, 2024).

1.3.3. Representation of Diversity in Schoolbooks

Despite its importance, current research indicates that there are ongoing challenges in ensuring authentic and equitable representation of cultural diversity in schoolbooks and educational content.

Koss and Daniel (2017) explored the state of diversity in children's picture books and its role in supporting culturally and linguistically diverse students. The researchers emphasized the significance of authentic representations of various populations in these books and the need for teachers to seek out culturally relevant literature. The article outlines three pedagogical approaches to enhance the curriculum, one of them being the multicultural aspect (Koss & Daniel, 2017).

A study in Spain however made it clear that there is a minimal progress in representing diversity in the curriculum, with persistent stereotypes about cultural representation even in the 21st century (Del Mar Bernabé & Martinez-Bello, 2021). The study collected both quantitative and qualitative data, examining over 2,600 images in primary music education textbooks and revealed that they do not adequately represent the diverse human populations found in classrooms (Del Mar Bernabé & Martinez-Bello, 2021). In the US, a study evaluating 45 multicultural picture books, the results were not much different concerning the quality of the cultural diversity aspect (Yoo-Lee et al., 2014). While there is a progress in the quantity of providing culturally relevant children's literature, issues of stereotype and authenticity remain. Common stereotypes included those related to appearance, behaviors and social roles, with illustrations often contributing to the issue. Therefore, the research highlights the critical importance of insider perspectives in assessing cultural authenticity (Yoo-Lee et al., 2014). On another level, according to Moreno-Fernández et al. (2019) there exists a discrepancy between Spain's inclusive educational policies and the reality reflected in primary school textbooks. While gender representation is relatively balanced, the depiction of cultural and, especially,

functional diversity lags significantly behind the reality of Spain's diverse student population. The authors emphasize the need for greater efforts to ensure textbooks accurately and inclusively reflect the diversity found in schools (Moreno-Fernández et al., 2019). Studies made in Iranian and Korea support the limitations of schoolbooks in fostering cultural understanding, intercultural interactions and examples of cultural diversity without a superficial level of cultural engagement (Song, 2013; Tajeddin & Teimournezhad, 2014).

Given the limitations in representing cultural diversity in educational materials, it is crucial to understand how intergroup relations develop and function. These relations influence attitudes, stereotypes, and interactions between groups, shaping social cohesion or division. Therefore, understanding intergroup dynamics provides essential insights into fostering more authentic intercultural understanding beyond the content of schoolbooks.

1.4. Intergroup Relations

1.4.1. Definition

Within social psychology, there are many definitions of "group," each emphasizing different aspects. Arrow and his colleagues (2000) defined a group as a small collection of individuals who interact with one another in a mutually supportive and interdependent manner. Others narrow the concept further, describing a group as people who define themselves based on key characteristics of a self-inclusive social category (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

For this study, we adopt the definition that a group exists when two or more individuals define and evaluate themselves according to the defining properties of a common self-inclusive category. Furthermore, group life also involves social interaction, interdependent goals, and shared emotions (Hogg, 2001). When applied to cultural groups, the focus of this study, members often define themselves in terms of specific cultural properties, engage in interactions that reinforce group cohesion, and share experiences related to their cultural identity.

In line with this conceptualization, Sherif (1962) defined intergroup relations as follows: "Intergroup relations refers to relations between two or more groups and their respective members. Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications, we have an instance of intergroup behavior" (p. 5). In other words, "intergroup relations refer to the ways in which people in groups perceive, think about, feel about, and act toward people in other groups" (DeLamater, 2006).

1.4.2. Dimensions of Intergroup Relations

Intergroup contexts generally encourage individuals to behave in ways that benefit their own group over out-groups, particularly concerning resources, prestige, and status (Brewer & Campbell, 1976). Consequently, intergroup behavior often tends to be competitive and ethnocentric, with individuals showing contempt for others and praising their own group as superior. Due to its ethnocentric nature, intergroup relations can be challenging to improve (Sumner, 1906). However, although intergroup relations are inherently ethnocentric, they can also be influenced by tolerance, friendliness, rivalry, hatred, or violent conflict (DeLamater, 2006).

There are many theories explaining how groups interact. One notable example is Sherif's (1958) "realistic conflict" theory, also known as interdependence theory. This theory posits that people's behavior is influenced by their goals and how they perceive their relationships with others in achieving those goals. For instance, if two groups desire the same resource that only one can succeed in obtaining, their relationship is likely to be competitive and conflict-oriented; this is described as a zero-sum situation. Conversely, when both groups' goals can only be achieved through cooperation and teamwork, their relationship tends to become collaborative and harmonious, known as a non-zero-sum situation. Such cooperation can strengthen intergroup relations (Sherif, 1958). These examples of harmony and teamwork are often illustrated in educational contexts, which may foster better relationships among children.

Discrimination is a primary behavioral characteristic of intergroup relations. It can range from in-group favoritism and verbal abuse to systematic violence and even genocide. However, the absence of overt discrimination does not necessarily indicate the absence of underlying negative intergroup emotions. This makes it difficult for social psychology to detect prejudice, especially in environments where expressing prejudice is prohibited (DeLamater, 2006).

Today, one widely recognized method of combating negative intergroup relations is through close and positive contact between members of different groups, as explained by the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954).

1.5. The role of intergroup contact in shaping attitudes towards outgroups

1.5.1. The Contact Hypothesis

Allport (1954) proposed the contact hypothesis, suggesting that intergroup contact, under specific conditions, can reduce prejudice and foster positive intergroup relations. These

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conditions include equal status between groups, shared objectives, intergroup cooperation, and support from authorities or societal norms (Allport, 1954). School is probably the institution in Luxembourg, as well as in many other countries, where, at least theoretically, there is the most concrete possibility that these four conditions can be met. Ideally, all students hold equal standing, share common academic goals, engage in collaborative learning, and benefit from the guidance of teachers as authority figures.

Pettigrew (1998) required that a fifth condition must be added to the contact hypothesis which is that the contact situation must provide participants with the opportunity to become friends. Intergroup friendship is a strong predictor of reduced prejudice, and it can even lead to reduced prejudice towards other outgroups in general. More positive attitudes towards outgroups can even appear towards outgroups with whom there has been no contact (Pettigrew, 1997).

Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis, based on 515 studies and 713 independent samples, provides strong support for the contact hypothesis, demonstrating a general tendency for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. However, their comprehensive analysis reveals that Allport's four conditions are not prerequisites for prejudice reduction but rather serve to facilitate more favorable outcomes. Furthermore, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) highlight the generalizability of the contact effects. The positive effects of intergroup contact generalize beyond the immediate contact situation. In the educational context, the positive experiences with diversity could foster more positive attitudes towards diversity in general, not only in the school environment (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

1.5.2. Extended Contact

Positive intergroup relations result not only from direct interaction but also from indirect contact, such as through storytelling (Cameron et al., 2006; Vezzali et al., 2014). Wright et al. (1997) tested the extended contact hypothesis, finding that knowing about cross-group friendships significantly reduced prejudice toward out-groups. Zhou et al.'s (2018) meta-analysis of the Extended Contact Hypothesis, spanning two decades of research, supports this assertion, demonstrating that merely knowing about cross-group friendships significantly improves outgroup attitudes. This effect operates independently of direct friendship, highlighting extended contact as a distinct mechanism for prejudice reduction (Zhou et al., 2018).

Vezzali et al. (2014) investigated the impact of extended contact via exposure to the Harry Potter series on attitudes toward marginalized groups (immigrants, LGBTQ+ individuals, refugees). Their experimental intervention with elementary school children, and two cross-sectional studies involving secondary and university students in Italy and the United Kingdom, confirmed that extended contact, through reading, can indeed yield positive outcomes, including prejudice reduction. Moreover, Vezzali et al. (2014) documented secondary transfer effects, whereby improved attitudes toward one marginalized group generalized to other similar groups. This suggests that interventions targeting a specific outgroup can have a broader positive effect on attitudes toward other comparable outgroups. Cameron et al. (2006) provide further evidence of this phenomenon, showing that storytelling interventions featuring friendships between in-group and out-group members significantly enhanced positive attitudes toward refugees compared to control groups.

1.6. Prejudice Development in Childhood

Addressing stereotypes and prejudice is essential to undertake during childhood, which indicates that this effort should also occur in the initial stages of children's education.

In early childhood (between ages 3 and 6), prejudice, particularly toward visible Minorities, begins to emerge. A peak in prejudice is observed during middle childhood (between ages 5 and 7), followed by a slight decline thereafter. During adolescence, there is little change in prejudice (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). This slight decline after the age of seven is not simply explained by the cognitive development of children, however social norms and the way children perceive social norms depending in the situation influences their expression of prejudice to a certain degree as well (Monteiro et al., 2008). Other researchers agree to the socio-normative explanation of children's racial prejudice, adding the dimension of self-presentation and suggesting a developmental shift from external to internal motivation in suppressing bias (Rutland et al., 2005).

During the school years, children acquire social knowledge and attitudes that may persist into adolescence; in cases of ethnic prejudice, these attitudes can lead to physical and psychological harm to Minority groups. Furthermore, prejudice can result in intergroup divisions and distancing from outgroup members (Durkin, 1995, p. 776). Interracial contact, especially during early and middle childhood, increases the likelihood of cross-racial friendships forming in childhood and later in life (Ellison & Powers, 1994).

Nesdale (2004) provides key explanations for children's prejudice, including the Social Reflection Approach and the Sociocognitive Theory.

According to the Social Reflection Approach, "children's prejudice is simply considered to reflect the community's attitudes and values, which are typically transmitted by the child's parents" (Nesdale, 2004). In line with this approach, children adopt attitudes toward ethnic groups through direct influence or by observing and mimicking their parents' verbal and non-verbal behaviors. This process can be understood by children's desire to please their parents, identify with them, or seek rewards (Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938). However, it is incorrect to assume that children are "empty containers into which prevailing societal prejudices are poured, or sponges that soak up dominant ethnic attitudes" (Nesdale, 2004). While some studies have reported positive correlations between ethnic attitudes of children and their parents (Goodman, 1952; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938), these correlations have often been low (Frenkel-Brunswik & Havel, 1953) or sometimes nonexistent (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). Consequently, Durkin (1995) emphasizes the significant intellectual growth of children during middle childhood, highlighting their active role in understanding and navigating their cognitive and social environments.

Aboud's (1988) Sociocognitive Theory posits that a child's attitudes toward peers are shaped by two developmental factors. First, a child's thinking evolves from reliance on feelings (fear of the unfamiliar, preference for the familiar) to perceptions (favoring those who look, sound, or act similarly) and, eventually, to cognitive skills (understanding individuals beyond group characteristics) around the age of 7. Second, a child's focus transitions from self-centered perspectives to group-based categorizations, then to individual-based evaluations. These two developmental sequences overlap, influencing how children form and alter their attitudes toward others. Based on this, Aboud (1988) argues that ingroup bias and outgroup prejudice peak around the age of 7, when group differences become prominent.

Both approaches can be related to the school context. Parents play a significant role in children's lives, but the school environment is equally influential. While children are shaped by their parents, they are also affected by their educational surroundings, including schoolbooks (Vezzali et al., 2014). Regarding the second theory, processes such as fear of the unfamiliar and preferences for familiar appearances can be influenced through indirect contact with the unfamiliar via educational materials.

1.7. Present Study

Schoolbooks play a crucial role in the lives of children; however, many educational materials insufficiently represent cultural diversity and often fail to reflect the multicultural population of the country (Efron, 2020; Jashari, 2012; Weiner, 2017). This research examines Luxembourgish educational textbooks to determine whether the culturally diverse population of Luxembourg is accurately represented. The aim of this study is to conduct a thematic analysis of primary school textbooks from 1981 to 2010 to explore how ethnic and racial groups are represented in Luxembourg's educational system and to assess how these representations may have changed over time.

The significance of this study stems from the positive outcomes that extended contact can generate and the compelling reasons to promote multicultural education from early childhood. Given that the peak emergence of prejudice occurs during early to middle childhood, it is essential to integrate cultural diversity into the curriculum by at least primary school. By analyzing both historical and current schoolbooks, this research can evaluate improvements made over the years and identify areas that still require attention.

This study aims to illuminate what is still lacking in the curriculum and how the Luxembourgish educational system can enhance its multicultural education. The thematic analysis will focus on various images and texts from schoolbooks to examine the portrayal of Minority and Majority groups and their relational dynamics. Ultimately, this study seeks to encourage those involved in the design and development of schoolbooks to consider the representations of different cultures within textbooks. Additionally, it may inspire the Luxembourg Ministry of Education to revisit and refine policies regarding multicultural education, fostering greater opportunities for improvement and innovation.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1. Research Question and Methodological Approach

To obtain a nuanced and detailed insight into the state of cultural diversity represented in Luxembourgish schoolbooks, qualitative analysis was chosen as the methodological approach. Information derived from qualitative research yields deeply contextualized and descriptive data (Levitt et al., 2018). Furthermore, thematic analysis has been used to provide a systematic method for identifying, organizing and interpreting patterns of meaning, themes, within the dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Braun and Clarke's (2012) established six-phase thematic analysis approach was used to analyze the collected data and address the following research question:

1. *How is cultural diversity portrayed in the texts and images of German-language Luxembourgish schoolbooks used in the educational system from 1981 to 2010, and what changes can be observed in this representation over that time period?*

2.2. Sampling Procedure

This research examined a collection of seven German-language textbooks for first and second grades used in Luxembourg's schools from 1981 to 2010, selected from an initial pool of fifteen. The selection process involved a thorough review of the available schoolbooks, prioritizing those that offered the richest potential for analyzing representations of cultural diversity, race, and ethnicity. Books were excluded if they primarily consisted of simple vocabulary lists, grammar exercises, or stories with homogenous characters and settings that provided limited material for in-depth analysis of cultural themes. All seven selected books were officially approved for first and second grade and published by Luxembourg's Ministry of Education. To ensure a comprehensive data set conducive to rigorous qualitative analysis, only books containing a sufficient number and variety of representations of minority groups, encompassing diverse cultural traditions, social roles, and physical appearances, were included, while maintaining a focus on first and second grade German-language textbooks.

The inquiry for the textbooks, both current and from previous years, was facilitated by my background. Coming from a family of teachers, my mother and grandmother had a substantial collection of schoolbooks. Additionally, Marcel Rath, a longtime friend of my mother who is also a teacher, provided me with old schoolbooks from the 1990s, which significantly enriched this study.

It is important to note that textbooks from 2008 and 2010 are not old schoolbooks, however they are still in use in Luxembourg schools today. The country does not renew educational materials annually. Some textbooks remain in circulation for ten years or more before being updated. Furthermore, teachers have the autonomy to select the materials they use, resulting in flexible guidelines regarding which books are employed and when.

The decision to focus on first and second grade stems from the fact that children in this age group are at a critical stage of prejudice development (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Since German serves as the primary language of instruction at this level in Luxembourg, this study focused exclusively on German-language materials (Ollier, 2025).

2.3. Instruments

The coding process was facilitated using MAXQDA, a software tool designed to assist researchers in analyzing non-numerical data (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2019).

To enhance the reliability of the findings, a second evaluator reviewed 30% of the data. During a subsequent meeting, discussions were held to address any disagreements and propose adjustments. Cohen's Kappa was employed to calculate the level of agreement between the two raters. This statistic is a chance-corrected measure of inter-rater reliability that assesses whether the degree of agreement between the analysts exceeds what would be expected by chance (Cohen, 1960). For this study, Cohen's Kappa was approximately 0.62, indicating a substantial level of agreement between the two analysts. Overall, there were a significant number of agreements, which did not necessitate changes to the coding system, but did lead to modifications in the frequency with which certain codes were applied.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

The coding process in the research is deductive. The coding scheme has been compiled with the template of Abdou's framework to analyze Minority groups in educative settings. Abdou analyzed the representation of the Coptic Christian Minority in Egyptian history textbooks from 1890 to 2017. Throughout the study, the researcher came up with a framework for analyzing Minority representation in textbooks worldwide (Abdou, 2017).

Abdou's (2017) framework uses the terms "Minority group" and "Majority group." In this study, given the statistics for Luxembourg (*Nationalities*, 2023), the "Majority group" is defined as Luxembourgish citizens, and the "Minority group" encompasses all other cultural groups represented in the textbooks.

As the analysis progressed, the codes evolved, and adjustments were made, discussed with my supervisor. Initially, the codes were modified to align more closely with Abdou's (2017) original coding scheme. Furthermore, several codes were added to the framework to capture missing nuances. Among these additions was the coding theme "Visibility Majority Group," which focuses on the representation of the Majority group in the foreground, as well as stereotypical Luxembourgish representations, the dominant religious orientation (Catholicism), traditional or historical elements, and common Luxembourgish names (*Religions in Luxembourg*, 2025). Given my Luxembourgish background, I included the stereotypical representation as I felt confident in detecting stereotypes related to my own nationality and had awareness of how a typical Luxembourgish landscape appears. The code "Story, experience, perspective of Minority groups" was also added to provide an equivalent to the "Visibility Majority Group" and to ensure that the presence of a Minority group was coded. Another code I incorporated was "Only Minority narratives," creating a parallel to the "Only Dominant Narratives" code to maintain balance between the representation of Minority and Majority groups.

I also removed a code from the original framework. Within the "Characteristics and Traits" code group, the code "Stereotypes of the Minority group" was removed to prevent the analysis from focusing excessively on stereotypes.

As the analysis deepened, I encountered challenges with the codes "Stereotypical representation" and "Authentical representation" within the "Minority Narratives" coding group. Evaluating whether the data presented a stereotypical or authentic illustration of a specific cultural group felt problematic. Being neither a member of the cultural group in question nor an authority on its cultural nuances, making a judgement on whether something was stereotypical felt subjective and uncomfortable, particularly given the potential impact of stereotypes.

Stereotypes are simplified images or perceptions of specific social groups that convey information about their typical roles and traits. They reflect beliefs about what members of those groups are generally like and serve to simplify our understanding of a complex social environment (Dovidio, 2010). As the researcher, I felt that including this assessment was too judgmental and subjective.

After discussions with my supervisor about different approaches, we decided to implement Susan Fiske's Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, 2018) and to eliminate the terms "stereotypical" and "authentic" altogether. The Stereotype Content Model, developed by Susan Fiske, explains how people categorize others based on two primary dimensions: warmth and

competence. According to the model, social groups are perceived along these dimensions, leading to four distinct types of stereotypes. The first type is characterized by high warmth and high competence. Groups that fall into this category are seen positively, such as ingroup members or certain professional groups, and they tend to elicit admiration from others. The second type is defined by high warmth but low competence. Groups in this category, such as the elderly or disabled individuals, are often viewed with pity and sympathy, but they are not regarded as competent. The third type encompasses low warmth and high competence. Groups that are seen as successful, such as wealthy individuals or accomplished professionals, typically evoke feelings of envy. While they are perceived as competent, they are seen as less socially warm. Finally, the fourth type consists of groups with low warmth and low competence. These groups, often Minority groups perceived as threatening, are frequently viewed with contempt and are considered neither warm nor competent. Through this model, Fiske illustrates how these stereotypes can lead to varying emotional responses and behaviors towards different groups, thereby influencing social perceptions and interactions (Fiske, 2018). Inspired by the Stereotype Content Model, I created four new codes to replace "Stereotypical representation" and "Authentical representation": "Low Warmth, Low Competence," "Low Warmth, High Competence," "High Warmth, Low Competence," and "High Warmth, High Competence." This shift allowed my study to address the area of stereotypes in a theoretically grounded way, while mitigating the subjectivity associated with labeling cultural representations as stereotypical or authentic.

Chapter 3. Results

3.1. Mitigating Bias

I recognize that my background, having been born and raised in Luxembourg and holding Luxembourgish nationality, may introduce inherent biases into my analysis, potentially influencing my interpretation of the data. To mitigate this potential bias, I made a concerted effort to approach the analysis with as much objectivity as possible. Regular consultations with my supervisor also occurred throughout this process, with feedback proving invaluable in refining the analysis and ensuring that multiple viewpoints were considered. Additionally, input from the second evaluator provided further depth to the analysis, facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of the data.

Actively seeking diverse viewpoints and engaging in critical discussions enhanced the reliability and validity of my findings.

3.2. Data Availability

The final sample consisted of seven schoolbooks from different years. However, identifying pages suitable for analysis proved challenging due to the limited information available. Pages selected for data analysis were chosen because they could help answer the research question and because they contained portrayals of different cultural groups. The sampling indicated that many books, especially older ones, contained limited cultural diversity. Consequently, the restricted number of pages used in the study, indicated in Table 1, suggests that there was a lack of cultural diversity in older books and that different cultures are still significantly underrepresented in current educational materials.

Table 1

Number of Analysed Pages

Book	Analyzed Pages	Total Pages
MILA 1 (2008)	40	113
MILA 2 (2010)	16	97
Sim Sala bim 1 (1997)	9	48
Sim Sala bim 2 (1995)	14	47
Sim Sala bim 3 (1996)	11	47
Wir lessen (1981)	16	66
Lesebuch für das zweite Schuljahr (1982)	11	160

3.3. Data Analysis

Following a six-phase approach established by Braun and Clarke (2012), I conducted a thematic analysis of the data. Initially, I familiarized myself with the data by reviewing the schoolbooks one by one, which provided me with a preliminary understanding of the information I would analyze. The pages selected for coding were determined by the richness of information they provided and their potential to answer my research question based on the accompanying illustrations and text. In the second phase, I began initial coding utilizing Abdou's framework (2017). As the coding process developed, I transitioned to the third phase, where I contemplated potential themes. In the fourth phase, I reviewed these themes for coherence and relevance. The fifth phase focused on defining and naming the themes. These themes were constructed with guidance from Abdou's framework, ensuring that both the themes and codes remained closely aligned with his original structure. Additionally, I introduced some themes based on my insights, combining codes that I found logically related. Finally, in the sixth phase, I compiled the report and results. To provide a clear overview, a reduced version of the Theme Tree is

displayed in Figure 1, illustrating the main themes and their relationships. A full version of the Theme Tree is provided in the Annexes (see Annex A, 3.). I will now explain and name the themes that emerged from the dataset.

Figure 1

Theme Tree
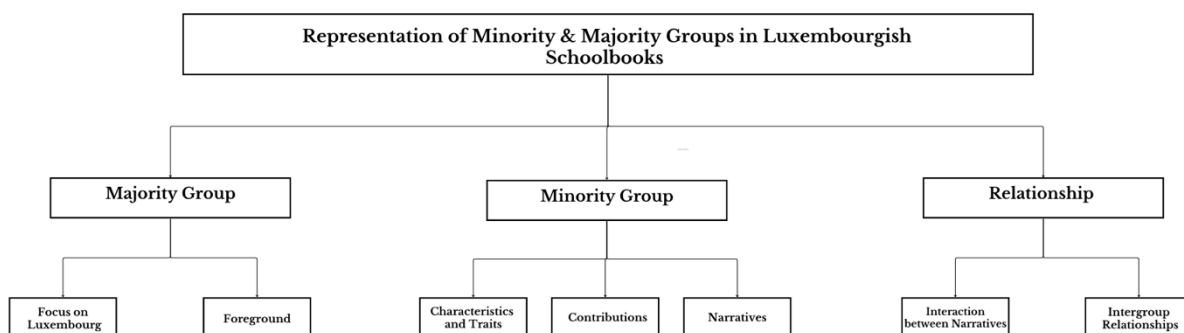
3.3.1. Visibility Majority Group

Across all the analyzed schoolbooks, the Majority group is prominently positioned in the foreground and at the center of the pages. Furthermore, Luxembourgish traditions, history, names, and typical landscapes are presented in a way that often limits space for other cultural representations. This theme aligns with the "Visibility Majority Group" code group, which includes the sub-codes "Majority in the foreground" and "Focus on the Majority group (Luxembourg)."

In the five older books from 1981, 1982, 1995, 1996, and 1997, the Majority group's visibility is substantial. The focus lies not only primarily on the Majority group, but these books exclusively represent Luxembourgish culture, with a strong emphasis placed upon it.

Results regarding the frequency of individual codes give a significant number illustrating the Majority group's consistent visibility throughout the schoolbooks. Out of a total of 340 codes, "Majority in the foreground" was coded 59 times, equating to 17.35%. This percentage highlights the ongoing prominence of the Majority group in the schoolbooks. Regarding the sub-themes of "Focus on the Majority group (Luxembourg)," "Luxembourgish names" are particularly used to highlight the Majority group, with 17 coded instances.

Figure 3

Illustration of the Main Luxembourgish Religion (Catholicism)

Figure 2

Illustration of Luxembourgish Names

Ostersonntag

Tante Elise kommt mit den Kindern in den Garten. Gleich beginnt ein aufgeregtes Suchen.

Bald jubelt Jeanny : Tante, schau nur das hübsche Körbchen an ! Meinst du nicht, daß der Osterhase das auch gebracht hat ?

Vorsichtig hebt sie den Deckel ab.

– Ein Osterhase ! Jeanny streichelt selig das schneeweiße Tierchen. Vor Freude merkt sie gar nicht, daß ihr Bruder ein ähnliches Körbchen gefunden hat. Ein silbergraues Häschen sitzt darin.

Hinten im Garten steht auch schon der kleine Stall, den Vater für die Tierchen gezimmert hat. Aber dafür hat jetzt niemand Zeit. Jeannys Häschen läßt sich alle Zärtlichkeiten gern gefallen, während Josis Tierchen sich mit einem kräftigen Satz befreit hat und vergnügt im Garten herumhoppelt.

Nur gut, daß das Gartentor fest verschlossen ist !

da ist Susi
da ist Tim
da ist Isabel

Figure 2 illustrates the presence of the main religious orientation, Catholicism. The text discusses Easter, a significant celebration in the Catholic Church marking the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The 1982 book also addresses other Catholic subjects such as Christmas and the Octave. In books from 1995 onwards, religious themes become less prominent.

In Figure 3, Luxembourgish names designate the children in the painting, with "Susi," "Tim," and "Isabel" all being common Luxembourgish names. Furthermore, the illustration clearly highlights the Majority group's visibility, as no Minority group is portrayed. Before 2008, Minority groups are barely visible in these books.

Figure 4

Illustration of an integration of Minority group

In the schoolbooks from 2008 and 2010 (e.g. Figure 4), other cultural groups are beginning to be included. However, the Majority group's visibility remains high on most pages, similar to the older books, and the focus is often limited to the typical Luxembourgish landscape. The page centers on the Majority group, clearly indicating where the emphasis lies.

3.3.2. Characteristics and Traits of the Minority Groups

In contrast to the significant visibility of the Majority group, Minority groups are not equally represented throughout the schoolbooks. Particularly in the older textbooks, the analysis indicates a complete omission of any Minority group when it comes to representation. However, even in today's schoolbooks, some pages lack any representation of a Minority group, as indicated by the code "Omission of Minority groups". Furthermore, the coding of visibility for the Minority groups, captured by the code "Story, experience, perspective of Minority groups," appears only in the schoolbooks currently used in schools, but not in the older ones. The percentages associated with these codes reflect similar results. "Omission of Minority groups" was coded 49 times, equivalent to 14.41% of the total codes. In contrast, the visibility of the Minority groups, coded by "Story, experience, perspective of Minority groups," was coded only 23 times, translating to 6.76%. This comparison shows that the sample more often portrays an absence of Minority groups than a presence (e.g. Figure 5).

Figure 5

Illustration of an Omission of the Minority group

54   55

Beyond this, Minority representation is also minimized through generalizations. First, in the two books from 2008 and 2010, Minority groups are consistently represented through the same character. Specifically, the boy in the illustrations and his parents are the sole Minority group represented, resulting in a generalization of Minority groups in reality (e.g. Figure 6). The depiction of this family is not conveyed through values or beliefs but rather primarily through physical attributes, in this case, skin color. Cultural practices of a specific Minority group also served as a means of depicting them. Neither cultural values nor beliefs are displayed in the schoolbooks. "Physical attributes of Minority groups" has been coded 21 times, whereas "Values of Minority groups" and "Beliefs of Minority groups" have not been coded at all, and "Cultural Practices of Minority groups" has been coded significantly less, with only 6 occurrences.

Figure 6

Illustration of Generalization of Minority group

3.3.3. Minority Narratives

Analyzing the presentation of Minority group narratives through the lens of Fiske's (2018) Stereotype Content Model reveals a clear trend in the schoolbooks. Minority groups are never portrayed in a way that conveys "Low Warmth," indicating a lack of sympathy or a negative portrayal. Instead, they are consistently presented in a positive and sympathetic manner, resulting in most pages demonstrating a "High Warmth & Low Competence" representation. While Minority groups are viewed with sympathy and are generally liked, they are simultaneously connoted as less competent or as not fully belonging to the ingroup, as illustrated by their placement alone in images, lacking genuine interaction with others (e.g. Figure 7). The "High Warmth & High Competence" code is an outlier, having been applied only once in the narrative of a French family entering a new school class and being welcomed in a friendly and open manner.

The narrative content is primarily heroic and positive, with no narratives depicting Minority groups as victims. However, some narratives marginalize these stories, often illustrating a Minority group member being isolated from other children or portrayed as a child with learning difficulties (e.g. Figure 7). In terms of frequency, the Minority narratives are significantly skewed toward heroic and positive representations, with 14 out of 19 coded segments reflecting

this trend. Similarly, in the "Type of Presentation" category, 16 out of 17 coded segments are coded as "High Warmth, Low Competence."

Figure 7

Illustration of a lack of interaction and isolation of the Minority Group

3.3.4. Contributions of the Minority Group

The contributions and achievements of Minority groups receive limited attention in the schoolbooks. This theme accounts for only 2.06% of the total codes used in the analysis.

While there is never an explicit minimization of Minority groups' contributions, there is one instance in the 1996 textbook where their contributions are implicitly ignored (e.g. Figure 8). A page celebrates the train "Charly," but fails to mention the significant role immigrants played in building and shaping the country's infrastructure at that time, including railways.

Figure 8

Illustration of the ignorance of the contribution from the Minority Groups

Charly

Früher gab es in Luxemburg den Charly.
Das war ein Zug mit einer Lokomotive,
drei Wagen und einem Packwagen.

Charly fuhr von Luxemburg nach Echternach und zurück.
Er konnte 25 Kilometer in der Stunde fahren.
Die Fahrt dauerte mehr als zwei Stunden,
weil Charly in jedem Dorf halten musste.

Charly wurde mit Kohlen geheizt.
Ein Heizer schaufelte die Kohlen ins Feuer.
Oft flogen Funken aus dem Schornstein
auf die Wiesen oder in den Wald.
Dann fing es manchmal an zu brennen.

Charly fuhr über die „Neue Brücke‚"
durch einige Straßen der Stadt und am Park vorbei.
Manchmal stieß Charly mit der Tram zusammen,
weil beide auf demselben Gleis fuhren.

Hinter Dommeldingen musste Charly
einen Berg hinauffahren.
Manchmal kam Charly den Berg nicht hinauf.
Dann ließ der Lokführer den Zug ein Stück zurückfahren.
Der Heizer schaufelte mehr Kohlen ins Feuer,
und Charly nahm einen neuen Anlauf.

98   99

In most cases, when the textbooks address a contribution from a Minority group, it is positively portrayed (e.g. Figure 9). This trend is evident in the 2008 and 2010 books, while in older books, Minority groups are not even represented. For example, Figure 8 shows how the textbooks illustrate the various contributions different cultural groups can make to food and dishes. This contribution is shown in a positive and celebratory way, and the children in the illustration seem interested in the other dishes and cultures.

Figure 9

Illustration of the Celebration of different cultures

3.3.5. Interaction Between Minority Narratives and Dominant Narratives

Further analysis of the interaction between Minority and Majority narratives reveals that many pages showcase "Only dominant narratives," indicating a focus on stories about characters from the Majority group. However, the code "Only Minority narratives" is not used at all throughout the selected books, signifying that there is not a single page dedicated solely to the Minority groups.

When Minority narratives are presented, the schoolbooks exhibit two tendencies: they are either relegated to the margins (e.g. Figure 10) or integrated with the dominant Majority narratives. The scenario where Minority narratives are used to reinforce dominant ideologies does not occur in any of the schoolbooks.

In terms of the frequency of the codes, "Only Dominant narratives" has been coded 51 times, corresponding to 15% of the total codes, a significantly high proportion that underscores the Majority group's frequent portrayal in isolation.

Figure 10

Illustration of the Minority Group put to the Margins

3.3.6. Intergroup Relationships

Intergroup relationships are depicted exclusively in the two textbooks currently used in the educational system. The portrayal of relationships between the Minority and Majority groups is consistently harmonious; there are no instances of subordination, dominance, or conflict. To be more precise, the children in the books, representing both Minority and Majority groups, are frequently illustrated helping one another or collaborating on shared tasks (e.g. Figure 11 & Figure 12).

Figure 12
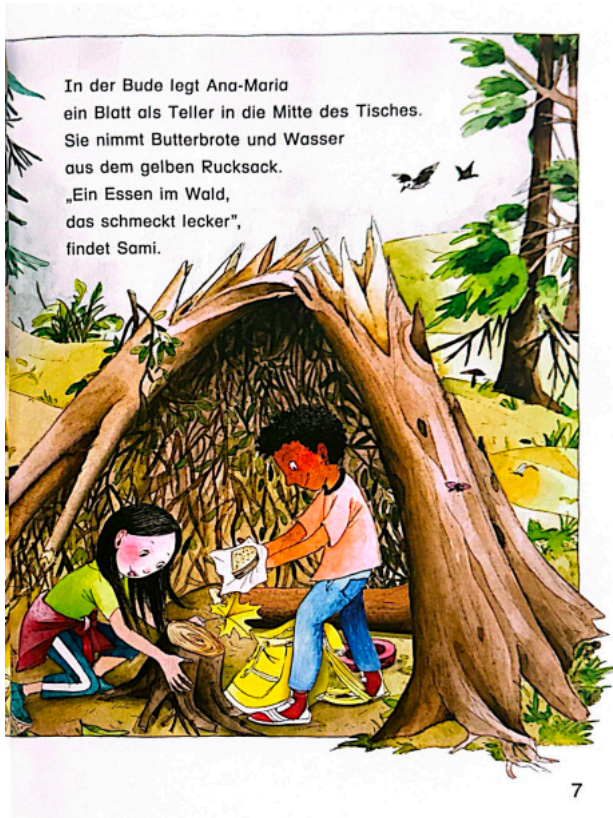
Illustration of a positive Intergroup Relationship

Figure 11

Illustration of a positive Intergroup Relationship

Chapter 4. Discussion

This study explored the representation of cultural diversity in schoolbooks within the Luxembourgish educational system by analyzing schoolbooks published from 1981 to 2010. Recent studies on integrating cultural diversity into the curriculum indicate that multicultural education offers various benefits, such as cognitive and academic gains, cultural competence, and positive social-emotional development (Basnet, 2024). Furthermore, schools have the potential to improve cross-cultural relations by offering significant opportunities for positive intercultural interaction (Pagani et al., 2011). The research for this study involved a thematic analysis of seven German schoolbooks published between 1981 and 2010. It provides insight into the current state of schoolbooks regarding the representation of different cultural groups, as well as a comparison to older schoolbooks, identifying improvements and potential areas for optimization concerning the inclusion of diverse cultures in the curriculum.

Analysis of major themes within the schoolbooks' pages yielded valuable information regarding the representation of Minority and Majority groups in the Luxembourgish curriculum. The analysis focused on seven schoolbooks from various years, but the limited cultural diversity portrayed, especially in older books, made it difficult to find pages with codable content. The selected pages aimed to address the research question. They revealed a significant lack of cultural diversity that persists in both older and contemporary educational materials. By applying Abdou's framework (2017), five major themes were identified through the analysis: Visibility of the Majority Group; Characteristics and Traits of the Minority Groups; Minority Narratives; Contributions of the Minority Group; and the Interaction Between Minority and Dominant Narratives, as well as Intergroup Relationships.

What stands out is the clear visibility of the Majority group. This aligns with findings reported by Chu (2017). In the older schoolbooks, the Majority group is the only cultural group represented throughout the pages; there is not any other cultural group which could have been identified. But also, in the two books currently used in the educative system, the analysis still shows that the Majority group is often placed in the foreground of the pages. Furthermore, the great visibility of the Majority group also comes through the representation of Luxembourgish traditions, history elements and Luxembourgish names.

In contrast the Minority groups and their narratives are often at the margins of the pages and not in the focus of the stories (Chu, 2017). At the same time, there is no indication of a negative representation of the Minority groups. Minority contributions are not much talked about, but when this occurs it is most and foremost done through a celebration of the contributions. Furthermore, the narrative of Minority groups is above all positive and they are

not victimized. What stands out, especially in the schoolbooks of 2008 and 2010 is the generalization of the Minority group, illustrated through the use of the same characters throughout the schoolbooks. Additionally, the portrayal of the family is not conveyed through the values or beliefs of the Minority groups; rather, it is primarily represented by the physical characteristics of the Minority group, specifically their skin color. For the Majority group, however, the representation differs. They are not only depicted through their physical appearance but also through cultural elements and traditions they celebrate, which reflect Luxembourgish values. The presentation of Minority narratives in schoolbooks, analyzed through the Stereotype Content Model, consistently depicts Minority groups in a sympathetic manner, showing "High Warmth & Low Competence" without signs of Low Warmth.

When it comes to the depiction of intergroup relationships, they are only shown int the two new books of 2008 and 2010, illustrated in a harmonious manner, with no instances of subordination, dominance, or conflict between Minority and Majority groups. Instead, children from both groups are commonly shown collaborating and assisting one another.

4.1. Schoolbooks and Luxembourg's Immigration History

The schoolbooks from 1981 and 1982 show no presence of any Minority group. They focus primarily on the Majority group, exclusively using Luxembourgish names, portraying the Catholic religion, and adhering solely to Majority narratives. However, despite this era marking the first immigration steps for Luxembourg, the schoolbooks fail to include any of this reality. During these years, Luxembourg experienced economic and financial growth, attracting numerous foreign workers, especially from Italy and Portugal (Péporté, 2022). If any visual distinctions are present, they might be limited to features such as different hair and eye colors or other physical characteristics that could be used to differentiate these nationalities. However, these differences are either minimal or absent, as the schoolbooks do not highlight or emphasize the ethnic or national identities of the foreign workers.

The subsequent books from 1995 to 1997 follow a similar approach to the older ones, with no indication of portraying cultural groups other than the Luxembourgish. Given the immigration context of that period, these schoolbooks also fail to reflect the contemporary population. In the 1950s, Luxembourg experienced increased immigration from Non-European Countries; global conflicts and economic disparities brought immigrants from third countries, particularly the Cape Verdean community and citizens from Yugoslavia, to Luxembourg (Nienaber et al., 2023).

The schoolbooks from 2008 and 2010, which are currently used in the educational system, demonstrate a change in the representation of cultural diversity and somewhat reflect the country's multicultural population (*Nationalities*, 2023). Unlike books from previous years, these portray not only the Majority group but also allow for narratives from other cultural groups. However, the representation of the Minority groups, in comparison to the Majority group, remains an area for potential improvement, as discussed earlier. The diverse cultures present in Luxembourg today are still largely absent from the schoolbooks. There is little to no representation of the cultures from Syria, Afghanistan, or Ukraine, despite the fact that the country has experienced significant immigration flows from these regions (Nienaber et al., 2023). This absence can reduce students' curiosity and engagement, similar to what Engel (2011) found regarding the impact of unengaging educational content. This gap between Luxembourg's multicultural reality and its educational materials is a key issue to consider.

4.2. Discrepancies Between Education and Multicultural Reality in Luxembourg and its Implications

The results show that the schoolbooks do not reflect the reality of Luxembourg's multicultural nature. While statistics show that Luxembourg's population consists of almost 50% non-Luxembourgish cultural groups *(Nationalities*, 2023), the visibility of the Minority groups in the schoolbooks is clearly not reflecting that diversity.

These findings also align with previous research on curricula from various countries around the world, reporting a minimal progress in representing cultural diversity in the curriculum (Del Mar Bernabé & Martinez-Bello, 2021; Moreno-Fernández et al., 2019; Yoo-Lee et al., 2014). As Moreno-Fernández et al. (2019) found in Spain, in Luxembourg there exists also clearly a discrepancy between Luxembourg's inclusive educational policies and the reality reflected in primary school textbooks. Although there is a positive representation of Minority groups as well as a positive interaction between both Minority and Majority groups, the narratives of Minorities pushed to the margins remains an issue.

The findings become even more of an issue when considering the Developmental Intergroup Theory of social stereotypes and prejudice in children (Bigler & Liben, 2006). The theory seeks to explain why children develop stereotypes and prejudice on the basis of some human phenotypical characteristics, as racial ones. According to this theory, children actively construct their understanding of social groups by actively seeking to understand the social

world. Children do not simply learn by imitation or direct teaching and their learning is influenced by both cognitive development and environmental factors (Bigler & Liben, 2006).

The authors initially outline the processes involved in stereotype and prejudice formation. They suggest that children possess a well-functioning cognitive system, enabling them to formulate hypotheses about appropriate classification bases within a given context. Children actively seek categories that are both appropriate and useful within their culture or context. Moreover, the authors propose that children are inclined to categorize stimuli to reduce the complexity of the world, with the dimensions guiding this classification being those that are psychologically salient to the child. Subsequently, children assign meaning to these constructed groups in the form of beliefs (stereotypes) and affect (prejudice). Killen et al. (2007) show that children's stereotypes and prejudice are influenced by social context, supporting the Developmental Intergroup Theory (Bigler & Liben, 2006) that social experience shapes categorization.

The authors propose two broad classes of ways in which children attach meaning to groups: those that are internally driven (*ingroup bias* and *essentialism*) and those that are externally driven. Externally driven factors are particularly relevant to this study, as they are tied to what children encounter in their environment. Race, for example, is correlated with occupational roles and activities children encounter. Also, children respond to the continual flow of information relevant to groups and their characteristics. Over time, they are exposed to new information that can either contradict or reinforce existing stereotypes and prejudices. The authors contend that children's social stereotypes and prejudices have a strong tendency to be maintained, as children tend to remember information confirming their stereotypic beliefs and prejudices while forgetting contradictory information. This process is known as schematic processing (Jhuremalani et al., 2022; Martin & Halverson, 1981). Additionally, cognitive constraints, such as young children's difficulty understanding that individuals can simultaneously belong to two categories not traditionally linked, result in more rigid schematic processing than is seen in adults (Bigler & Liben, 2006). Schools and schoolbooks constitute a significant portion of a child's environment and context at a young age.

Assuming that children classify their surroundings based on what is salient to them, as posited by the model, then in the Luxembourgish context and within schoolbooks, children may internalize the ways in which Minority and Majority groups are depicted. The Majority group, portrayed prominently and consistently at the center of attention throughout the books, may be internalized as more important, with higher status, while the Minority groups, relegated to the margins, may not be remembered or valued as highly. Furthermore, the model suggests that

children respond to the continuous information provided, and in this case, the lack of visibility for Minority groups and the absence of their narratives at the center stage, is what will be retained in the children's cognitive system.

Alongside the Developmental Intergroup Theory of social stereotypes and prejudice in children (Bigler & Liben, 2006), other researchers have shown why it is important to tackle these themes with children rather than with adolescents. Research has shown that the effectiveness of interventions designed to change children's gender and racial attitudes is limited (Bigler, 1999; Liben & Bigler, 1987). However, changing adults' social stereotypes and prejudice has been proven to be even more difficult than initially expected (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). This leads to the conclusion that forming biases may be easier than undoing social stereotyping and prejudice once they have been formed.

4.3. The question of a color blind or color conscious approach

The literature, consolidated with the findings of this study raises another key question: Do these schoolbooks exhibit a tendency toward color blindness, or do they demonstrate a greater color consciousness? The color-blind perspective is, according to Rosenberg (2004), a way in which people allow themselves to deny that "race, especially skin color, has consequences for a person's status and well-being." It is a form of refusal to acknowledge the costs and benefits associated with one's racial and cultural identity. Color blindness rests on two historically American concepts: *merit* and *individualism*. Both principles operate without considering the context of an individual, rejecting the role of history in providing certain individuals with more resources, and, ultimately, attributing merit to particular groups. Color blindness also downgrades racism to a historical artifact, refusing to recognize how racism remains relevant in today's society (Ullucci & Battey, 2011).

In contrast to color blindness, Ullucci and Battey (2011) argue that color consciousness is a concept in which race matters and continues to affect schooling and teaching. An educational approach that embraces a color-conscious view and sees cultural diversity as beneficial has been shown to foster students' critical thinking skills and provide a liberating experience (King, 1991). Institutions that favor a color-blind approach not only passively support racism, but may also state in schoolbooks, for example, that race or skin color does not exist or influence children's lives (Ullucci & Battey, 2011).

The present study shows that the schoolbooks lean more towards color blindness than color consciousness. In the two books currently used in today's educative system, there is a lack of

dialogue on race, and there is an absence of information regarding key historical events that are crucial to understanding modern power dynamics or subtle racism. Whilst some may argue that primary school is too early to address such topics, considering that children aged between 4 and 7 years already begin to formulate racial attitudes (Rosier et al., 2003), it becomes more important to consider making changes in the way schoolbooks are conceptualized and developed. This should urge the Ministry of Education and editors to address the gaps in cultural diversity integration, as the findings of this study could be pivotal in designing future children's books.

4.4. Considerations of Textbook Longevity and Content Relevance

In questioning the educational system, another important issue arises regarding the longevity of the textbooks being used. The continued use of textbooks from 2010 presents both opportunities and challenges. Reusing textbooks for years is a conservative and somewhat sustainable approach that allows for thorough evaluation. However, in a constantly changing world, keeping a textbook for over a decade may lead to outdated or inaccurate content. Mondal (2021) implies that maintaining a curriculum for several years without change may be detrimental due to the neglect of advancing knowledge, technological progression, and evolving learner needs.

Given the multicultural nature of Luxembourg, this issue becomes even more significant. For instance, children who immigrate to Luxembourg today may not see themselves represented in the textbooks, which affects all students by perpetuating outdated or missing perspectives.

There is no definitive answer to when new textbooks should be published or how frequently this should occur. Nevertheless, it is crucial to provide children with a realistic and contemporary view of the world in which they live (Basnet, 2024).

4.5. Limitations and Future Directions

Based on the results, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study and possible recommendations for future research.

One limitation of this study is the sample size and scope of schoolbooks analyzed. The sample consists of seven schoolbooks, with two currently used in the educational system. This limited number was due to time constraints, which restricted the scope of the study and the generalizability of the findings to all Luxembourgish schoolbooks. To better understand how

cultural diversity is represented in schoolbooks and how representation has changed over time, a larger sample size would be beneficial. Moreover, the choice of using only German course books provides only a partial view of the curriculum, as schoolbooks from other courses such as Mathematics, French, and Reading books were left out. This decision was made to narrow the selection criteria.

Another limitation is the qualitative nature of the study, inherently involving subjectivity in both coding and data interpretation. While steps were taken to mitigate this bias, involving a second analyst and receiving guidance from my supervisor, the findings remain influenced by the primary researcher's perspective. Furthermore, codes were constructed and selected to be as objective as possible for easy detection and use by other researchers. However, codes inspired by the Stereotype Content Model require some judgment when categorizing representations and impressions.

An additional constraint stems from the analysis's focus on overt representations of cultural diversity, examining what is immediately apparent to a reader of the schoolbook. This focus on visible representation in text and images means that the study may overlook more subtle forms of neglecting cultural diversity. Deeper analysis of images and texts could explore the absence of diverse perspectives in the curriculum, the reinforcement of dominant cultural norms, and power dynamics.

Finally, as this study analyzes cultural diversity representation in schoolbooks, it does not directly assess the impact of these representations on student attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors (Gurin et al., 2002). The analysis is based on a study of the current state of multicultural education in Luxembourg. Exploring children's perspectives, the impact on friendships, teachers' opinions, and the illustrators' perspectives would be valuable avenues for further research not addressed in this study.

Future research could have the potential to delve deeper into the analysis of multicultural education in Luxembourg's educational system, through different future directions. Additional research could benefit from an increased and more diverse sample of schoolbooks, encompassing various subjects, grade levels, and time periods.

Investigating student perspectives presents another promising avenue. Interviews or focus groups with children in schools could explore their perceptions of cultural diversity representations in schoolbooks, including how these books shape their beliefs and behaviors. A quantitative method, such as a survey, could also assess the impact of schoolbook representations on students' intergroup attitudes and behaviors. This area is particularly

compelling, as children not only learn from the content presented but also from what is absent in the schoolbooks.

In a similar vein, examining teacher perspectives would be valuable. Teachers play a crucial role in children's lives; therefore, investigating how they use schoolbooks in the classroom and address cultural diversity, even in the absence of specific curriculum content, is important (Eden et al., 2024). Exploring the role of teacher training in promoting culturally responsive teaching practices also warrants attention. Future research could implement interventions, providing teachers with training in culturally diverse subjects, and analyzing the subsequent impact on the cultural competence of both teachers and their students.

Further research could examine the development and selection processes of schoolbooks, investigating the roles of publishers, curriculum developers, and government agencies. Developing an intervention to train these individuals in incorporating cultural diversity into the curriculum, or surveying their beliefs and values regarding multicultural education, could prove valuable. Moreover, future studies could analyze existing policies and guidelines related to cultural diversity in the Luxembourgish educational system, exploring potential restrictions or limitations on cultural diversity representation in schoolbooks, or examining the degree to which policies mandate multicultural education but lack adequate implementation.

Expanding this research could involve comparative studies, contrasting the representation of cultural diversity in Luxembourgish schoolbooks with those from other countries with diverse populations. Furthermore, examining the effectiveness of different approaches to promoting diversity in education could inspire the Ministry of Education to adapt specific policies or guidelines, improving the Luxembourgish curriculum.

Lastly, future research could explore the representation of intersectionality in schoolbooks. Investigating how schoolbooks portray the intersection of various social identities, such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, and disability, could provide a broader understanding of inclusivity levels. This exploration could deepen our understanding of how different social identities interact and shape experiences, leading to a more nuanced view of diversity. With a more inclusive education, teachers can promote curricula reflecting the experiences of all children, fostering a sense of belonging (Leung & Adams-Whittaker, 2022; Pareek, 2023).

Conclusion

This qualitative study explored the representation of cultural diversity in schoolbooks within the Luxembourgish educational system, examining their evolution from 1981 to 2010, and including the schoolbooks currently used in education. A thematic analysis provided a valuable understanding of how schoolbooks portray Minority and Majority groups in significantly different ways, placing the Majority group at the center of narratives while relegating Minority group narratives to the margins, or even excluding them entirely. Moreover, Minority groups are predominantly presented through physical attributes, such as skin color, and the same characters representing Minority groups reappear on only a few pages. The Majority group is considerably more prominent, evidenced by the recurring visibility of Luxembourgish names, landscapes, and traditions. In older books, a Minority group is not depicted at all, its appearance beginning only in the 2008 and 2010 books. Nevertheless, the relationships between both groups are consistently presented with a harmonious and positive dynamic, promoting positive intergroup relations within the schoolbooks. Given these results, it is essential to acknowledge that the Luxembourgish school system is not yet meeting the requirements of a multicultural education policy, as envisioned by Claude Meisch, the Minister of Education in Luxembourg. This could serve as a call to action, not only for the Ministry of Education but for all stakeholders in the school system, including teachers, parents, policymakers, and schoolbook developers, to reform the schoolbooks and work towards a more culturally diverse setting for today's and tomorrow's children.

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Annex A – Thematic Analysis

1.Explanation of Codes and Corresponding Examples

Code	Explanation	Example
Majority in the Foreground (Luxembourg)	The majority group (Luxembourgish) occupies most of the page, is centered, and the story revolves around it.	At the center of the page, all the Luxembourgish children are playing, while in a corner, there is a narrative featuring a minority member (in terms of appearance).
Luxembourgish landscape	A typical Luxembourgish landscape, including nature, architecture, home design, and street signs.	Forests
Luxembourgish dominant religious orientation (Catholicism)	Any illustration or indication of the Catholic religion, including Catholic traditions and holidays.	Easter
Luxembourgish traditions/history	Luxembourgish traditions often intersect with religious holidays, but this category also includes achievements of the country that are significant in its history.	Charly, an important train service connecting Luxembourg's two biggest cities.
Luxembourgish names	Luxembourgish names that are well-known and frequently used in Luxembourg. These also include names of German origin.	Pol
Only Minority narratives	The only narrative on the page is from or about the perspective of the Minority group. The Majority group is not represented at all.	An illustration shows children playing in the schoolyard; the narrative in the center focuses on children from the Minority group, and there is no

Code	Explanation	Example
		child from the Majority group playing with the others.
Only Dominant narratives	The only narrative on the page is from or about the perspective of the Majority group. The Minority narrative is not at all represented.	An illustration shows children playing in the schoolyard; the narrative in the center focuses on children from the Majority group, and there is no child from the Minority group playing with the others.
Use of Minority narratives to reinforce Dominant ideologies	The Majority narrative is used to reinforce power dynamics and other ideologies of the majority group.	A diverse group of children from various backgrounds come together in a classroom, promoting themes of inclusivity and acceptance. While it emphasizes the importance of welcoming each other's cultures, it also highlights how the Majority culture often takes on the role of extending that welcome to Minority groups. This dynamic can reinforce the idea that belonging is granted by those in power, rather than shared equally among all.
Relegation of the Minority narratives to the margins	There is a Minority narrative present; however, it is not at the center of the page but placed in a corner and not the main focus.	Children are playing in the schoolyard. All the children in the center are from the Majority group, while one child from the Minority group is also playing— but he is positioned in the corner of the page and not the focus of the story.

Code	Explanation	Example
Integration of Minority narratives and Dominant narratives	Minority narratives and Majority narratives are equally represented on the page. Both are in focus.	Children learn how to say hello in different languages, with all languages portrayed equally and in the same manner throughout the page.
Ignorance of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	The contributions and achievements of the Minority group are neither acknowledged nor mentioned.	The train Charly was built by immigrants, especially Italian immigrants. However, this is neither mentioned nor acknowledged in the story of the train.
Minimization of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	The contributions and achievements of the Minority group are mentioned, but they are minimized and not acknowledged to the extent they deserve.	The train Charly was built by immigrants, especially Italian immigrants. However, the hard work of the immigrants who contributed significantly to building the train is downplayed and not genuinely celebrated.
Celebration of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	The contributions and achievements of the Minority group are mentioned and celebrated, giving them the recognition and importance they deserve.	Indian culture is being celebrated, and their traditions and contributions are acknowledged with respect and attention.
Relationship characterized by subordination	A relationship where the Minority group is marginalized by the Majority group. Here, the focus is on a form of hierarchy between the two groups where the Majority group controls the Minority group.	In a game in the schoolyard, children from the Majority group require everyone to follow their rules and ignore the traditional games or stories of the Minority children. This illustrates how the dominant group controls the situation.

Code	Explanation	Example
Relationship characterized by dominance	A relationship where the Majority group exerts its influence and power over the Minority group.	In a game in the schoolyard, the Majority group decides which activities everyone will participate in. They use their power to control who can play where and what, such as being the captains of the two football teams.
Conflictual relationship	Minority and Majority groups are portrayed in a negative, non-interactive manner, showing hostile coexistence and lack of interaction.	Children from the Minority and Majority groups are not helping each other; instead, they ignore one another and are depicted in an argument.
Harmonious relationship	Minority and Majority groups are portrayed in a positive, interactive way, demonstrating peaceful coexistence and cooperation.	Children from the Minority and Majority groups help each other with an exercise assigned by their teacher.
Omission of Minority group	Leaving the Minority group out of pictures and illustrations.	There are no children from the Minority group represented in the classroom.
Generalization of Minority group	The representation of the Minority group is achieved by depicting the same character repeatedly.	Throughout the books, the same child from the Minority group is portrayed as the sole representative of that group.
Story, experience, perspective of Minority group	This code is used to illustrate the mere presence of a story, experience, or perspective of a Minority group.	Children from both the Minority and Majority groups are sitting together in a classroom.
Values of Minority group	Representation or mention of a value from the Minority group.	A child from the Minority group shares a story about a holiday they celebrate in their culture, highlighting the values associated with

Code	Explanation	Example
		it, with the other children.
Beliefs of Minority group	Representation or mention of a belief from the Minority group.	A child from the Minority group shares their religion and the beliefs they observe in their culture with the other children.
Cultural Practices of Minority group	Representation or mention of a cultural practice from the Minority group.	Food, as part of cultural practices; every child brings food from their culture.
Physical Attributes of Minority group	Representation or mention of a physical attribute from the Minority group.	Different skin colors.
Low Warmth, Low Competence	Minority group being portrayed as neither friendly nor capable.	A member of the Minority group is depicted fighting, using offensive language, or unable to park a car.
Low Warmth, High Competence	Minority group being portrayed as skilled and capable, but also as unfriendly or unapproachable.	A member of the Minority group parks his car without paying attention, then yells at an elderly lady for standing in her/his/their way.
High Warmth, Low Competence	Minority group being portrayed as kind and friendly but lacking skills or abilities.	A member of the Minority group tries to park her/his/their car but struggles with it, yet politely asks another person for help.
High Warmth, High Competence	Minority group being portrayed as both friendly and capable, but this perception is often limited to the ingroup.	A member of the Minority group parks her/his/their car excellently and then politely thanks the person who helped her/him/them.
Marginalized narrative	The Minority narrative is underrepresented, overlooked, and marginalized on the page.	A member of the Minority group is depicted only at the edge of the page and in a very small size.

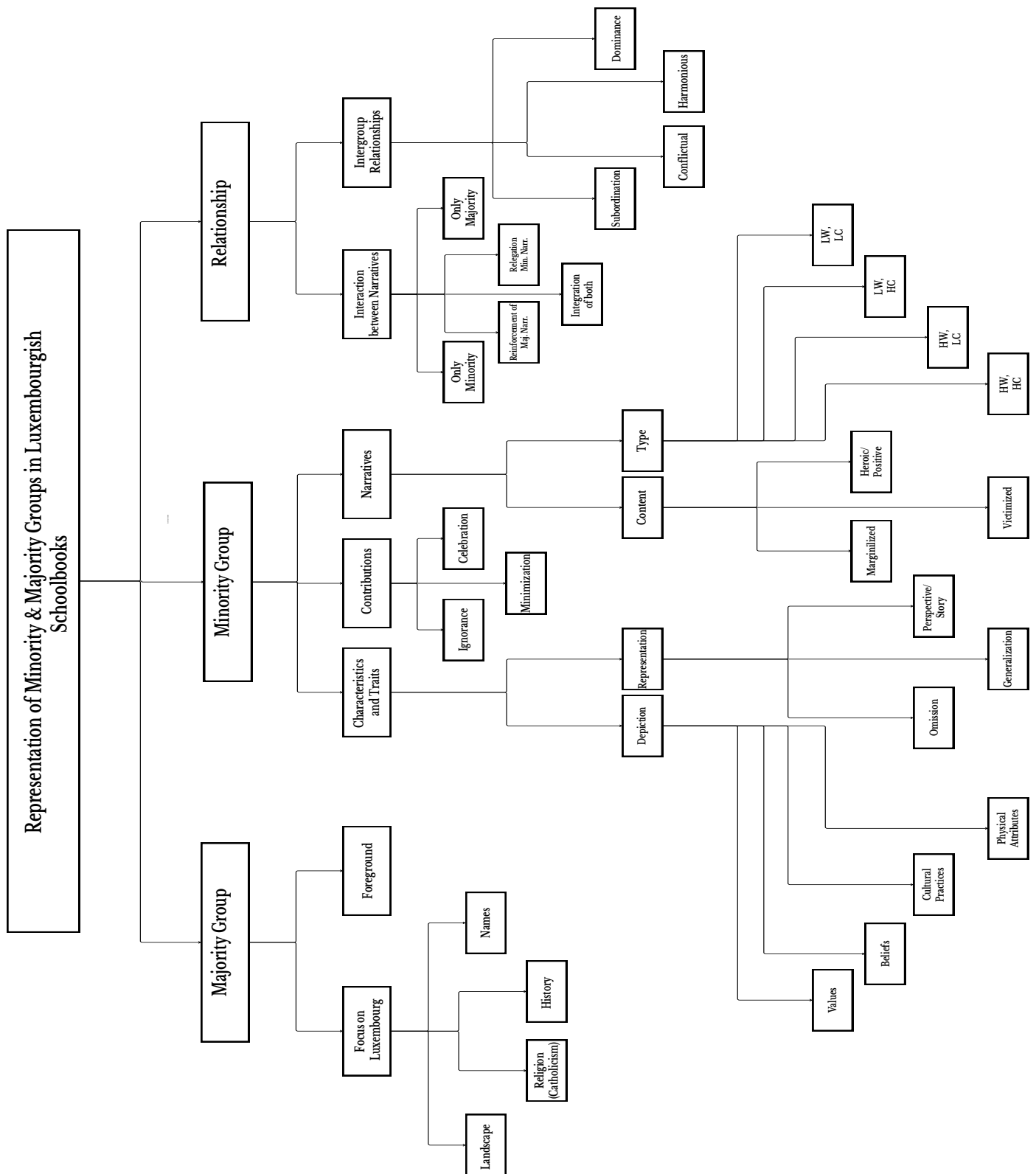| Code	Explanation	Example
Victimized narrative	The Minority narrative is portrayed in a way that depicts the Minority group as victims.	A child from the Minority group is bullied at school by other children.
Heroic/Positive narrative	The Minority narrative is portrayed positively and even celebrated.	Children from the Minority group are shown playing happily with the other children.

2.Codes Occurrence

List of Codes	Occurrence
Code system	340
Visibility Majority Group	0
Majority in the Foreground	59
Focus on the Majority group (Luxembourg)	0
Luxembourgish lanscape	8
Luxembourgish dominant religious orientation (Catholicism)	5
Luxembourgish traditions/history	6
Luxembourgish names	17
Interaction Between Minority and Dominant narratives	0
Interaction between Minority narratives and Dominant narratives	0
Only Minority narratives	0
Only Dominant narratives	51
Use of Minority narratives to reinforce Dominant ideologies	0
Relegation of the Minority narratives to the margins	10
Integration of Minority narratives and Dominant narratives	11
Contributions	0
Acknowledgment of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	0
Ignorance of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	1
Minimization of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	0
Celebration of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups	6
Intergroup Relationships	0
Portrayal of a relationship between Minority and Majority groups	0
Relationship characterized by subordination	0
Relationship characterized by dominance	0
Conflictual relationship	0
Harminoius relationship	14

Characteristics and Traits	0
Representation of the Minority groups	0
Omission of Minority groups	49
Generalization of Minority groups	17
Story, experience, perspective of Minority groups	23
Depiction of the Minority groups	0
Values of Minority groups	0
Beliefs of Minority groups	0
Cultural Practices of Minority groups	6
Physical attributes of Minority groups	21
Minority narratives	0
Type of Presentation	0
Low Warmth, Low Competence	0
Low Warmth, High Competence	0
High Warmth, Low Competence	16
High Warmth, High Competence	1
Content of narrative	0
Marginalized narrative	5
Victimized narrative	0
Heroic/Positive narrative	14

3.Theme Tree

A theme tree diagram titled "Representation of Minority & Majority Groups in Luxembourgish Schoolbooks" with three main branches:

Majority Group
- Foreground
- Focus on Luxembourg
  - Landscape
  - Religion (Catholicism)
  - History
  - Names

Minority Group
- Characteristics and Traits
  - Depiction
    - Representation
      - Values
      - Beliefs
      - Cultural Practices
      - Physical Attributes
    - Perspective/Story
    - Omission
    - Generalization
- Contributions
  - Ignorance
  - Minimization
  - Celebration
- Narratives
  - Type
    - LW, LC
    - LW, HC
    - HW, LC
    - HW, HC
  - Content
    - Heroic/Positive
    - Marginalized
    - Victimized

Relationship
- Interaction between Narratives
  - Only Minority
  - Reinforcement of Maj. Narr.
  - Integration of both
  - Relegation Min. Narr.
  - Only Majority
- Intergroup Relationships
  - Dominance
  - Harmonious
  - Conflictual
  - Subordination

Annex B – Cohen's Kappa

Total pages analyzed: 35

Agreements: 31

Disagreements: 4

- 3 cases: kept initial coding after discussion
- 1 case: changed coding to the suggestion of 2nd analyst after discussion

Cohen's Kappa → ≈ 0.62 (about 62%)

- Substantial agreement between raters

1.Interrater Agreement and Kappa Calculation

Description	Values
Total Cases	35
Agreements	31
Disagreements	4
Observed agreement (p_o)	≈ 0.886 (31 ÷ 35)
Estimated chance agreement (p_e)	0.70
Cohen's Kappa	$\kappa = \dfrac{p_o - p_e}{1 - p_e}$ ≈ 0.62 ≈ 62%

2.Disagreement Summary

Book & Page Number	Primary Researcher	Secondary Researcher	Final Code	Notes
Simsalabim 2 Page: 63	"Luxembourg ish landscape"	Not coded	"Luxembourg ish landscape"	The decision to maintain the initial coding scheme was made expeditiously, predicated on the prevalence of illustrations featuring expansive residences, cultivated gardens, and village settings.
Mila 1 Page: 21	"High Warmth, High Competence"	"High Warmth, Low Competence"	"High Warmth, Low Competence"	The decision to revise the coding stemmed from deliberations that led to the determination that a depiction of a child sleeping in class is more appropriately categorized as a negative representation rather than a positive one.
Mila 1 Page: 75	"High Warmth, Low Competence"	"High Warmth, High Competence"	"High Warmth, Low Competence"	The decision to retain the original code was based on the mutual conclusion that the

Book & Page Number	Primary Researcher	Secondary Researcher	Final Code	Notes
				character representing the Minority groups is depicted in isolation, lacking interaction with peers.
Mila 2 Page: 45	"Celebration of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups"	Not coded	"Celebration of the contributions and achievements of Minority groups"	The decision was made to retain the initial code due to the evident celebration of traditions and culinary customs among individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds.