THE SOCIAL-SEMIOTIC DISCOURSE OF
THE VISUAL ELEMENT IN UK-
PRODUCED ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN
LANGUAGE COURSEBOOKS 1960-2009

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Abstract

This study is an analysis of the visual element of an archive (or corpus) of popular UK EFL coursebook series produced between 1960 and 2009. During this time, the increasing globalisation of the world economy, and the parallel development of English as a world language, raised moral and pedagogic questions regarding the ownership of English and the promotion of an Anglophone neo-liberal agenda. This prompted questions regarding EFL coursebooks and the extent to which they, implicitly or explicitly, promoted such an agenda, and the degree to which they could be said to be appropriate for the many global contexts in which such books were marketed and used.

The study traces the development of the artwork in a representative sample of coursebooks, from those containing the early simple black and white ink drawings, to the high definition colour photographs of contemporary exemplars, which tended to be derived from advertising and image banks. Analysis of the visuals drew on the methodology of critical discourse analysis and social-semiotics, in order to reveal the underlying taken-for-granted assumptions and regimes of truth which were embedded within them. The coursebook series examined in detail were: First Things First (1960s); Kernel Intermediate, Kernel Plus and Kernel One (1970s); The Strategies series focussing on Opening Strategies (1980s); and four editions of Headway Intermediate and Upper Intermediate (1986-2009). The primary focus of the analysis was on the ways in which different groups in society had been represented, looking not only at presences but also omissions. This included the historical specificity of texts, in order to reveal what the images said about the values and preoccupations circulating at the time they were produced.

Findings indicate that, despite claims made by publishers that the coursebooks were ‘global’, the images were predominantly drawn from the UK and USA, or “the Anglosphere” (McCrum, 2010). Later books, in response to criticisms, demonstrated a greater sensitivity in their representations of race and gender, but it was noticeable
that there was little reference to class or regional variation. In fact, there was a
tendency to depict a mythic England, for which I have appropriated the term ‘Never-
never-land’. This is a glossy and positive world, which foregrounds a consumerist and
celebrity lifestyle, and in which the wider world (the non-Anglophone world) is
largely represented by images presented from the perspective of an affluent western
tourist. This analysis supports the thesis that there is a hidden curriculum embedded
within the coursebooks, in which the texts and images promote the English language
and values of the Anglophone ‘Centre’ and privilege the Native English speaking
teacher (NEST), and can thus be seen as a form of cultural imperialism.

On the basis of the findings, I would argue that a global coursebook which can cater
for different student cohorts, nationalities and cultures is unachievable. I propose a
number of changes, amendments and alternative strategies that might ameliorate some
of the problems identified. In particular I identify the need for editorial boards to be
drawn from a wider socio-cultural background and a broader range of topics and
themes should be included. Crucially, as well developing students’ language skills, a
strategy is proposed to encourage the development of students’ visual literacy skills,
so that they can approach images with a more critical perspective, become aware of
the potential taken-for-granted values embedded within them, and develop possible
alternative readings.
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**Note:** All images are in the original colour.
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This thesis is dedicated to my son, Theo Tyrer, and my father, Harry Tyrer.
Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated
A way of teaching is never innocent. Every pedagogy is imbricated in ideology, as a set of tacit assumptions about what is real, what is good, what is possible, and how power is distributed.
(Berlin, 1988: 492)

There is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film strip and television programme sent overseas.
Chapter 1

Introduction

Jonathan Raban, whilst travelling through the Arabic world in the 1970s, observed a class of enthusiastic Yemeni school children studying English.

The drill centred on two oilcloth pictures which had been hung on the blackboard. They purported to represent a typical English family at home. … It was … 1951 in some idyllic Thameside suburb. Mr Brown was listening to a fretwork-fronted radio. Its loud speaker was concealed behind an Art Deco rising sun, and Mr Brown was no doubt hearing Alvar Liddell reading the news on the Home Service. The Browns’ cocker spaniel was curled up asleep at his feet, his pipe was drawing nicely and Mrs Brown, in her homemade gingham frock, was bringing him a cup of tea on a tray. There were antimacassars on the chair backs; the aspidistra was on its stand; Winston Churchill was in his Heaven and all was right with England. (Raban, 1979: 239-40)

The scenario described by Raban encapsulates many of the issues surrounding UK-derived materials used for teaching English, in particular the notion of a fictional Never Never Land of an imaginary England. Whilst it is true that modern coursebooks have developed and evolved, I would argue that they similarly represent a cosy, comfortable, imaginary world. At issue is the linking of the language with the necessity to identify with the cultural milieu of this fictive world, which many critics have argued is tantamount to a form of cultural imperialism. As English has become the dominant language, the international language, many have begun to question the link. As I will show, there have been many criticisms of the content and topics contained within UK-produced coursebooks. However, the role of the visual element within them has been under-researched.

The trigger for this study was not a product of a critical incident (Schön, 1983; Tripp, 1993) but a more gradual evolution of my critical awareness. It has its origins in my own involvement with English language teaching for nearly forty years. I taught English as a Second Language (ESL) to immigrants in Australia in the 1970s, and I have taught English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in various institutions and schools
in both Argentina and the UK. I have to confess that, in the past, I have been an avid user and active promoter of many EFL coursebooks. However, over time, I became aware that not all students shared my enthusiasm for the materials, and some were negative and questioning of their content. While working at the University of Brighton I moved away from direct EFL teaching, and engaged with materials analysis and the teaching of media studies. As a result of my experience and my readings, I began to reflect on the notion that those coursebooks, like all media products, were social constructs, and as such, were imbued with a particular world view. This world view may not concur with the views and values of the students and teachers who use them. This has been brought into focus by my readings of the ongoing debate around the notion of cultural imperialism (Schiller, 1976; Tomlinson, 1991; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994, 1998, 2000; Kanagarajah, 1999; Block & Cameron, 2002; Nunan, 2003; Edge, 2006). It is my belief that teaching is necessarily a moral act (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002), and as such, we should be conscious of any values we appear to promote. My particular concern is that, in promoting the UK-produced coursebook, I have in some way been unwittingly complicit in advocating a particular set of cultural values embedded within them. For many critics, the spread of English has become conflated with the notion of globalisation, which is seen by some as promoting the culture of neo-liberalism and consumerist values.

The problem, as I saw it, was that the coursebooks, in general, and the visuals, in particular, present a very distinct, positive vision of a mythic England and the ‘Anglosphere’ (McCrum, 2010). This gives rise to the question of whether the mythic England presented conflicts with the norms of the student audiences, and/or encourages negative comparisons to their own culture. More recently, UK-produced coursebooks have been marketed as global coursebooks, however, even a cursory examination would suggest that many of the topics and images would have little relevance or resonance to students who will never visit the UK or the USA, and who may only use English with other non-native speakers.

A preliminary examination of a range of UK-produced coursebooks initiated a number of potential research questions.

1. What are the conventions and characteristics of the UK-produced coursebook?
2. What is the cultural content of the curriculum and the ‘hidden curriculum’?
3. What do we mean by culture? Can we separate a language from its culture?
4. Who has ownership of English?
5. To what extent do the coursebooks perpetuate the hegemonic dominance of the English of the ‘Centre’?
6. Do they privilege the native speaker of English?
7. What image of England, Britain and the Anglosphere do they represent?
8. Could the books be seen as a form of cultural imperialism?
9. How ‘realistic’ are the images, and does it matter (e.g. differences between drawings and photographs)?
10. What is the provenance of the images?
11. What ‘taken-for-granted’ values and ideologies are embedded within the images?
12. What do the images say about the time the coursebooks were produced?
13. How is gender, race, age, the third/developing world (the ‘other’) represented?
14. What particular pedagogic practices and approaches are privileged?
15. What is the role of the author, publisher, Examination Boards, British Council, private language schools (and other stakeholders) in defining the form of the coursebook?
16. To what extent do the coursebooks promote the values of globalisation?

Many of these questions equated with those elaborated on by Gillian Rose (2001: 188-189) in her book *Visual Methodologies* (see Appendix 1), which helped me to further focus my research. I chose to examine the visual discourse of an archive of UK-produced EFL coursebooks, produced over the last thirty years, which Kress & van Leeuwen (1997) defined as a socio-semiotic resource, and Silverman called “naturally occurring data” (Silverman, 2006). My objective was to analyse the visual element of these coursebooks to examine underlying assumptions, the ‘taken-for-granteds’, cultural values and ideologies contained within them, in order to find out what the images reveal about the dominant discourses of the time they were produced.
Chapter 2

Culture, Visuals and EFL Teaching

2.1 Culture

The term ‘culture’ originated in the Latin term linked to cultivation (Eagleton, 2000) and has had a long and evolving history. Raymond Williams (1976) argued that it is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. As early as 1952, Kroeber & Kluckhorn, cited 164 definitions ranging from “learned behaviour” to “ideas of the mind”. In the 19th century the term was commonly used as a synonym for ‘Western Civilisation’. The British anthropologist Sir Edward B. Tylor (1871) popularised the idea that all societies pass through development stages, beginning with “savagery”, progressing to “barbarism” and culminating in Western “civilisation” (Jandt, 2007:6).

The concept of culture as an ideal, that included a refining and elevating element, was developed by Matthew Arnold (Arnold, 1869) and was often used to justify the discourse of colonialism (Said, 1993, xiii). The issue for my research is whether this notion still adheres to the discourse evident in coursebooks.

Traditional definitions of the term tend to focus on “best that has been thought and said” in a society. That is high Culture with a large ‘C’, which the French called ‘Civilisation’ and the Germans ‘Kultur’, and which referred to classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy (Eagleton, 2000). More modern interpretations refer to popular ‘mass culture’ forms of music, design and leisure time activities (Williams, 1976; Hoggart, 1957; Strinati, 2000; Storey, 2001), or culture with a small ‘c’.

Not all definitions refer to cultural products. Others adopt a more anthropological approach (Malinowski, 1923; Mead, 1928, 1964; Sapir, 1947; Levi-Strauss, 1955; Whorf, 1956; Geertz, 1973; Robinson, 1985; Parekh, 1997). The term culture makes
reference to ways of life, customs, ideas and habits of thought, patrimony of knowledge, language, standards, values and norms for morality and behaviours. Whilst products and behaviours are observable, a person’s values and ideas are less obvious and subject to change, such that some have compared culture to an iceberg (Hall, 1976; Weaver, 1993) or the layers of an onion (Trompenaars, 1993), where only the shallow surface is visible. Central to these anthropological definitions is the notion that culture is constructed through socialization, during upbringing. Geertz (1975) emphasised culture as symbol whereby societies use common symbols to communicate their thoughts and experiences.

From the 1970s onwards, social sciences witnessed a significant change in the understanding of social life, which led to a new emphasis upon the notion of ‘cultural studies’. Drawing on earlier scholarly traditions (Adorno, Gramsci, Marcuse), cultural studies as a discipline was developed at Birmingham University (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies). This change is often described as the ‘cultural turn’, that is culture “…became a crucial means by which many social scientists understood social processes, social identities, and social conflict” (Rose, 2012: 1-2). As they saw it, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of ideas and meanings between members of a society or group (Hall, 1997). One of the key processes in the ‘cultural turn’ or ‘cultural circuit’ (du Gay, Hall et al., 1997) is the practices of representation. Representation (Hall, 1997) is an essential process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. However, the meanings of the representations have the potential for a variety of readings (polysemic). This is particularly true if the readers are drawn from different backgrounds, with differing patrimonies of knowledge. Hall (1980) defined a triptych of potential forms of reading, the preferred or dominant, oppositional and negotiated.

In order to make and exchange meanings, members of a group need to learn the codes of the culture. Within the EFL classroom, the students will be encouraged to learn the codes of the classroom, the coursebook and the target culture. With reference to language learning, Norstrand speaks of the ‘central code’ of a culture:

The central code consists not only of customs and properties; it involves above all the culture’s ‘ground of meaning’: its system of major values, habitual patterns of thought, and certain prevalent assumptions about
human nature and society which the foreigner should be prepared to encounter.  
(Norstrand, 1989:51)

Whilst it is possible that students/audiences may be aberrant (Eco, 1965) or potentially oppositional (e.g. Ang, 1985; Liebes & Katz, 1990) in their decoding, the presumed authority, the power/knowledge of the teacher will lead to his/her reading being seen to be the preferred one. Luke (1997) argued that coursebooks yield “strongly preferred readings” and that “teachers systematically lead students to a set of privileged interpretative practices, shaping how and what students do with textbooks” (pp. 3-4). With regard to the UK produced coursebook the native English speaker teacher (NEST) will tend to have greater access to, and confidence in, his/her awareness of the preferred reading of the coursebook, and ability to promote it to the students. Success within the classroom is generally judged by how far students adhere to, and accept, this dominant reading.

Since the ‘cultural turn’, it is argued that meaning is produced or constructed by the active discourse used and the way things are represented. Hall, writing about the discourse approach, observed:

- It examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised and studied. The emphasis in the discursive approach is always on the historical specificity of a particular form or ‘regime’: not on ‘language’ as a general concern, but on specific languages or meanings, and how they are deployed at particular times in particular places…
  (Hall, 1997: 6)

This focus on the discourse approach will be central to my examination of the materials. I will explore how they construct and represent the world and what this says about the culture(s) embedded within them and the values and preoccupations of the times when they were produced.
2.2 Culture and language

Within EFL communities there has been considerable debate regarding whether it is possible, or even desirable, to separate the English language from the cultures from which it is derived. Whilst recognising the importance of English as an international language, some would seek to uncouple the language from its Anglo-American source (Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Kubota, 1998 & 1999). Some learners, whilst recognising the necessity of learning English, may well be hostile to, or reject, Anglo-American culture (Abdollahzadeh & Banisad, year 53 [sic]). Zaid (1999) argued that culture-centred EFL often undermines the student’s perspective of their own language and culture. Some, like Adaskou et al. (1990), viewing English from the perspective of Moroccan school teachers, sought to refine the definition of culture into four categories (anthropological, sociological, semantic and pragmatic), not all of which they felt were necessary for Moroccan students to learn. Some have sought to define culture as an optional add-on fifth skill (Damen, 1997). It has also been argued that, if English is an international language, it should no longer be the property of the Anglosphere (Holly, 1990; Matsuda, 2002). Others have argued that it is impossible to separate the language and the culture (e.g. Hinkel, 1999; Brown, 2000). As Kramsch argued:

Culture in language learning is not an expendable fifth skill tacked on, so to speak… It is always in the background, right from day 1, ready to unsettle the good language learner when they expect it least, making evident the limitation their hard won communicative competence, challenging their ability to make sense of the world around them.

(1993: 3)

Drawing on early work of Sapir (1947) and Whorf (1956), Halliday’s socio-semiotic view of language emphasises the social meaning that language represents and constructs.

The social structure is not an ornamental background to linguistic interaction… It is an essential element in the evolution of semantic systems and semiotic processes.

(Halliday, 1979: 114)

This approach to language learning involves learning the culture the language expresses.
Since the 1970s, UK-derived pedagogy has emphasised the importance of communicative competence, which Hymes (1972) defined as communication that involves more than just an understanding of syntax, grammar and vocabulary, but highlighted the importance of understanding the sociolinguistic aspects of the language. Researchers such as Byram (1988, 1991), Valdes (1986), Kramsch (1993), and Jandt (2006) have stressed the importance of developing ‘intercultural’ competence in language teaching. This involves an understanding of the interactional norms between different speech communities, and an ability “to reconcile and mediate between different modes present” (Byram & Flemming, 1998: 12). Central to the approach is the development of “cultural awareness” (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). This process involves the development of awareness, not only of the culture of the language being studied, but also introspectively of the learner’s own culture. It encourages cross-cultural comparisons in a non-judgemental way, such that the learners come to understand values and meanings other than their own. Kramsch suggests that foreign language learning should take place in a “third place” between the first culture and the foreign language (1993, 1998). For Kramsch, if the process of acquiring culture and language is successful, the learner should be able to communicate effectively with an English native speaker, but also in a way that reflects their own culture and personal beliefs (Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996).

Whilst some English language learners may be hostile to the culture from which it is derived, other students are keen to learn about Anglo-American culture. Prodromou’s survey of Greek learners (1992) found that over half indicated an interest in learning about the native culture of English, and the higher the level of English, the more important learners felt it was to learn about culture. Many young adult learners are already aware of Anglo-American popular culture, and are enthusiastic to learn more (Cheung, 2001; Cenc & Bada, 2005; Judt, 2005). From my own experience, the reason given by many EFL learners for learning English was to understand the lyrics of pop songs, or to understand the dialogue in American films, especially when they were aware that the sub-titled versions were often censored. Many students from the former Eastern bloc are extremely interested in learning about the culture of the West, and have aspirations to live and work in English-speaking countries. Many students are keen to interact with native speakers (Timmis, 2002; Irie, 2003).
However, the question still remains that if we include a cultural element in the materials, whose culture should it be? Should it be the culture of the core and/or the periphery? Even if we restrict it to the core, there is still the issue of whose culture is being represented. We need to take account of what consideration is given to gender, race, social class and national and regional differences.

2.3 Cultures of learning

In order to maximise the efficiency of language teaching, and to aid cross-cultural business activity, there has been pressure to define cultural factors which could impact on the learning styles of different national groups. Each new group of learners has elicited research on the respective ‘problems’ associated with their linguistic and cultural background (Efstathiadis & King, 1972; Swan & Smith, 1987; Ellis, 1991; Furnham, 1997; Midooka, 1990; Gray, 1997; Kubota, 1999) and the issues related to the clash of cultures, e.g. culture-shock, reverse culture-shock (Bock, 1970; Jin & Cortazzi, 1993; McKinley, Patterson & Cross, 1996; Philo, 2007) and ‘culture bumps’ (Archer, 1986; Jiang, 2001). A number of assumptions and givens about each of the linguistic communities have been defined, for example, many studies suggest that Chinese learners are defined by the following characteristics: passivity in class, lack of critical thinking, and obedience to authority (Hu, 1991; Oxford, 1995; Flowerdew, 1998; Cheng, 2000) or a “Confucian-heritage” learning culture (Chen, 1990; Biggs, 1996), although this is disputed by Shi (2006). Practitioners have conducted numerous analyses in order to determine the specific needs/wants of different groups.

However, in an age of increasing globalisation, and as some have argued, the homogenisation of the world media (Tunstall, 1997; Ess & Sudweek, 2001; Curran & Park, 2003), can these assumptions about the behaviour of various linguistic groups have any validity, if in fact they ever have had? Many of the perceived cultural problems are often essentialist and reductive, as Holliday et al. observed:

By essentialist we mean presuming that there is a universal essence, homogeneity and unity in a particular culture. By reductive we mean reducing cultural behaviour down to a simple causal factor…

(Holliday, 2004: 2)
Much of this essentialism is an attempt to find an ‘easy’ answer for culture in areas of management studies and foreign language education “where people are looking for simple formulae for communicating with clients, students and colleagues from other places and backgrounds” (Holliday, 2004: 3). In the forefront of such research has been the business sector, in particular in the work of Hofstede (1991) & Trompenaars (1993).

The influence of Hofstede has been, and still is, particularly dominant (see Nakata *Beyond Hofstede*, 2009). Hofstede sought to define norms of values, practices and layers of culture within different national groups. Much of the work was based on the response of IBM employees from forty different countries. However, it could be argued that this was a very narrow base to extrapolate from, as this sample will tend to have some common values resulting from a common work culture. Based on his research, Hofstede sought to define a number of categories of cultural difference based on such characteristics as symbols, heroes, rituals and values. However, what emerged can be seen as an ‘othering’ of different cultures, creating the notion of the foreign learner of English as someone alien and different to us. Hofstede proposed a number of broad categories, such as: power-distance (the relative levels of national acceptance of inequality, (e.g. in schools, state, workplace); individualism versus collectivism; gender culture, (i.e. assertiveness versus moderating); uncertainty avoidance and anxiety; shame versus guilt societies; and how different nationalities cope with cultural differences. Whilst I would recognise some of these common characteristics when teaching international students, it would be wrong to accept them as universal characteristics of national groups. For example, could we define a national English learning style? We would need to take account of class and different educational opportunities within society. Also, with regard to features such as power-distance and individualism versus collectivism, there appears to be an in-built value judgement suggesting a hierarchy of national cultural values which are biased towards western cultures. Furthermore, just because someone has the same language and has been brought up in the same country, we cannot extrapolate from this that we have the same homogenous culture. To say so, is to create what Anderson (1983) called “an imagined community”. As Gumperz (1996) argued:
The assumption that our social world comes segmented into discrete internally homogenous language/culture areas has become increasingly problematic. Cultures are no longer homogeneous and language divisions have become more and more permeable… Speakers of the same language may find themselves separated by deep cultural gaps while others who speak distinct languages share the same culture… We can then no longer assume that language and culture are co-extensive and shared understandings cannot be taken for granted…

(Gumperz, 1996: 376-7)

2.4 Culture and methodology

Much of the focus in discussions on the teaching of EFL have tended to focus on the latest teaching methods and techniques, resources available for students, and the search for the ‘best method’, or at least more effective ways of teaching. The expansion of Applied Linguistics departments in the UK and US (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004: 343) led to developments in theories of second language acquisition (Chomsky, 1972; Ellis, 1997; Cook, 2008) and research into pedagogy. Over the last thirty years or so a range of approaches and methods have been proposed (see Chapter 5). The approaches and methods proposed have, however, largely been derived from the UK and the US, which has been referred to as the ‘Inner Circle’ (Kachru, 1985) or the ‘Centre’ (Prabhu, 1987). Materials and methods from the UK and US have been zealously promoted as best practice. Many of the pedagogic techniques originate from teachers’ experience gained while teaching multilingual students in small groups in the UK or ESL immigrant groups in the US. These practices have informed coursebook design and ELT methodology courses, producing a number of taken-for-granted givens or “fallacies” (Pennycook, 2000). Implicit within them are a number of assumptions which privilege the English of the Centre:

- The language of the Anglosphere as the aspirational target language.
- The primacy of the native English teacher.
- The dominance of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Brumfit & Johnson, 1979).
• The importance of spoken English.
• Small group teaching.
• Authentic tasks around authentic texts.
• The non-use of the student’s L1 and a rejection of translation.
• Student-centred as opposed to teacher-centred approaches.

However, many researchers and teachers from the Inner and Outer Circle (where English is not the first language, but plays an important part in institutional life) have questioned many of these assumptions (Canagarajah, 1999; Harumi, 2002; Holliday, 2005; Matsuda 2006), in particular how appropriate CLT is for different teaching contexts (Nolasco & Arthur, 1986; Anderson, 1993; Ellis, 1996; Li, 1998). For some, they are seen as a colonising force (Chowdry, 2003; Pham Hoa Hiep, 2005). English language teaching materials are never neutral, but as Edge observed:

In the (western dominated) literature of ELT, ideas on, for instance, task-based learning, ideas-sharing, open debate, problem solving and learner autonomy are reasonably central to a broadly accepted view of good practice… But, at the same time, we can see that these ideas are themselves based on a set of cultural assumptions about communication, education and acceptable behaviour by the individual in society, which are far from universally accepted.
(Edge, 1994: 18)

Coursebooks have a tendency to prescribe the way a lesson is taught, particularly when aimed at younger, inexperienced teachers. In practice, many of the materials will be adapted. For example, pairwork exercises are often rejected by teachers with large groups who fear losing control whilst group work and role-playing are sometimes viewed as ‘not serious’ or a waste of time and money by students (Phan Le Ha, 2008). Others argue that a successful bilingual teacher with a knowledge of the students’ L1 is a more suitable model than a monolingual/monocultural NEST (Medgyes, 1999; Phillipson, 2002; Baker, 2003).
2.5 Culture, visuals and teaching materials

There has been an increasing critical concern regarding the cultural content of EFL materials (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Holborrow, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Zaid, 1999/2011; Modiano, 2001; Edge et al., 2006), and a number of writers have produced guidelines and frameworks for analysing the cultural content of coursebooks (e.g. McDonough & Shaw, 1993; Cunningsworth, 1995; Sheldon, 1998; Pulverness, 1999; Guest, 2002; Hedge, 2002). However, in practice, the cultural role of the visual element has been under-explored. Gyorgy Kepes, the Hungarian painter and designer, observed in 1944:

Visual language is capable of disseminating knowledge more effectively than almost any vehicle of communication. With it, man can express and relay his experience in object form. Visual communication is universal and international (my emphasis): it knows no limits of tongue, vocabulary or grammar, and it can be perceived by the illiterate as well as the literate. (Kepes, 1944: 13)

For many, his view that visuals are universal and international has been the accepted orthodoxy. Many EFL teachers and designers have, in the past, paid little attention to the visual element in coursebooks, assuming that everyone will view them in the same way, and therefore giving precedence to the written word. However, this assumption has come under increasing scrutiny. Writers such as Gombrich (1960), Deregowski (1972), Monaco (1981), Nisbet (2003), and Frith & Kavan (2007) have argued that visual communication is not universal, and contend that different cultures see and read visuals in different ways. Semioticians have focused on the difference between denotation and connotation (Barthes, 1973, 1977; Berger, 1986, 2005; Bignell, 1997; Chandler, 2007), that is the meaning (connotation) of any image is very much influenced by our patrimony of knowledge.

Since Pit Corder’s 1966 ground-breaking title *The Visual Element in Language Teaching* a number of methodologists have advocated the importance of the use of various kinds of visuals in ELT, and much of the writing has tended to concentrate on their effectiveness in enabling students to acquire the target language. Images were seen as visual prompts for introducing language, or contextualising texts (Wright, 1976; Bowen, 1982; Hill, 1990; Wright & Hallam, 1996). More recently, some studies
have looked at visuals from the perspective of content analysis (Hill, 2003; Arikan, 2005; Gray, 2007), often with a focus on quantifying the relative levels of representation of gender, minority groups and class. In the wake of criticism regarding the cultural content of materials, there has been an increased focus on how images might be read and interpreted by different audiences. Hewings (1991) questioned the universality of images, and observed “a neglected area of study seems to be how learners from different cultures perceive such illustrations” (1991: 237). A number of papers have emerged from ELT material design courses, particularly from international students or language teachers with experience in specific national cultural milieus who have sought to examine coursebooks from the perspective of a non-English, non-Core audience. Recent dissertations have explored the cultural content of EFL teaching materials (Grimshaw, 2002; Lu, 2002; Sun, 2004; Ulrich, 2004; Walton, 2008). Of particular relevance to my own research is the work of Kullman (2003) and Gray (2007-10), who touch on and sometimes overlap with areas I am interested in examining. Kullman’s thesis explores *The Social Construction of Learner Identity in the UK-published ELT Coursebook.*

This dissertation involved two strands. For the first part, he interviewed eight writers of English language coursebooks, and in the second part he analysed six sets of English language coursebooks from three decades. He argued that these coursebooks were not written for a particular examination, however I would contend that they are implicitly or explicitly aimed at the University of Cambridge First Certificate Examination. For his analysis he drew upon a number of research methodologies, including media studies, semiotics and social semiotics, which I have also drawn upon in my chosen methodology. Kullman explored in detail the notion of identity and the learner in the ELT coursebook. In his thesis, he argued that learners were encouraged “to engage with, and articulate, particular models of personality, personal development and lifestyle practices” (2003). He was particularly concerned that the materials were permeated by the discourses of health, illness, medication, psychotherapy and self-help, and the Western tradition of the confessional (Foucault, 1979). In the 1990s coursebooks he examined, although he found that the learner was no longer defined in relation to ‘real’ or ‘created’ people living in British target cultures, he argued that “… learners are now framed as individuals whose taste and/or lifestyle and/or biographies are their defining features” (Kullman, 2003: 177).
In his analysis, he refers to writers on visual semiotics and social semiotics (ibid: 145) and refers to some examples and provides extracts from the coursebooks in his appendix. However, his visual analysis would have benefited from a more in-depth deconstruction of specific images. As he observed:

> The increasing use of colourful visuals in coursebooks, undoubtedly a welcome development after the monochrome, and often unappealing, visual characteristics of coursebooks published before the late 1970s, is not, however, without its drawbacks. There appears at times to have been too little thought given as to the implication of the visual images employed, and there has been remarkably little discussion in literature on coursebook evaluation of the connotative meaning of other visual elements in the coursebook. (ibid: 216)

Whilst he pointed out that there had been a lack of attention to the coursebook as a mass media artefact (ibid: 257), which “embeds certain discourses about the individual, group and culture”, he does not in his thesis choose to focus in detail on image analysis, an omission which I hope to engage with.

John Gray has similarly adopted a critical stance towards the UK-produced coursebook (2002), and more thoroughly in his PhD thesis entitled A Study of the Cultural Content in the British ELT Global Coursebook: A Cultural Studies Approach (2007), later published as The Construction of English: Culture, Consumerism and Promotion in the ELT Global Coursebook (2010). He touched on many of the areas which were and are of concern to me. As Gray observed on the content of the coursebooks:

> Their ‘representational repertoire’ are shown to be typified by a pervasive ‘native-speakerism’, and the deployment of discourses of feminism, multiculturalism, individualism and consumerism… It is only by turning to the literatures on visual communication, consumerism and the concept of promotional culture that a fuller explanation can be provided. (Gray, 2007: 3)

Gray’s research is in three parts: interviews of two publishing managers and two senior editors at one of Britain’s largest ELT publishers; a critical analysis of four
best-selling global coursebooks; and finally, an activity-based audience research study. The study provides some very useful references for the definition of culture and cultural theory related to ELT, and looks particularly at the social construction of reality contained within the coursebooks. In Chapters 4 and 5, Gray analyses four popular coursebooks: *Streamline English Connections* (Hartley & Viney, 1979), *Building Strategies* (Abbs & Freebairn, 1984), *The New Cambridge English Course 2* (Swan & Walter, 1990), and the new edition of *New Headway Intermediate* (Soars & Soars, 2003). Some of these coursebooks, e.g. *Streamline* and *Building Strategies*, I have analysed, but given the wordage restrictions, I have not included my findings in the final thesis. However, Gray provides some useful observations on these coursebooks, which reinforce my own findings. Gray draws upon semiotics and social semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001) to analyse the “artwork” in his chosen coursebooks. His examination of the images is only a smallish part of his overall analysis, which also looked at accent, choice of grammar, lexis, phonology, and the analysis of the use of the four skills. He points out with regard to *Connections* artwork (Gray, 2010: 56, 57), that it was remarkable for its use of colour in contrast to its competitors, and it featured photographic artwork in thirty units, and graphics/line-drawings in the remaining fifty. He observed:

> One of the distinguishing features of [the drawings] is the pervasive use of a ludic style reminiscent of British children’s comics, with minor anatomical exaggeration, often with comical names (e.g. the pop singer Elton Kash), curiously dressed...
> (Gray, 2010: 56)

Gray argues that such artwork is typical of what Hodge and Kress refer to as ‘play text’. They frequently contain a comic element, which I would argue is more likely to be addressed to the NEST. He points out that the coursebook also contains colour photographs which are usually seen to have a higher, more serious modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) (e.g. photographs of the 1976 Montreal Olympics, and the life of Elvis Presley). He makes an interesting observation regarding the presence of a series of black and white photographs which refer to the world beyond the coursebook. He argues that the forty black and white photographs are characterised by a ‘social realist’ style, that is they are reminiscent of newspaper images, and carry with them an element of the ‘real’. However, these photographs were, in fact, specially
commissioned for the coursebook, to illustrate the pre-written verbal interchanges, and can be thus seen as social constructs. In the earlier *Streamline Departures* (1978) there are a series of black and white photographs resembling a picture story. These were taken in and around Oxford, and are similarly constructs (using actors/EFL teachers), their purpose being to illustrate the dialogues, but also to promote Oxford and its environs. For example in one image of an Oxford bookshop, prominence is given to an Oxford University Press publication, i.e. *The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary* (Unit 23). The current convention and connotations of black and white images are to use them to signify the past or the past tense.

Gray conducted a series of content analyses to quantify the number of representations. For example, he looked at the relative representation of male and female characters and found males were disproportionately represented. Similarly, he pointed to a level of negative sexism with regard to the roles females perform (domestic, caring) and character traits (emotional/complaining), and argues that the gender stereotyping conforms to the findings of Goffman (1979).

With regard to *Building Strategies*, Gray points out that, on a content basis, there is an “egalitarianism in the approach to the representation of women and men – in fact overall the representations of women outnumber those of men” (Gray, 2010: 76), and concludes that feminism has had a significant impact on the representations of UK coursebooks (ibid: 99). One of the central characters in the narrative of the coursebook, Barbara, is portrayed as both independent (a flat of her own) and successful (manages a shoe shop). Whilst it is a positive representation, it could be seen as a very Western feminist portrayal, in which the images and text interpellate the students “to both the ideological and subject position of white-collar individualism in which success, mobility, gender equality and personal satisfaction appear largely as unproblematic givens” (ibid: 82).

Gray includes a number of images from *Headway*, which he analyses in detail. He looks, for example, at the inclusion of different ethnic types within the images, and he makes some interesting observations regarding a collage-type image in *Headway* (Unit 3).
… The image connotes a global multi-culturalism in which the represented participants, whatever their differences, are essentially citizens of the world – linked together through the common currency of English (all are shown talking). (Gray, 2007: 150)

Gray points to the pervasive ideology of individualism in the coursebooks he examined (e.g. the final unit Headway Intermediate is entitled “I did it my way”). He observes:

What is overwhelmingly highlighted is the unbridled individualism of those who are motivated by choice and the quest for sensation and success and the identity of the student as consumer. (2010: 107)

He argues that the world is portrayed as positive and enjoyable, and represents the view of the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry, 1990, 2001). The images reflect the perspective of the tourist “balcony vantage point” (Pratt, 1992, in Urry, 2001: 4). This tourist gaze, as my study will show, has become an increasing element in coursebook design.

Both Kullman and Gray approach the coursebook from a critical position very similar to my own. However, whilst they make some very cogent observations and arguments regarding the role of the visuals and the artwork, their deconstruction of the images is but a part of their analysis. The specific analysis of the visuals warrants an in-depth study. The difference with my research is that I have focused almost entirely on the images (whilst not ignoring the anchorage of the accompanying titles and texts), and viewed them as media artefacts. I have also conducted a more longitudinal study, which paid greater attention to the historical specificity of the coursebooks, to explore what they reveal about the values and preoccupations of the time they were produced.

The archive of materials I looked at broadly corresponded to the period in which English developed into the world’s international language, which also developed in tandem with the notion of globalisation. In the next chapter I will elaborate on the symbiotic relationship between the spread of English and globalisation.
Chapter 3

English, Globalisation and Cultural Imperialism

3.1 Globalisation and English as an International Language (EIL)

In 1933 H.G. Wells wrote, prophetically:

One of the unanticipated achievements of the 21st Century was the rapid diffusion of Basic English as the lingua franca of the world and the even more rapid modification, extension and spread of English in its wake… No deliberate attempt was made to establish it as the world language. It had many natural advantages over its chief competitors, Spanish, French, Russian, German, and Italian. It was simpler, subtler, more flexible and already more widely spoken…" (Wells, 1933: 404)

This extract accurately predicts something of the current hegemonic status of English as an International Language (EIL), but also points to some of the controversies regarding the factors contributing to its spread. Wells refers to a specific variety of English, "Basic English", devised by C.K. Ogden in the late 1920s (Ogden, 1932/68), which sought to simplify English to a core vocabulary of 850 words, which would provide a functional basis for communication in English. This system had a number of advocates in the 1940s and 50s, including Churchill (Pennycook, 1994: 107). Whilst this system has been overtaken by later developments in English language teaching, it could be argued that what is currently in place is a rapid diffusion of basic English. It is estimated that by 2040 there will be 3 billion speakers/users of English (Graddol, 2006), that is 40% of the projected population. In the quote above, Wells argued that "no deliberate attempt was made to establish it as the world language". There is much evidence to suggest that this is untrue. There have been many agencies and stakeholders actively involved in its spread. Similarly, I would question Wells' rationale for its spread.

The growth of EIL is inextricably intertwined with the concept of globalisation. However, the terms EIL and globalisation have different connotations and meanings to different audiences. How we define the terms very much reflects how they are perceived and operate. Globalisation is one of the most commonly used terms in the
Post-Modern world, although there is some debate as to whether it is a new phenomenon, or merely a logical extension and new manifestation of earlier developments of capitalism (Robertson, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1994; Smith, 1997). There is a wealth of research on globalisation resulting in an abundance of definitions. The definitions which are most relevant to this study are those that refer to the changing spatial connections that it encourages, and that modern communication systems are unfettered by the constraints of geography (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999: 15). Globalisation is marked by “shrinking space”, “shrinking time”, and “disappearing borders” (UNDP, 1999, quoted in Kumaravadivelu, 2006: 4).

Central to the concept of globalisation that has developed over the last thirty years is the perceived necessity for the deregulation of trade services and labour markets, which is often labelled ‘neo-liberalism’ (Harvey, 2005; Holborow, 2006; Frieden, 2006; Phillipson, 2008; Couldry, 2010; Block, Gray & Holborow, 2012). The term neo-liberalism is often used interchangeably with ‘globalisation’ (Fairclough, 1995a; Blommaert, 2010). Bourdieu was an early critic of the process. He defined neo-liberalism as “a programme for destroying collective structures which may impede the pure market logic” (1988). The fundamental mission of neo-liberalism is to create a “good business climate” (Harvey, 2005: 25), that is to facilitate and stimulate all business interests, which, it is argued, is the only way to foster growth and innovation, and deliver higher living standards. The neo-liberal agenda seeks the privatisation and deregulation of state sector assets, (e.g. utilities, telecommunications, transport and social housing), and is hostile to all forms of social solidarity, (e.g. trades unions), or controls which are seen to restrain capital accumulation. On a global scale, the neo-liberal agenda seeks the reduction of barriers and restrictions on the movement of capital across markets, and the opening up of markets to global forces through organisations such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and it has been promoted by such agencies as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Holborow, 2006: 87). With regard to the UK-produced coursebook, it is significant that they are increasingly marketed as ‘global coursebooks’, and that they were actively promoted in the newly emerging markets of the former Soviet Union, China and India.
David Harvey argued that:

the neo-liberal state emphasises the importance of personal
and individual freedom, liberty and responsibility,
particularly in the market place. Social success or failure is
therefore interpreted in terms of personal entrepreneurial
virtues or failings rather than attributed to any systemic
properties (such as the class exclusions typical of capitalism).
Opposition within the rules of the neo-liberal state is typically
confined to questions of individual human rights and “rights
discourses” of all kinds…
(Harvey, 2005: 27-28)

In the UK, Mrs Thatcher, a pioneer of the neo-liberal cause (Couldry, 2010),
famously declared that there was no such thing as society, “only individuals and their
family” (Harvey, 2005). For her, all forms of social solidarity were rejected in favour
of individualism, private property, personal responsibility, and family values.

In surveying the coursebooks produced in the 1970s and 1980s, it is striking to see
how this change in the taken-for-granted values manifested itself in the choice of text
and visuals. We see a move away from images from the 1970s, which featured social
classes, strikes and demonstrations, to images which reflect entrepreneurial
individualism, financial success and celebrity, and a focus on familial relationships.
The notion of class difference is noticeable by its absence. The people portrayed in
the Anglosphere are predominantly attractive, affluent and normatively middle-class
(see Chapter 7). Gray (2012), in surveying the modern EFL coursebook, argued:

… the increasingly pervasive use of celebrity in pedagogic
materials is congruent with the values of the neo-liberal
world view and is directly traceable to what ELT publishers
describe as ‘aspirational content’. Such content, focused
largely on spectacular personal and professional success,
celebrity lifestyles, cosmopolitanism and travel, is held by
the ELT industry to be inherently motivating for language
learners…
(Gray, 2012: 87)

As language teachers we therefore need to be conscious of the fact that, in using these
texts, we may be indirectly promoting a specific ideological agenda. Teachers need to
adopt a more critical stance towards the visuals as I will propose in my conclusion.
An important condition of globalisation is the requirement for a “shared linguistic code” (Block & Cameron, 2002), which brings with it the fear of homogenisation. Scholars critical of globalisation argue that this will lead to everyone in the world living, thinking and acting in similar ways, which Ritzer calls ‘McDonaldisation’ (1996) and Barber calls the process ‘McWorld’ (1995).

Critics of the notion of homogenisation argue that globalisation can lead to alternative scenarios of hybridisation (Pieterse, 1995) or glocalisation (Robertson, 1995). They argue that it “entails a synergetic relationship between the global and the local as opposed to the dominance of the former over the latter” (Block, 2002: 3).

Other scholars see globalisation as hegemonically Western, merely an extension of American imperialism (Schiller, 1976, 1985; Latouche, 1996). Latouche sees a progressive “world wide standardisation of lifestyles” (1996: 3), a creeping uniformity in the way people dress, eat, work, and entertainment habits. Linked to this creeping uniformity is the spread of English. However, other scholars (Giddens, 1994; Robertson, 1992; Friedman, 1994) are critical of this dystopic vision and reject the ‘uni-directional flow’ of globalisation.

Kenichi Ohnae (1990, 1995) and Perlmutter (1991) have a much more positive view of globalisation, and see it as a mark of progress. Perlmutter argued that it would usher in a brave new world where “…peoples of different ideologies and values both cooperate and compete but no ideology prevails over all the others…where the global civilization becomes unique in a holistic sense while still being pluralist.” (1991: 898). Pieterse (1995) and Scholte (2000) similarly subscribe to this pluralist view. Irrespective of which vision of globalisation one accepts, it is clear that it is strongly linked to the current hegemony of English. English is not only the mother tongue of 400 million people, it is estimated to be the second language of another 430 million, whilst another 750 million speak it reasonably well. In addition to this, there could be as many as a billion learning the language (Crystal, 2003: 67-69).

Kachru (1985) represented the global community of English speakers in the form of three circles. The ‘inner circle’, an ‘outer circle’ and an ‘expanding circle’ (countries which recognise the importance of English as an International Language, but which
do not have a history of colonisation by the Inner Circle, nor does English have a special status). However, the categories are not clear-cut. Some countries, such as South Africa and Malaysia, fall into several categories. The growth of globalisation, and the increased proficiency of non-native speakers, has modified the concept of ESL, such that Kachru (2004) has reassessed his categories, and argues that the “inner circle” is now better conceived of as a group of highly proficient speakers of English, those who have “functional nativeness” (Graddol, 2006). Kachru now speaks in terms of a core of 500 million demonstrating high proficiency in English, surrounded by speakers exhibiting declining proficiency (2004).

3. 2 Why has English become the international or world language?

The reasons for the current hegemony of English in the world are manifold. However, it is not a result of some inherent superiority, as suggested by Wells. Similarly, it is more complex than Crystal’s assertion that it was "in the right place at the right time" (1997). Nor, as Kaplan put it was "the ascendancy of English… merely the coincidence of accidental forces" (2001: 21, quoted in Phillipson, 2006: 8). Many agencies and groups have been involved in its spread, and many of these stakeholders have a vested interest in the perpetuation and expansion of English as the international language.

Much colonial and post-colonial writing argues that the spread of English is “deeply interwoven with the discourse of colonialism” (Pennycook, 1998). Many would agree with the statement that the modern EFL teacher is following in the ‘footsteps of Robinson Crusoe’. Colonial discourses privileged the white European as the embodiment of ‘civilization’, whilst in turn linking ‘the Other’ to savagery. The concept of the Other is very much associated with the racialised discourse of colonialism, which was structured round a set of binary oppositions, which centred on the powerful opposition between civilization (white) and savagery (black) (Hall, 1997). The colonial missionary rhetoric of the ‘white man’s burden’ served to justify and promote the exploitation and expropriation of land, people and resources. Edward Said (1978) has suggested that colonialists sought to construct the negative image of the Other, in particular the brutal uncivilised ‘Orient’. Said’s discussion of
Orientalism highlights how modes of representation of a racialised knowledge of the other was essential to the operation of power and imperialism (Hall, 1997: 259).

The perpetuation of the discourse of colonialism still adheres to the teaching of English, in particular with regard to the connotation of the acronym TESOL: that is teaching English to speakers of ‘other’ languages, which serves to reaffirm the asymmetrical relationship between ‘natives’ and ‘non-natives’ (Llurda et al., 2006; Braine, 2010).

Studies of the spread of English within the British Empire tend to trace the origins of the colonial discourse to the early pronouncements of Macauley. His note of 1835 introduced the notions of ‘Anglicism’ and ‘Orientalism’ within the colonial language policy for India. In it, he dismissed Indian thought and culture, but accepted that they could not hope to educate all the people of India, but rather that “(we) do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern - a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect” (1835: 240, cited in Pennycook, 1998: 80). Embedded within his text were arguments in favour of the spread of English as a part of civilising, missionary zeal. The ‘benefits’ of English were not to be extended to all. Only a small elite would be given the ‘privilege’ of learning English. The mass of Indians would be educated (if at all) in the vernacular languages, leading to the creation of an English-speaking subaltern class. Proficiency in English was a route to joining the elite, with English thereby becoming a ‘gatekeeper’. Even with the end of Empire, in many ex-colonial possessions English is still the gatekeeper to social prestige and wealth. Ngugi describes his experiences in Kenya (Ngugi, 1985: 115, quoted in Pennycook, 1994: 14-15). Once English was established as the language of power and prestige, many people, despite their reservations about English as an alien culture, realised that for their children the best means for them to achieve social and economic advantage was through an education in English (Pennycook, 1994; Sybing, 2011).

The emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the twentieth century, and the growth of transnational companies, promoted the spread of English. As Crystal observed (1995), “the USA’s dominant economic position acts as a magnet for international business and trade and organisations wishing to develop
international markets are thus under considerable pressure to work with English” (p. 106). The majority of multinational companies have their origins in the USA or UK. The lingua franca amongst the higher echelons of the world wide subsidiaries is in English, even when the country in which they are based has no history of colonial connection with the UK. For example, when I was working in Argentina, the EFL company I worked for provided English classes for senior managers of local subsidiaries (e.g. Brassavora, part of Reckitt & Coleman, Ford, and Banco de Londres, the local subsidiary of Lloyds Bank). Within such companies, proficiency in spoken English was important for promotion and status. The comparative post-colonial experiences and economic successes of Kenya (English) as opposed to Tanzania (Swahili), and Malaysia (Bahasu Malayu) as opposed to Singapore (English), point to the perceived benefits of maintaining the language of Empire (Pennycook, 1994: 16).

Some have argued that the spread of English is because it is “natural, neutral and beneficial” (Crystal 1995). Proponents of this notion of the ‘neutrality’ of English point to nations such as India and Nigeria, where it is argued that English fulfils the role of a neutral compromise between competing local languages. However, as pointed out above, access to high level proficiency of English is usually restricted to a wealthy educated elite, with many others being disenfranchised. Some argue that, without English, Nigeria as a nation might not exist (Gilsdorf, 2007: 366). However, the territorial boundaries of Nigeria could be seen themselves as a legacy of Western imperialist map-makers and diplomats, who defined the national boundaries of Africa, ignoring cultural or linguistic entities in favour of artificial, constructed cartographical boundaries. This notion of English as a language of neutrality reached its apogee with the recommendation that, in order to placate the competition between Russian and Latvian speakers in the post-communist territory of Latvia, English should be adopted as the national language (McKay, 1995).

A more critical view of the colonial heritage of English was proposed by Searle … The English language itself was the language of the master, the carrier of arrogance and brutality. (1983: 45-54)
For many in post-colonial societies, excluded by their lack of proficiency in English, the pre-eminence of ‘neutral English’ within institutions of law, administration and higher education, is a continuing source of resentment, frustration, and subjugation, therefore it could be argued that “the discourse of colonialism still adheres to English” (Pennycook, 1998: 2).

3. 3 World Englishes or ‘standardisation’

At the heart of modern perceptions of globalisation is the notion of communication. However, just as the coming of the railways and the telegraph led to a diminution of regional differences in dialects and accents, similarly the needs of globalisation press for ‘standardisation’. Irrespective of which language becomes the common language of globalisation, there will be an imperative towards the creation of a standard form to ensure inter-intelligibility. As Cameron observed:

Globalisation has given a new legitimacy and a new twist to the long-lived idea that linguistic diversity is a problem, while linguistic uniformity is a desirable ideal.
(Cameron, 2002: 67)

There is inevitably pressure from interested parties to ensure that their form of English becomes the standard. Currently, the US/UK varieties of English are in the ascendency.

In the field of language teaching, great emphasis is placed on the native speaker teacher (NEST), who is presented as the model to be aspired to. Native speakers have tended to attract prestige, and in overseas teaching environments, higher salaries than local non-native English teachers (NNESTs) (producing considerable resentment, particularly when they may have higher qualifications and greater pedagogical experience). Graddol (2006) argues that the pre-eminence of the native speaker may not be the case in the future, however, there are many stakeholders in the Centre who have a vested interest in the perpetuation of the status quo.

India is often presented as an example of a nation that has benefited from globalisation due to its colonial heritage of the English language. However, the evidence of ‘call centre’ workers in India suggests that they have had to abandon any
local variations in English and have had to adopt a more standard UK/US form, as well as developing their cultural knowledge of the UK and USA, in order to understand the subtleties of English and English culture. As Holborow reports, “the new cybercoolie labour force is told to keep up with the latest episode of Coronation Street or East Enders” (2007: 69), to thereby form a parasocial connection with callers from the UK. Despite the relatively good salaries these workers receive, this almost schizophrenic artificiality leads to considerable resentment on the part of the Indian workers. It must also be pointed out that, in India, access to English and English teaching is not universal. Particular elite groups, which already have English language skills, are the only ones who have access to this form of employment. Crystal (1997) suggests that only 5% of the Indian population are proficient in the use of English.

In other parts of the developing world, English has become the language of the elite. The elites converse in meetings and social gatherings with diplomats, trans-national employees and the higher echelons of the military in English (Phillipson, 2003; Hardt & Negri, 2005). They can talk at ease in front of the servants.

There is still considerable debate about ‘which English’ (Kachru, 1990; Canagarajah, 1999; Kachru & Kachru, 2006). Some have argued for a new emergent variety of English which they term ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ (ELF) (Jenkins, 2007). Jenkins argues that for too long English language learners from around the world have been made to feel inadequate regarding their level of pronunciation, set against a target of the native speaker. However, given that the majority of future mediated interactions are likely to be between non-native speakers, it is argued that the target of the native speaker norm is inappropriate.

The debate regarding standardisation is an angry battle between ELF, versus American/British standards, versus a notion of an international English based on non-native speaker norms. The link between the spread of English and the neo-liberal project in the USA has been the subject of much criticism (Fairclough, 2006; Holborow, 2007; Block, Gray & Holborow, 2012). However, others such as David Rothkopf, Director of the Kissinger Institute, are unapologetically forthright in their advocacy of the spread of English in the name of US interests.
It is in the economic and political interests of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving towards a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving towards common communications, safety and quality standards, they be American; and that if common rules are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable. These are not idle aspirations. English is linking the world.
(Rothkopf, 1997: 45)

3. 4 English and the notion of cultural imperialism

In order to explore the relationship between English language and cultural imperialism, it is necessary at the outset to define the notions of imperialism and cultural imperialism. Edward Said provided a useful definition of imperialism. For him, it meant “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; ‘colonialism’, which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements in distant territory” (Said, 1994: 8). With regard to the wave of imperialism of the eighteenth to the twentieth century, Hardt and Negri (2000) characterised it as an extension of the sovereignty of the European nations beyond their own boundaries.

The traditional view is that imperial domination was largely achieved by the use of arms and the military to physically subjugate and control the occupied territories. However, it may not only be achieved through physical force, but may also be achieved as a result of “political collaboration by economic, social and cultural dependents” (Doyle, 1986: 85). As Golding and Harris argue, imperialism did not maintain its rule solely through oppression, “but through the export and institutionalisation of European ways of life, organisational structures, values, and interpersonal relations, language and cultural products that often remained and continued to have impact even once the imperialists had gone home” (1997: 51). Many of those colonised recognised the socio-economic benefits of accepting imperial rule and the embracing of the language and culture.

Nowadays, direct colonisation has largely ended, but it is argued that it has been replaced by ‘cultural imperialism’ (Mattelart, 1983; Dorfman, 1971/84; Schiller, 1976, 1979, 1989; Ritzer, 1996; Castells, 2009). The cultural imperialism thesis
argues that a powerful country can use cultural means to achieve or support the political and economic ends of imperialism without the use of military force and occupation, although some would argue that, with the strength of US/NATO military dominance, the threat of force is ever-present (e.g. Iraq and Afghanistan). Some speak of an empire of bases rather than colonies, as there are 725 official overseas US bases dotted around the world (US Dept. of State, cited in Thussu, 2005; Posen, 2003; Johnson, 2004). Proponents of cultural imperialism, however, claim that domination is achieved by exposing people to lifestyles to aspire to and products to desire. They argue that western (in particular US) films, TV stories, newspapers, magazines and commodities act as propaganda for a consumerist-based capitalist model of society. The concept of cultural imperialism is often elided into ‘media imperialism’ (Boyd-Barrett, 1977). The process of cultural imperialism creates overseas markets favourable to western interests, which in turn leads to the weakening of the autonomous culture, values and identity of the receiving countries.

The central proposition of cultural imperialism as defined by Schiller is:

the sum of the process by which a society is brought into the modern world system, and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond, or even promote, the values and structure of the dominating centre of the system.

(1976: 9-10)

Proponents of cultural imperialism argue that there has been a global homogenisation of imagery, taste and cultural forms that are a result of the proliferation of media images and products derived from the US and the west. It is argued that the global flow of the imagery is predominantly from the west, the Anglosphere, to the periphery (Pennycook, 1994, 2007; Bagdikan, 2000; McChesney, 1999/2001; Fairclough, 2002). As Held et al. observed:

Few expressions of globalisation are so visible, widespread and pervasive as the world-wide proliferation of internationally traded consumer brands, the global ascendancy of popular culture icons and artefacts. The most public symbols of globalisation consist of Coca-Cola, Madonna and the news on CNN…

(Held et al., 2000: 327)
Even sceptics of cultural imperialism, such as John Tomlinson, acknowledge the undeniable spread of western/American cultural goods.

… There is a wealth of evidence that western (or even American) cultural tastes and practices are becoming global ones. Take any index from clothes to food to music to film and television to architecture… and there is no ignoring the sheer massive presence of western.. cultural goods practices and styles in every inhabited area of the world.

(Tomlinson, 1997: 134)

Despite these examples of apparent homogenisation of culture, there are a number of critics that reject the notion of cultural imperialism. Their arguments focus on some of the following points:

- The theory does not acknowledge the active media audience member who might develop oppositional or negotiated readings of the text (Hall, 1980).
- Modern global companies are often de-territorialised (Ohmae, 1990 & 1995).
- National cultures are hybrid mix of the local and global (Pierterse, 1995)
- They argue for the notion of ‘glocalisation’ (Robertson, 1995).
- They reject the uni-directional flow of globalisation (Robertson, 1995; Friedman, date; Appadurai, 1995; Featherstone, 1995; Waters, 2001; Sinclair, Jacka & Cunningham, 1996; Tunstall, 2008).
- They also point to the Islamic revival as a reaction to the threat of western-led globalisation (Barber, 1995; Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2008: 426- 431).

In support of the argument that the theory of cultural imperialism does not acknowledge the active media audience member, critics frequently cite the active audience frame of analysis used by Liebes & Katz (1990) which looked at audience reception of the TV series Dallas. Schiller responded to this argument, asking “How can one propose to extract one TV show, film, book or even a group, from the now seamless media-cultural environment and examine it (them) for specific effects?” (1991: 24). For proponents of the cultural imperialist thesis, it is the sheer volume of images and messages in a variety of media platforms that contribute to the process. It must also be noted that Dallas is a work of fiction, and is therefore more open to differential readings/interpretations. In recent years, audience trust in mainstream media has been fading (see Bennet, Staci & Flickinger, 2001; Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). Audiences have become more sceptical of media products, however, I would argue that they may not see coursebooks as media products, and do not react to them
with the same sense of negativity or distrust. Student audiences are more likely to accept the preferred readings of school textbooks, including EFL coursebooks, particularly when guided towards them by the teacher in the confines of the classroom.

Critics also argue that with the development of globalisation many multi-national companies have become trans-national and decoupled from any nation state (Sklair, 2010). However, this has been disputed by others, such as Callinicos, who argues that the idea that “capital has broken free of its geographical moorings is a myth” (2009: 203). Even if companies have a global presence, they still look to their “home or regional base for labour skills, for a secure market and the main location of investment” (Callinicos, cited in Block, Gray & Holborow, 2012: 17).

The major publishers of UK EFL coursebooks (Oxford, Pearson Longman and Cambridge), despite sometimes out-sourcing their printing, are firmly linked to the UK with regard to their sources of capital, the remission of profits and the bulk of their subject content and visual imagery. Even imagery of non-Anglosphere locations is largely viewed from the perspective of a western tourist (Urry, 1990).

Hybridisation (Pieterse, 1995 & 2004) and glocalisation (Robertson, 1992) theories propose that, rather than local cultures being overwhelmed by western cultural artefacts, there is more of a mixing of cultures. Whilst it could be argued that globalisation has led to some cultural mixing (e.g. the import of ethnic styles and fabrics and world music to western markets) this has not led to a fifty-fifty form of hybridisation. I would argue that, whilst local cultures have not been engulfed, the flow of artefacts and ideas is predominantly from the west to the rest. It might be better, as Block argues, to see it “in terms of ever-increasing diversity rather than hybridity” (2012: 59). Similarly, critics of globalisation have argued that, in order to achieve market penetration, transnational companies have had to include more locally produced culturally-sensitive (g)local materials, or they have been modified by local subsidiaries. However, it could be argued that these concessions to the local are merely tokenist, and even fetishise the importance of the local (Block, 2012). The mere localisation of appearance does not neutralise the discourse of marketization and consumption, but merely encourages audiences to participate in an imaginary
community of consumers. Furthermore, too much localisation militates against one of the central tenets of globalisation, that is the perceived efficiencies of ‘economy of scale’. From my own teaching experience, I can provide a useful illustration of the limited amount of local content in materials produced for the global market. In a cross-cultural awareness exercise with international students, the class examined international editions of the woman’s magazine Cosmopolitan. The magazine is owned by the American Hearst group who produce sixty-four international editions in over thirty-five languages (Cosmopolitan, 2013). They found that the degree of local content and images in the different national editions was relatively small. Large parts of the magazines contained syndicated advertising spreads for western beauty products featuring tall blonde Caucasian women as their ‘ideal’. In UK-produced coursebooks, the bulk of the imagery is similarly derived from the Anglosphere. Images of non-western locations tend to be either from the western tourist perspective or evoke negative comparisons with the west.

Critics of cultural imperialism argue that the advent of advanced communication technologies has produced a multi-directional, as opposed to a uni-directional flow, of information between countries. They argue that periphery countries, such as Brazil, India and Mexico (Sinclair, Jacka & Cunningham, 1996) have media that are not dominated by foreign media organisations. The counter-argument is that the US is the dominant player in the global media and communications sector, and has constantly sought the removal of restrictions on transmission flows of media content in order to support their growth and expansion overseas. Under the neo-liberal pretext of ‘free markets’ they have pushed for the inclusion of media/cultural products in international trade agreements, such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Held & McGrew, 1999; Murdoch & Golding, 2005).

Deregulation and liberalisation have had a major impact on the communications sector and led to the growth of media conglomerates and the concentration of ownership (Held & McGrew, 1999). Held & McGrew observe that “a group of around 20-30 very large MNCs [Multi-National Corporations] dominate global markets for entertainment, news, television etc., and they have acquired a very significant cultural and economic presence on nearly every continent” (1999: 347). McChesney (2001) argues that the global media market is dominated by seven multi-
national companies: Disney, AOL Time/Warner, Sony, News Corp, Viacom, Vivendi and Bertelsmann. Even if there is a local and regional resistance to the flow of imagery and ideas from the west to the rest, I would argue that there is no denying that the existence of the unequal flow presses for greater cultural homogeneity, a global culture, which is largely derived from the Anglosphere. The majority of the MNCs are based in the US and Western Europe, notable exceptions being Teleglobo Brazil and Televisa Mexico. In the area of world news gathering, apart from Al Jazeera and Russia Today, the world news gathering and distribution network is dominated by western news agencies and broadcasters. As Daya Thussu observed:

> Despite a slow but significant contraflow in televisual images from non-western countries, the West, led by the USA, continues to dominate the world’s news networks (broadcasters world-wide depend on news footage supplied mainly by two TV news agencies – Reuters and Associated Press). Coupled with the reach of such Anglo-American news networks as CNN and BBC World this gives English – language news a head start in international news, effectively a ‘US/UK news duopoly’ … (Thussu 2005: 275)

As a result of the predominantly US/UK ownership of the media conglomerates, I would argue there is a flow of imagery, genre and content from the US and some western cultures to the developing world which constitutes a form of cultural imperialism or cultural globalisation (Castells, 2009). The UK-produced coursebook is but a part of this continuum. Whilst it is true that versions of English language coursebooks are often locally produced, they tend to be only consumed in their home market. The bulk of the global coursebooks are produced and exported from the Anglosphere. There is little evidence of a contraflow.

The hegemony of English, particularly in the form of Anglo-American standard, has led to the claims that it has become a form of cultural imperialism. For many in the developing world, the spread of English is seen to be threatening their own cultures and values. The English language is seen to be a Trojan horse, which not only threatens other languages with “linguicide” (Phillipson, 1992, 2002), or linguicism, which privileges one language over another (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), but that embedded within the language there are modes of thinking, ‘taken-for-granted’ values which threaten or are at variance with the modes and values of the cultures of those who, out of necessity, are forced to learn English.
Some writers and educationalists in the developing world have sought to “quarantine” the cultural component in learning English (Adaskou et al., 1990; Sellami, 2006), and to produce a form of English language which, whilst enabling the pragmatic communication with other ESL speakers, does not contain the baggage of culture. However, others would argue (e.g. Kramsch, 1992) that it is not possible to disentangle the language from the culture that it emerged from. But again, this raises the issue of which English? Few would dispute that the dominant form currently taught and presented is the Anglo-American form. This has led some ESL speakers to observe “the invasion of English and American culture is carrying out not only the replacement of languages but also the replacement of mental structures” (Tsuda, 2008). This Anglo-American standard is propagated and perpetuated by the export of teachers and materials from the ‘centre’. As Matsuda noted:

> (the) examination of English language teaching (ELT) practices in Japan reveals that English is still taught as an inner-circle language, based almost exclusively on American or British English, and textbooks with characters and cultural topics from English-speaking countries from the inner circle. 
> (Matsuda, 2003: 719)

### 3.5 Agencies and factors promoting the spread of English

Crystal (1995:106) provides a list of practical reasons that have contributed to the spread of English. It is the language of international air-traffic control, and is rapidly becoming the language of “international maritime, policing and emergency services”. Crystal has a somewhat ‘triumphalist’ take: “in my view the momentum of growth has become so great that there is nothing likely to stop its continued spread…” (2003, preface).

In addition, English is the dominant language in large international organisations such as the IMF, World Bank, NATO, UN and increasingly in the enlarged EU. For example, between 1992-1999 the percentage of speeches in the UN in English increased from 45-50% , whilst they declined in other languages (Calvet, 1998). The French government argued that the dominance of English in the EU and the need to teach it represented an annual payment to the UK of 10 million euros (Graddol, 2006:}
English is also the predominant language of aid and relief agencies such as Oxfam (Médecins sans Frontières is a notable exception). Many factors have contributed to this dominance.

English and the cultural (Cold) wars

During the inter-war period, British and American governments became increasingly aware that the Fascist and Communist movements appeared to be extremely effective in promoting their respective philosophies overseas. From the mid-1930s onwards, Britain and America worked together to promote the benefits of British and American culture. From its outset, the British Council placed the teaching of English as its core activity (White, 1966).

The Council set out to encourage English studies in foreign schools and universities, to set up cultural centres, to provide support for bi-lingual schools abroad, to provide exhibitions and travelling theatre performances, in order to promote English culture. It also aimed to develop sympathetic links with potential leaders of other nations. The defeat of Germany and Japan was followed by the emergence of the Cold War, which gave a new urgency to the activities of the British Council. Churchill, of mixed British and American parentage, was a particularly strong advocate of the promotion of Anglo-American linguistic and cultural links. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, there were a number of Anglo-American collaborations to encourage the teaching of English world-wide (Phillipson, 1992: 164-172).

The activities of the CIA in the cultural cold war have been the subject of considerable scrutiny, both during the Cold War and later since the fall of the Communist Bloc (Braden, 1967; Saunders, 1999; Gaddis, 2005). In response to the Communist Cominform, the CIA decided to create or influence its own array of groups and organisations. The CIA was involved in the active promotion of western ‘free culture’. In Britain it covertly provided funds for the literary magazine *Encounter*. In the US the small magazines *Partisan Review* and the *New Leader* were given covert funds. It has also been revealed that the CIA promoted avant-garde movements in the arts to counter the attractions of Soviet sponsored Social Realism. It financed the making of the film version of *Animal Farm*, supported the Congress...
for Cultural Freedom, and sponsored the development of American Area Studies in European universities. The promotion of English was yet another weapon in the armoury of the Cold War. The British Council and the United States were actively involved in the promotion of English in non-aligned nations, but also in the case of the British Council, actively promoted English teaching in the communist satellite states (e.g. Bulgaria). The British and Americans cooperated from the mid1950s in an “offensive”, using English as a form of “soft power” (Nye, 2004).

The English language was actively promoted by radio channels, such as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, and later MTV. The role of MTV is particularly interesting. The hedonistic lifestyle that it projected to the youth of Eastern Europe contributed to their growing dissatisfaction with the failure of the Soviet-style economic system to provide them with a similar lifestyle. As Rantanen observed:

In the Soviet and post-Soviet contexts… media imperialism scholars must confront the unthinkable - Russian audiences actually wanted to have Western programmes, to which they were denied access for decades… Russians, especially the young, aspired to and fantasised about the cultural and consumerist delights of advanced capitalism. (2002: 10)

After the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the panaceas marketed for the post-communist world were “liberal democracy, the free market, and above all the English language” (The British Council Annual Report, 1991/2, quoted in Phillipson, 2008: 7). The collapse of the East led to the refocusing of British Council teaching activity, away from the developing world, to the new emergent satellite states. The rejection of communism was matched by a heightened desire for English (see Judt, 2005). The British Council English teaching (TESOL) promoted a specific form of English language teaching, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), which privileged the native speaker teacher of English over the NNS. It also aided in the expansion of the market for coursebooks and materials produced in Britain. The British Council also cooperated with British private ELT enterprises to expand TESOL provision in the new markets of post-Soviet Eastern Europe. In response to accusations of cultural imperialism the British Council sought to rebut them via Professor Taylor, a ‘neutral’ academic, but the British Council’s official historian (see Cultural Imperialism on British Council website).
The collapse of communism and the break-up of the former Yugoslavia have witnessed an increased presence for international peacekeepers under the aegis of NATO and the UN. Similarly, following 9/11, the US, UK and other nations have become involved in military action in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 1996, the British Council has had a separate section dedicated to ‘English for Peacekeepers’. (British Council, 2009: The Peacekeeping English Project). English is promoted as the language of “inter-operability” between different nations on NATO, UN and EU peacekeeping missions (Woods, 2006).

Educational publishers have been quick to produce relevant textbooks, for example the Macmillan Campaign series (Mellor-Clark, 2005). A similar programme is conducted by the American Defense Language Institute. The presence of US and UK forces in Iraq and Afghanistan has prompted the growth of English amongst some of the indigenous peoples, who see an obvious economic advantage in speaking English (although it is not without its dangers, particularly for interpreters).

Edge (2003), in his article Imperial troopers and servants of the lord, argued that alongside the peacekeepers have come Evangelical Christians. These groups have become involved as English teaching volunteers who, whilst helping to develop English language skills in the former Eastern bloc and the developing world, also have the opportunity to proselytise. The Bush administration encouraged and supported this association between US foreign policy and certain branches of evangelical Christianity (Varghese & Johnston, 2006:196). An interesting example of the role of faith groups in the spread of English can be witnessed in Darfur. The Book Wish Foundation and the faith group CORD have been involved in a project to provide a shipment of Headway coursebooks to refugee camps. The coursebooks are provided at cost, and Oxford University Press has donated the teachers’ books. Before the arrival of the Headway books, the refugees had been using whatever English books they could find. There is a possibility that English could become conflated with the notion of the “road to freedom”, particularly as English is the language of classes at colleges in southern Sudan, and a prerequisite for admission (Book Wish Foundation, 2008). This raises the questions of how appropriate these textbooks are for these students and what cultural values they espouse.
English and the media

The spread of English is very much linked to the development of media. In 1977, in his landmark publication *The Media Are American*, Tunstall posited that the United States dominated global media. It was argued that American film and television covered its production costs within the USA, which meant that high quality media products could be exported at low cost to the rest of the world (Ogan, 1988; Schiller, 1996; Srebery-Mohammadi, 1997). Hollywood’s ability to communicate effectively to the ‘melting pot’ of US multilingual immigrants by use of simple, predictable narratives and highly communicative visual style, made them easily accessible to a world audience of widely differing cultures.

As mentioned earlier, some studies of the media argue that it is becoming increasingly de-Westernised (Sinclair, 1990; Curran & Myung-jin Park, 2000; Tunstall, 2007), and that the flow of media products is no longer uni-directional. For example, Arab language media have sought to present an alternative Islamic perspective on the news, with Al Jazeera, based in Qatar, the most successful. However, in order to reach a wider audience, it needs to transmit most of its broadcasts in English. Similarly, German World Television (Deutsche Welle) transmits in English.

Although some examples seem to indicate that a uni-directional view of media distribution is no longer valid, an overview of the TV schedules in most countries reveals the domination of a high proportion of US-produced programmes. Whilst it may be true that viewers may prefer ‘home-produced’ programmes, the sheer enormity of filling the ever-growing TV schedules for an increasing number of TV platforms, means that many TV channels will continue to need US programming. (Steger, 2003: 76). According to the US Department of Commerce (2002), US film and television programme exports produced over “over $9 billion profit in 2001, making film and television more profitable than any other industry (apart from weapons)” (cited in Jin, 2007: 762). These figures seem to indicate that, despite some changes, the global communications system is dominated by the English language. In countries where films are shown with vernacular subtitles, the visual component is
still very much value-laden and projects a particular view of the world which could be seen as Anglo-centric. The presence of subtitles may well act as a stimulus for viewers to study English in order to fully comprehend the film or TV programme.

With regard to Bollywood films and ‘hybrid’ films often produced by British-born Indians (e.g. Monsoon Wedding 2001, Bride and Prejudice 2004, and Slumdog Millionaire 2008), the major characters often switch effortlessly from Hindi to English. These films tend to depict the lives of aspiring, rich and affluent Indians, who are bilingual (e.g. Kabhi, Khushi, Kabhi, Gham 2001). Most of the Bollywood stars tend to be extremely proficient in English (e.g. Amitabh Bachan, Aishwarya Rai and the Kapoors).

The most significant recent media development has been the growth of the world wide web. Many feared that the origins of the web would lead to the further spread of English and the demise of other languages. For many, the internet was seen to be “the ultimate act of intellectual colonialism” (Voronov, cited in Crystal, 1997), whereby English would become the dominant language of the internet. Early statistics regarding web-sites and internet use suggested that over 80% of web-sites were in English, with German coming second with 4% (see Crystal, 2001). However, later surveys (Block, 2004) reveal that while English web-pages represented 68% of the total, there were 5.85% Japanese web-sites, 5.77% German and 3.87% in Chinese. The on-line population in September 2002 was 619 million (Block, 2004: 34), of which 36.5% were English speakers, with the second biggest number being Chinese. The Chinese are the fastest growing users of the internet, such that by January 14th 2009 Reuters reported that the number had risen to 298 million, making it the world’s largest internet population. However, it must be remembered that, in most countries, internet access is not universal. Inevitably, some (the poor) will be disenfranchised. The controversial election (2009) in Iran revealed the extent and importance of the internet for Farsi speakers. However, it was also noticeable that, amongst the affluent North Tehranis, a large number were proficient in English. Perhaps in a closed or restrictive regime, a facility in English provides access to alternative discourses via the media. It may also provide a secret restricted code to articulate subversive ideas with like-minded individuals. For many, English has been successfully conflated as the language of freedom and democracy.
Whilst some have seen the development of the internet as a potential threat to other languages, others see it as a potential salvation for endangered languages (Gray, 2002; Phillipson, 2003). Some argue that the proliferation of English language media products acts as a stimulus for them to access the hidden meanings behind the linguistic code, leading to a bottom-up desire to learn English (Chew, 1999).

Media products reflect the values, ideology and preoccupations of the culture that creates them. For example, US media is sometimes seen to promote values such as materialism, consumerism and individualism. They construct ways of thinking about and viewing the world, and frame discourse in particular ways and offer modes of behaviour to be aspired to. An effects model suggests that constant exposure to media products can influence perceptions of the world. *The Simpsons*, for example, is distributed world-wide. This cartoon series about a seemingly dysfunctional family is seen by some in the US to be subversive, and presenting a negative view of their society (e.g. George Bush Senior). However, an alternative reading can see the series as an active promoter of American values and culture. For many people in developing countries, as well as possibly 40 million US citizens, their lifestyle would be unachievable and aspirational. In the minds of the audience, the Simpsons’ lifestyle may well be conflated with the opportunities offered to those who live in the United States and who speak English.

Globalisation and higher education

Graddol (2006: 74) argues that “one of the most important drivers of global English has been the globalisation of higher education”. Increasingly, universities draw their student base from wider cultural and national backgrounds. Globalisation and the marketisation of education as a ‘product’, has seen universities in the English-speaking countries competing for ‘international students’ as a source of additional income (McNamara & Harris, 1997; Shin & Welch, 1999; Callinicos, 2005; Coleman, 2006). World surveys of university performance consistently rank US, and to a lesser extent UK universities, in the top categories (THES, 2011). This stimulates the demand for English-based higher education. According to the BBC news web-site (May, 2009), the number of overseas students studying at UK universities has risen to
513,570, “1 in 7 of the total”. However, increasingly the UK has to compete with other English-speaking providers. For Australia, education is ranked as its third largest export “with more than AU$ 15 billion (£7.4 billion) a year, of which AU$2 billion is earned from 81,520 vocational and university students from India” (The Guardian 11th June, 2009). Studying in the UK has become an educational experience that is ‘branded’.

The creation of the British government and the British Council’s ‘Education UK brand’, complete with sponsors, MORI, and McCann Erickson, is designed to ‘maintain the UK’s credentials as a world-class provider of education and training’ and stands for ‘quality, dynamism and diversity’.

( BC cited in Holborow, 2006: 90)

The discourse of the web-site reflects very much the discourse of promotion and marketing (Fairclough, 1995a)

The course finder of the University of Brighton international student prospectus lists eleven undergraduate and postgraduate courses with the prefix ‘International’ in their title. However, all these courses are conducted in English, and there is no requirement for British students on the courses to demonstrate proficiency in another language. Entrance to all courses in English-speaking universities require international students to be proficient in English. English is once again acting as the gatekeeper. Proficiency in English has to be demonstrated by their performance in either TOEFL (US) or in IELTS or University of Cambridge EFL examinations (UK). These tests are very prescriptive in the skills they expect the students to demonstrate, and support the notion of standardisation. The form of these tests influences the form and content of the English teaching the prospective students receive before coming to university.

This (negative) backwash effect determines the syllabus.

The academic culture of British and American higher education privileges specific forms of thinking, speaking and writing in the medium of English. Students, both native and non-native speakers, are evaluated on the level to which they conform to these norms. For international students, there may be specific modes of thinking and reasoning embedded within the discourse, which may differ markedly from that of their L1 culture. Coursebooks which prepare international students for study in the UK and USA are inevitably imbued with UK and US cultural norms. As the academic
Tsuda observed, “the invasion of English and American culture is causing not only the replacement of languages, but also the replacement of mental structures” (2008: 52).

For some critics on the Left (Phillipson, Fairclough, Holborrow), the discourse of neoliberalism has begun to permeate the university domain. They suggest that the marketing and packaging of the ‘experience’ has become the norm in higher education in the UK and US. The prevalence of this discourse has inevitable consequences for staff and students. It naturalises a specific form of English, and thereby promotes a specific vision of English and its place in the world.

Apart from teaching students, the other core activity of universities is research. With regard to research publications, English is the dominant language world-wide. Most of the scientific, technological and academic research is expressed in English (Ammon & McConnell, 2002; Coleman, 2006), and between 75-90% of research publications use English as the principal medium of expression. International academics, however proficient in their discipline, who wish to publish, must do so in English, often producing considerable resentment. Tsuda (2008), as a NNS, said he felt like a second class citizen.

3. 6 English and the ELT ‘industry’

There are a number of stakeholders who come under the broad rubric of the ELT industry, and who have benefited hugely from the spread of EIL, and who seek to maintain their role in the teaching of language. Lord Kinnock (Chair of the British Council) observed in the forward to Graddol’s English Next (2006) “the English language teaching sector directly earns nearly 1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports”. The UK/US standard may be challenged by other Englisches in the future. Nevertheless, within the English-speaking nations of the Centre there are a number of vested interests who seek to maintain the dominance of ‘their English’: for example, Applied Linguistics Departments, TESOL course providers (e.g. RSA/DELTAs), State and private language schools, examination syndicates (e.g. UCLES), and educational...
publishers. In addition, as long as the English of the Centre maintains its dominance, there will be a corresponding need for NES teachers, both in the UK and the US, as well as the opportunity for ex-patriate NESTs to work overseas. If the English of the Centre is seen to be the gold standard, then international students will be drawn to study in the UK or US, which will provide additional income to those providing accommodation and services.

Many of the current orthodoxies regarding how best to learn or acquire English derive from the work of applied linguistics departments (Pennycook, 1994; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). Their philosophy of English language teaching privileged the NEST, promoted the UK and US form of English as the standard, placed an emphasis on communicative practice, and promoted specific methodologies centring on oral communication with native speakers.

Many scholars in the developing world (Kachru, 1990; Canagarajah, 1999; Rajagopalan, 1999; Tsuda, 2008) were critical of the evangelical zeal with which these pedagogical methods were promoted in the developing world, often based on weak theoretical foundations and of doubtful relevance to the context of the Outer Circle. Many would question the assumption that the methodology proposed was neutral, or that it provided the learners with equal rights. However, the methodology promoted served the interests of those who perceived English as a “global commodity”. Underlying the methodology’s best practice was an assumption that classes would be delivered to small groups in private language schools or university-based English programmes, with an informal atmosphere in which the teacher had access to a range of teaching aids. Clearly, such a scenario was inappropriate to many learning situations in the developing world. Nevertheless, whilst this pedagogic practice was in its ascendancy, it served the interests of the private language schools and the Anglo-American coursebook producers, who could target the elites of different nations who wished to acquire this perceived “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 1991).

Demonstrating that one has achieved proficiency in a dominant US/UK standard form requires the acquisition of a certificate from one of the US/UK examination boards, which are themselves highly profitable organisations. To prepare for these
examinations, a huge publishing industry has been developed, with coursebooks, tapes, videos, DVDs and web-sites, all geared to the examination systems. Many scholars in developing nations, and increasingly in the UK, are critical of the current state of the ELT industry (Block & Cameron, 2002; Edge, 2006; Phillipson, 2008). Critics of the perceived link between globalisation, Empire and TESOL, such as Kumaravadivelu (2006) argue that:

   English in its role as the global language, creates, reflects and spreads the import and the imagery of the global flows. The forces of globalisation, Empire and English are inextricably interconnected. Operating at the intersection where the three meet, TESOL professionals, knowingly or unknowingly, play a role in the service of global corporations as well as imperial powers. (2006: 1)

In order to explore to what extent cultural values are embedded within coursebooks/text books, it will be necessary to deconstruct some exemplars to see if there is any validity in this argument.
Chapter 4

Methodology

In Chapter 1 I raised a number of questions regarding the role of the visual in UK-produced EFL coursebooks. These can be broadly summarised as follows:

- How are the UK and the world represented in the images?
- What overt and covert values do they espouse?
- What do they tell us about the time they were produced?
- Do the visuals privilege the native speaker and the language/values of the Centre?

The methodology I have used comes within the paradigm of qualitative analysis. Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of social phenomena and draws on “multiple methods of enquiry” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006: 2). As Denzin and Lincoln observe, it “crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matters” (2000: 2). I have examined the ‘content’ of coursebooks but did not pursue a quantitative approach, such as in formal content analysis research.

To analyse the archive of EFL coursebooks I adopted a methodology borrowing from a number of theoretical platforms, which come within the general rubric of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995a, 2000, 2003; Coulthard & Coultard, 1996; Van Dijk, 1998, 2000; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA is an ensemble of analytical techniques drawn from different fields, such as linguistics (e.g. Halliday, 1976, 1985), semiotics (Saussure, 1974; Barthes, 1973/77; Berger, 1986/2005; Bignell, 1997; Chandler, 2007), and social semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Jewitt & Oyama, 2002; van Leeuwen, 2005), focusing on textual practice and language use (in its broadest sense) as social and cultural practices (Fairclough, 1995b). As Van Dijk observed:

CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, CDA takes
explicit positions and thus wants to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality. (Van Dijk, 2000)

CDA builds upon a number of theoretical orientations. For example, it draws from post-structuralism the view that discourses at any time often operate across a number of “fields” (Bourdieu) or sites (“intertextuality” (Kristeva, 1986), or as Fairclough prefers it “interdiscursivity”) and contributes to the forming and shaping of human identities and actions. It takes from Bourdieu the presumption that textual practices and interactions with texts become “embodied” forms of “cultural capital” with exchange value within particular social fields, in this case the EFL classroom (Grenfell & James, 1998). Controversially, CDA rejects the notion of ideological neutrality in research, and shares with neo-Marxist cultural theory the assumption that discourses are produced and used within political economies, and that they produce and articulate broader ideological interests, and movements within those fields (Hall, 1997; Luke, 1997).

Building on the work of Foucault (1972/1977), CDA focuses on the notion of “discourse”. As Rose observes:

... Discourse has a quite specific meaning. It refers to groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking. In other words, discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it. (Rose, 2001: 136)

For CDA, language and discourse are not transparent or neutral (Bakhtin, 1981: 243), but rather they can control and regulate knowledge. For CDA, the text reflects the concerns and preoccupations of the producers of the texts and their power relations with their target audience, and have the potential to define how we/they view the world. Unless the analyst (or the teacher) differentiates ideology from knowledge, and is aware of the ideological dimensions of the discourses, the chances are that she/he will be unconsciously implicated in the reproduction of ideologies. CD analysts believe that a text is never transparent, rather it is politically and ideologically embedded with assumptions, “common sense” values and “taken-for-grantedness”, which Foucault defined as “regimes of truth” (1977). The goal of CDA is to unpack and critique these assumptions, to make visible the invisible, to “unsettle the existing
order” (Kress, 1996), to empower us to deconstruct them and appreciate that they may be exercising power over us (Tonkiss, 1998: 259). As Fairclough elaborated:

… Discourse not only represents the world as it is (or rather as it is seen to be) they are also projective, imaginaries representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions. (Fairclough, 2003: 124)

Central to the process of CDA is an in-depth analysis of “texts”. CDA has partly been developed from the discipline of linguistics, and much of the earlier work of CDA focused on the spoken and written word. There has been a tendency in Western culture to ascribe higher value to the written word (e.g. Jay, 1993), and the most highly valued genres, such as novels, academic treatise, official documents and reports, have tended to be “monomodal” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). However, more recently, the ocular has become more prominent. As a result, CDA analysts have broadened the definition of texts to encompass the “multimodal”.

Pioneering work on the relationship and interaction between the written word and the visual in text and discourse has been conducted by Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, 2001). I intend to use some of their taxonomies to analyse my chosen texts.

CDA places particular emphasis on the need to historicise the data. Texts are according to Fairclough:

extraordinarily sensitive indicators of social-cultural processes, relations and change. Social and cultural analysis can only be enriched by this textual evidence, which is partly linguistic and partly inter-textual - partly a matter of how links between one text and other text and text types are ascribed in the surface of the text. (Fairclough, 1995a: 4-5)

There is no ‘one way’ visual methodology (Prosser, 1996, 2006). Visual researchers closely read and interrogate images. They ask questions about the image, such as: what is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged? They also need to ask questions about the production of the image, for example: When was it made? Where was it made? What were the social identities of the maker(s), the owner and the subject of the image? Finally, they need to ask some questions about audiencing: Who were the original audience(s) for this image? Where is the
spectator positioned in relation to the composition for the image? Where is the spectator positioned in relation to the components of the image? What relationship does this produce between the image and its viewers? These and other questions are provided as guidance for visual research by Gillian Rose (2000). See Appendix 1 for a full taxonomy of the questions.

Central to much of the analysis of visual text is the notion of representation. As Hall argues:

> In language, we use signs and symbols- whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects - to stand for or represent to other people our concepts ideas and feelings. (Hall, 1996: 1)

In examining the images we need to explore them from the perspective of semiotics and semiology (Barthes, 1977). Barthian visual semiotics and Panofsky's theories of iconography (1970) are particularly useful for investigating the representational (denotive) and symbolic (connotative) meanings of people, places and things included in images. Both methods are premised on layered meaning (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2002). However, they often lack the dimension of context and historicity that is necessary for a form of analysis which is central to CDA. It needs to embrace theories of social semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; van Leeuwen, 2005) and cultural studies (e.g. Fiske, 1989, 1991; Strinati, 2004; Berger, 1995; Zizek & Wright, 1999).

It can be argued that all images are polysemic and are subject to different (Hall, 1980) or aberrant decoding (Eco, 1979). However, it must be stressed that all images are constructs, and like social-semioticians I do not accept that texts are made “by accident” (Idema, 2002). It is the aim of the author(s) of any image to communicate their “preferred reading” (Hall, 1980).

In examining representation, we need to look at who or what is represented. If/how the representation has changed over the period of the study? We need not only to look at which representations have been foregrounded, but also which representations have been backgrounded or omitted. In my analysis of coursebooks, I have looked at how
various groups, men, women, racial and ethnic identities have been represented. I have drawn on other sources, such as social theories of gender and race (Goffman, 1976; Gilroy, 1987; Dyer, 1997; Carter, 2003; Dines & Humez, 1995; Gill, 2006; Gauntlet, 2008), and the notion of stereotyping (Allport, 1954; Perkins, 1979; Pickering, 2001).

A growing awareness of semiotics and sign-making has enabled the producers of texts to guide the audience towards the preferred reading. Social-semiotic visual analysis provides a detailed and explicit method for “analysing the meaning established by the syntactic relations between people, places and things depicted in images. These meanings are described as not only representational, but also interactional (images do things to or for the viewer)” (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2002: 3). Social-semioticians seek to highlight some of the techniques and practices that direct the audience towards a specific reading of the textual images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). For example, they pay particular attention to the composition of various elements on a printed page, and elaborate upon such concepts as the “given” and the “new”, “the ideal and the real” and the “offer” and “demand” gaze. Of particular interest for them is the issue of "framing" and the ways in which elements may be connected to each other through vectors and similarities of colour and visual shape (van Leeuwen, 2001: 2).

Other areas of compositional meaning that Kress & van Leeuwen explore are the notions of “distance” of the viewer from the portrayed, the “point of view”, “salience” (how eye-catching elements within images are) and "modality". Jewitt & Oyama (2002:151) argue that modality defines visual reality. See Appendix 2 for an outline of Kress & van Leeuwen’s taxonomy for compositional deconstruction.

In examining the elements of composition and the siting of the image, we need to explore the relationship between the image on the page and its relationship to the written text. For example, is the image read in isolation? Barthes (1977) and later Burgin (1982) demonstrated how the meaning of an image can be altered by the “anchorage” of the accompanying text title or slogan. It is, therefore, important to determine whether the image is viewed in isolation or in a direct relationship with the accompanying written text. It must also be remembered that, in the context of the EFL coursebook, the reading of the text is rarely a solitary activity, but rather takes place
within the confines of the classroom. The central role of the teacher as an authority can very much affect the way a text is ‘read’. Does the teacher draw attention to the image? Does the teacher provide leading questions which direct the reading? With some coursebooks this ‘reading’ is sometimes prescribed by the notes in the Teacher’s Book, which give explicit instructions on the way the text should be used, what questions should be asked about it, and the pedagogic methodology to be adopted. In some a blanking piece of card is included in the coursebook to enable the students to cover the written text, so that the teacher can focus the students’ attention on the visual.

If the image in the coursebook is subtly nuanced with cultural iconography derived from Britain and the US, which may be the case with “global coursebooks”, then it will tend to give greater authority to the NEST over the NNEST. As a native speaker of English with over 30 years of experience working with EFL coursebooks I feel that I will have an understanding of the authors ‘preferred reading’. However, my visual consciousness has been sensitised by the study of CDA and as a result I can revisit the texts to attempt to unpack the taken-for-granted assumptions inherent within them, to ‘read against the grain’ (Hall, 1980), and to suggest alternative readings.

A further factor with regard to the isolation of the image is that coursebooks often contain a series of images some of which will be linked to form a continuum of meaning or a narrative thrust to the texts (Propp, 1958; Cortazzi, 1985; Berger, 1997; Todorov, 1967; Toolan, 2001; Gillespie & Toynbee, 2006).

CDA, as with the various analytical tools associated with it, is not devoid of criticism. The “discursive turn” has not gone uncontested (Hall, 1996), and I am conscious of the limitations of the method (see Iedema, 2002). Criticism of CDA comes from a number of areas, for example, many CDA researchers put a greater emphasis on speech and conversational analysis (e.g. Schegloff, 1998), which could exclude the role of the visual. Widdowson argued that the term ‘discourse’ is too vague. “Discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is” (Widdowson, 1995: 158). He criticized the lack of a clear demarcation between the notions of text and discourse. His most damning criticism is that CDA is not an analysis, but rather an ideological interpretation. He argued that
proponents of CDA have a biased ideological commitment, and select texts which only serve to support their preferred interpretation (1995: 169). In response, Fairclough (1996) argued that CDA, unlike many other approaches, is explicit about its ideological commitment. Wodak & Meyer, in summarising the controversy, observed:

Actually these controversies concretise two irreconcilable positions within the methodological debate in social research: is it possible to perform any research free of a priori value judgements, and is it possible to gain insights from purely empirical data without using any preformed categories of experience? (Wodak & Meyer, 2007: 17)

While it is the case that, with all research approaches, choices are made, reservations have been expressed about the ‘critical’ turn in postmodern research, arguing that it leads to ‘relativism’ (Kellner, 1994; Norris, 2002; Kendall 2006), the equating of theories which do not necessarily have the same academic credibility. It could be argued that the very notion of ‘critical research’ is culturally determined and very much a product and preserve of western liberal academia.

The limitations of structural semiotics/semiology have been well-rehearsed (e.g. Corner, 1980; Lodge, 1985; Messaris, 1994; Sturrock, 2003) and even though social semiotics has sought to address some of the criticisms, there are still concerns. Some critics accuse the sign-based methodologies of being ‘imperialistic’ in as much as some see it as applicable to all ‘fields’ and thereby trespassing (Chandler, 2007) on other disciplines. Also, “the qualitative researcher needs to be mindful of strong countervailing conservative forces” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006: 200) who often challenge the validity and soundness of qualitative methods. The major criticism is that all qualitative research is based on assertions and subjective interpretations. However, Patton (2002) argues that the credibility of qualitative research should be determined by rigorous fieldwork, “inductive analysis, purposeful sampling and holistic thinking” (552-553). I am conscious of the fact that my analysis of my chosen texts will inevitably be subjective, defined by my own culture, class and patrimony of knowledge.
Critical Discourse Analysis originally provided a set of tools for written texts and spoken language. However, amongst linguists and discourse analysts there has been an increasing interest in the meaning is communicated, not just through language, but through visual language (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Kress, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012). This form of critical analysis of the visual discourses is often referred to as social semiotics. My analysis drew heavily on the model provided by Kress & van Leeuwen (1996) in their book *Reading Images* (see Appendix 2), but was also informed by Burton (1990/1997), Fairclough (1995b), Huckin (1997b), van Leeuwen & Jewitt (2001), Rose (2001/2012), and Machin & Mayr (2012), to develop a set of tools or a framework for the analysis of EFL coursebooks.

I was conscious of the fact that I was not, at the outset, approaching all of the coursebooks ‘cold’. I had been an active user of some of the coursebooks with students in the past, and was therefore aware of the visual element, and had inevitably already subjected them to some initial analysis. In order to provide consistency to my analysis, I sought to develop a step-by-step framework to make explicit my mode of analysis, and to provide transparency for the method used. This could be used with, not only the coursebooks that I was already familiar with, but would also be applicable to newer coursebooks. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, the framework could be used by other researchers to replicate my process.

Framework of analysis

**Stage 1**
A preliminary analysis from the perspective of a casual observer (Huckin 1997b) or a purchaser looking at:

- The cover (the title, the colour, the branding, the blurb)
- The date produced
- A “flick test” – Which visuals stand out and attract which might warrant further attention? What is the overall appearance/appeal of the book?
Stage 2
Skim read all the visuals in the coursebook noting down what they denote (Who? What? Where? When?)
- What topics are covered?
- What locations?
- What is the apparent purpose of the visual? (see 5.4, The Visual)

Keeping in mind my initial research questions, which visuals might warrant further, more detailed, examination?

Stage 3 (This stage is likely to be repeated several times)
A close observation and detailed analysis of specific visuals to deconstruct them and to explore the subtleties of connotation, such as:

Treatment signs
- What is the form of the visual – black and white drawing, coloured drawing, black and white photograph or colour photograph? If a photograph, include devices of filming and processing, lighting, focus and whether background evident or absent.
- How ‘realistic’ does it look? What is the level of modality i.e. where can it be placed on a scale running from maximum abstraction to maximum representation of pictorial detail (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 86)?
- Has the image been cropped?
- What is the depth of field?

Position signs: the image and the viewer
- What is the focal point of the image?
- What is the point of view and angle of view?
- What relationship is being set up between the image and the viewer? (see Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: Chapter 4 – Distance and Connotation)
- What is the mode of address?

Content sign: objects in the picture and their placing
- Looking at the placing of objects and elements within the composition, using Kress & van Leeuwen’s 1996 analytic framework (pp. 224-225)
(see Appendix 2) exploring concepts such as: the Centre, the tryptich, the given and the new, and the ideal and the real.

- What is the continuum in the overall content of the images?

Stage 4
Source of the images
Were the images commissioned for the coursebook or were they derived from other sources? What is their provenance? If they were from image banks, what was the original purpose of the images? Does some of the original purpose adhere to the visuals (e.g. Were they originally advertising images, and if so do they carry with them the notion of consumerism and consumption?).

Stage 5
Interpretation
- What is the preferred/dominant reading? What alternative readings could be made?
- What do they say about the time they were produced? (There may be a need to revisit historical accounts of the period).
- What taken-for-granted values do they exhibit? What presuppositions do they assume?
- Who and what are represented? How representative are they?
- What is foregrounded/backgrounded in the image?
- What notable omissions/absences are evident?
- What overt and covert cultural content is included?
- What sort of reality and identity are the images implicitly seeking to construct and represent?
- Whose view of the Anglosphere and the world is being represented?
- To what extent do the images privilege a specific Anglophone view?
- Do they privilege the native speaker?
- Could the images be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism?
Presentation of findings

As pointed out earlier, my study falls within the qualitative research paradigm. The method may be interpretative, but it is grounded on the visual text. The data was constantly compared, and a number of categories emerged. I was aware of the need to constantly reflect on my subjective engagement with the materials (Silverman, 2006). In order to present my findings in a coherent manner, I used the following recurring categories:

- The cover and appearance
- The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image
- Target students
- Image analysis of specific exemplars
- Mode of address
- Aspects of stereotypes and representation
- The cultural values embedded within the images
- Does the visual privilege the native speaker and the English of the Centre?

This allowed me to ‘see’ the data in such a way as to compare and contrast the various coursebooks.

In the next section I will explore the concept of a coursebook and seek to define and elaborate upon the form and function of the visuals contained within them.
Chapter 5

The UK-produced Coursebook

5.1 The EFL coursebook: from local to global

Textbooks designed to teach English have a long history (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). The earliest examples, aimed at teaching English as a foreign language, emerged in the wake of the arrival of French Huguenot refugees in Britain in the latter half of the sixteenth century (although more accurately they should probably be termed English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks). Examples such as Jacques Bellot’s The English Schoolmaster (1580) tended to be bilingual in nature, thereby encouraging the grammar-translation methodology which was to prove the dominant methodology until well into the twentieth century.

As discussed earlier, the teaching of English was a major element in the development of the British Empire (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994, 1998). Modern English Language Teaching (ELT) emerged after the end of Empire, where it had been largely dictated by the needs of the Foreign Office. After the 1960s a new appetite for ELT emerged. Increasingly, multinational corporations based in the US and the UK, and the impact of globalisation, motivated ambitious non-English speakers to want/need to learn English. However, the differing needs and motivations of this new cohort of learners precipitated the development of new teaching and learning methodologies to respond to these “needs”. ELT became a commercial activity. The private language school sector (Association of recognised English Language Schools - ARELS) was quick to respond to the new opportunities. These schools tended to teach English to a wealthy clientele who could travel to the UK to learn English. The earliest of the new wave of coursebooks emerged to meet the needs of this sector. These were aimed at an idealised student: an adult, on an intensive course, in small multilingual classes with a native speaker teacher, living in the UK, probably staying with an English family, and totally immersed in the language and culture. How appropriate were these coursebooks for very different types of students, for example those living in different
locations, with large classes of monolingual school students, studying English with a non-native teacher for perhaps one or two hours a week?

Perhaps one of the most significant stimuli in the development of the twentieth century ELT ‘industry’ was a result of the profound consequences resulting from the 1973-4 oil crisis and the consequent shift in wealth towards the oil-rich countries of the Middle East. The growth of the modern ELT ‘industry’ was closely linked with the rapid industrial development of the Middle East and the desire to recycle some of the new wealth back to the west. Hand in hand with the industrial and military development promoted by western (largely Anglo-American) business has been the perceived need to develop the English language skills of the host countries, which has latterly been labelled “petrolinguistics” (Karmani, 2005). Many of the big industrial players in the area, such as British Aerospace and Inchcape provided their own in-house English language classes as part of the development packages, and used course materials bought ‘off the shelf’ from US and Britain. These were not always appropriate and did not take account of the needs of the target audience. For example, British Aerospace used an American coursebook series called *English 900* (1964). This was originally targeted at American immigrant learners having one to two hour lessons, and was rich in US cultural language, icons, artefacts and situations. This same coursebook was the ‘only’ text used for 6 hours a day with Saudi-Arabian military conscripts. This and other coursebooks often contained inappropriate texts. For example, one reading comprehension passage was based on the deconstruction of the preamble to the US Constitution.

Whilst not quite as extreme, the bulk of modern British EFL coursebooks has largely been derived from materials used for classes in private language schools and colleges. Over the last 40 years or so the EFL market in the UK has witnessed successive waves of students (for example, Western European, Saudi-Arabian, Japanese, exiled Iranians, Koreans and currently large numbers of Chinese), the movements of which reflect the changing socio-economic conditions in their own societies. Whilst exposure to these different national groups may well have sensitised material writers to the learning difficulties of specific language learners, and many material writers have worked overseas, it is questionable whether they are capable of catering to all the diverse needs of the global market.
5.2 What is an EFL coursebook?

The EFL coursebook is a very distinct ‘genre’ with conventionalised content and an orthodox “home style”. The term ‘genre’ is derived from the French meaning “type or kind” (Neale, 2000: 9) and was originally used in literary criticism (Todorov, 1976). Cohen (1986: 203) observed that its common usage emerged in parallel with industrial production. The delineation of genres has served as a means of defining different texts, but it has also proved to be useful in promoting them to specific target markets. This was true of the early days of Hollywood (Neale, 2000: 25), but it is also true of the contemporary world of TV and publishing.

The term genre has become a means of defining a type or category of media product (Burton, 1997). A genre contains distinct main features and a portfolio of key elements. It will not contain all of the elements all of the time, but they contribute to the formula of what we expect to see within them. The form of the genre is not static. It will contain sufficient common elements to enable an audience to recognise the genre. They are by nature conservative: to subvert or contradict the expected conventions too much or too soon could lead to loss of sales. Even though the book may contain textual extracts and intertextual references to/from other genres, audiences will have little problem in recognising this distinct genre.

What are the orthodoxies and expectation of the genre of the EFL coursebook? Whilst they have changed and evolved over the last 30+ years, they are characterised by the presence of texts which present packages of chunks of learning used to highlight some aspect or rule of language. These are then practised in a series of exercises involving transformations and substitutions followed by some exercises or strategies which enable the freer production of language. Conventionally, the rules are summarised at the end of the chapter or book. They tend to have a grammar focus. The books are generally divided into units of graded exercises based on a view of what constitutes easy to difficult. They usually begin with the present tense and then move on to more complex language structures such as conditionals (see O’Neill, 1971: contents page). The coursebook is usually one of a series which are also graded on the basis of perceived difficulty and are usually designated with sub-titles such as
‘beginners’, ‘elementary’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘advanced’ (with numerous sub-divisions). These levels are derived from the work of van Ek and the Council of Europe (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004: 252), who defined a common Threshold Level of achievement for all European languages.

The Threshold Level has been subsumed into the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR, 2001) which provides detailed descriptors of the language proficiency expectations at different levels. However, it is significant that this is a European-based initiative. How appropriate are the descriptors for non-European language learners and cultures? If English is truly to be the lingua franca, or world language, should it become de-territorialised?

The covers of the various levels of the coursebooks are usually colour-coded, such that the students are aware of which coursebook follows their own. The convention is to have titles which tend to connote movement, progress and the future, often achieved in the wake of effort. For example, we have titles such as *Streamline Destinations, Headway, Cutting Edge, Challenges, Progress To…, Success at… and Strategies*. Whilst the basic resource is the student coursebook, they are not self-study courses. There is an expectation that they will be used in a classroom with a teacher and other students (Tomlinson, 1998).

The coursebook is the core text, which is easily transportable, and allows the student to write and make notes in it. Increasingly, it has become part of an expensive publishing package which would normally include a separate Teacher’s Book, but also consists of tapes or CDs for listening, supplementary workbooks, DVDs, CD roms and links to supportive internet sites.

5. 3 Who defines the content and form of the EFL coursebook?

A number of groups, organisations, individuals and agencies have contributed to the form and style of current global EFL coursebooks. I consider here the role of examination boards, publishers, authors, academics, teachers and students.
The nature and form of the EFL coursebook very much reflects the prevailing pedagogic orthodoxies of the time they were produced. Over the last thirty or more years the search has been for the so-called best method. A number of methodologies or approaches have been advocated (Stern, 1983; Richards & Rodgers, 1986; Richards & Renandya, 2002; Harmer, 2001; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004).

Modern languages (including English) were originally taught using the basic procedures derived from teaching of Latin. Reading and writing were the major focus, and little or no systematic attention was paid to speaking and listening. However, the changing needs and wants of English learners in the Post-War world led to the development of a number of new methodologies (Douglas Brown, 2002).

Many of the new approaches reflected the growing influence of linguistics research, in particular theories regarding second language acquisition (Ellis, 1997; Johnson, 1995; Cook, 2002). A number of different methodologies emerged. For example, Behaviourist theories informed Audiolingual methods, such as the Oral Approach, or Situational Language Teaching (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). A variation of Audiolingualism grew out of Structural-Situational teaching (e.g. the Streamline series). The 1970s and 80s witnessed four Humanist methodologies (Nunan, 1989): Community Language Learning, Suggestopedia, Total Physical Response, and the Silent Way (Stevick, 1976 & 1980; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). However, the dominant trend that developed in the 1970s comes under the rubric of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Krashen, 1985; Johnson, 1982). Rather than concentrating solely on grammar, pioneers such as David Wilkins (1976) looked at what notions the English language espoused and what communicative functions could be performed with the language. A number of coursebooks emerged, which sought to exploit this new approach to language learning/acquisition. For example, the Strategies series (Abbs & Freebairn, 1977 onwards) and Functions of English (Jones, 1977) rejected the graduated developmental grammatical approaches of earlier coursebooks and concentrated on developing the students’ oral functional communication via role plays and simulations. However, in response to teacher and student concerns, a backlash led by Swan (1985) against the Functional Approach occurred in the 1980s resulting in a return to more grammar-focused coursebooks, such as Swan’s own New Cambridge English. More recently coursebooks have
reflected approaches such as Task-based Learning (Nunan, 2004) and the growth of corpora (Owen, 1993), and the Lexical Approach to language teaching (Wilkins, 1990). Currently ELT is said to be in the Post-Method Era (Kumaravadivelu, 1994; Richards & Rogers, 2001; Bell, 2003). Coursebook writers have adapted and incorporated these changed views of how languages are acquired/learned into their material designs. However, methods are not neutral or culture-free (Douglas Brown, 2002: 10).

Coursebook use “remain(s) a contentious issue for many teachers and researchers” (Hutchinson & Torres, 1994: 316). There have been numerous debates and discussions regarding the virtues of using or not using coursebooks (O’Neill, 1982; Hutchinson & Torres, 1994; Crawford, 2002; Prodromou, 2002; McDonough & Shaw, 2003; IATEFL, 2010). At the extremes, they are seen as either a “helpful scaffold” or a “debilitating crutch” (Crawford, 2002: 81). Around the world the majority of teachers have rejected a coursebook-free approach. They use coursebooks to help their learners and to give structure and direction to their teaching, and perhaps most importantly because students appear to like coursebooks.

Textbooks survive… and prosper primarily because they are the most convenient means of providing the structure that the teaching - learning system- .. requires.
(Hutchinson & Torres, 1994: 317)

Despite being major users of coursebooks, teachers have relatively little opportunity to provide input on the content and design of coursebooks. Teachers who are on pre-publication trials will be asked to comment on the coursebook’s utility. Similarly, at book launches teachers often critique new coursebooks. Teachers may have some input into the choice of coursebooks but more often this is in the hands of managers, directors of studies, or even Ministers of Education. Overseas native speaker teachers may have more prestige and their advice may be sought in the choosing of coursebooks. However, their choice may be based on what they are familiar with or is most suitable for them, rather than for the students.

There are a number of guides and checklists on how to evaluate and choose coursebooks (Sheldon, 1988; Cunningsworth, 1995; Crawford, 2002) and these provide some useful advice for purchasers. However, coursebook designers also have
access to these guidelines and may well tailor their products such that they may appear to fulfil appropriate criteria. They give a lot of attention to the first impression the books make, to enable the coursebook to pass the “flick test” (Bell & Gower, 1998). In practice, the best coursebook evaluation can only be done after they have been actively used by students. On many occasions teachers are obliged to work with materials which on consideration are not the most effective or appropriate for their students. The most successful coursebooks, in sales terms, are those that are second or third upgrade editions of coursebooks that have proved in practice to be effective and popular with teachers and students.

The role of the examination boards

The majority of British ELT coursebooks are targeted at students seeking to achieve success in either the Cambridge examination portfolio (Oxford and Cambridge Examination Boards became UCLES in 1995) or the British Council sponsored IELTS test for students wishing to study in higher education in the UK. These examinations can be taken at centres throughout the world, and the written papers are marked in the UK by native speakers. According to the University of Cambridge ESOL web-site:

(They are) taken by over 3 million people in 130 countries. They help people to gain entrance to university or college, improve job prospects, or measure progress in English. More than 10,000 employers, universities and government bodies around the world recognise Cambridge ESOL examinations. (University of Cambridge ESOL, 2010)

The University of Cambridge ESOL examinations are linked to and cross-referenced to the levels of the Common European Framework levels (CEF). The examinations and the CEF level descriptors play a major role in the definition of the curriculum and the content of the coursebooks. For example, the level descriptor for Upper Intermediate (B2 CEF level), which prepares students for the Cambridge First Certificate, includes statements such as “can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes interaction with native speakers possible without strain for either party”. Such a descriptor inevitably privileges the notion of the native speaker and the English of the Centre (Prabhu, 1987) as the standard norm. Similarly, the descriptor states that the candidate should be able to “initiate discourse, take turns”.

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These characteristics are very much culturally determined, and again present British English as the standard to aspire to. At higher levels emphasis is placed on such qualities as “recognising implicit meaning”, “can consistently maintain a high level of grammatical accuracy”, “can produce clear, well-structured, detailed texts… showing controlled use of organisational patterns and cohesive devices” and “can interact with ease and skill, with natural referencing, turn-taking etc.” (British Council, 2010). I would argue that these skills are largely culturally determined, and again privilege a norm of language use particular to British culture.

Inevitably, coursebooks targeted at students seeking to succeed in the Cambridge examinations will be structured with activities that develop and promote the skills identified in the course descriptors. Central to the examinations is the notion of testing the four skills, and more recently the emphasis has been placed on the notion of developing oral and listening skills. However, it is noticeable that the examinations still tend to focus on written grammatical accuracy to the UK standard.

The oral examinations tend to use a visual prompt at the outset to stimulate discussion. Students are asked to comment upon photographs of typical UK situations and artefacts. Paradoxically, the opening question often uses the interrogative form of the present continuous, i.e. what is happening in the picture? However, as Berger observed (1972), a photograph is an image of something ‘that has been’, therefore logically the tense of a photograph is either the simple past or the present perfect, which can make this problematic for students.

As well as providing the dominant examination for ESOL (English for speakers of other languages), Cambridge UCLES is also a major player in the provision of English language teaching qualifications. Cambridge offers a number of awards, principally the Certificate in Teaching English Language to Adults (CELTA) for new entrants to the profession, and the Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults (DELTA) for more experienced practitioners. DELTA is promoted by the British Council and is accepted throughout the world as a teaching qualification. However, the criteria for eligibility for DELTA again appear to privilege native speaker norms. Although the DELTA courses are run in over 20 countries, the trainers are largely native speakers, and the criteria for eligibility appear to privilege the native speaker or
to promote the English of the Centre as the norm to be aspired to. The approach and methodologies advocated tend to be derived from the experiences of teaching small groups in private language school (see Cambridge ESOL and DELTA web-site, 2010). The British Council provides an inspection and accreditation service to language schools and thereby plays a major role in defining standards. There is an expectation that teaching staff in schools will have recognised qualifications, with a tendency to favour DELTA or other UK Diplomas.

In addition to being a major provider of examinations for ESOL learners and teachers, Cambridge and Oxford are also major players in the ESOL publishing market, for example, *Headway, New English File* (Oxford University Press), *The New Cambridge English Course* and *English in Mind* (Cambridge University Press). Whilst not monopolising the ESOL publishing market, there is some level of vertical integration between the examinations, the coursebooks and the teacher training, which inevitably influences the content of the courses and the methodology used to deliver them.

The role of the author

Coursebook writers usually set out to write materials they would want to use themselves if they were teaching in a particular situation, but their role has to be to collaborate in the publication of materials for others to use (Bell & Gower, 1998). They have a vision which builds on materials they have worked from. Authors who are teachers usually have a belief in their own pedagogic skills, so they will tend to promote what works for them. However, this may contradict the objectives of the publisher. With regard to the notion of a ‘global’ coursebook, even though the materials writer may have a lot of experience teaching EFL, for most native speakers this will have been acquired teaching small groups either in the UK or in private language schools overseas (teaching elites), or in British Council centres located around the world. The materials writer will need to compromise their vision with the needs of the publisher, examination system and target students. We must also be conscious of the fact that materials writers are often motivated by commercial gain. Many would hope to emulate the success of writers such as Murphy (1987, 2004, 2007) or Soars & Soars (*Headway* series 1986 onwards). Although it must be
acknowledged that the more successful authors are as materials writers, the more control they will have over the final product.

Materials obviously reflect the writer's view of language and learning, and teachers (and students) will respond according to how well these match their own beliefs and expectations. (Crawford, 2002: 84)

As well as the ‘overt’ EFL curriculum/syllabus, critics have argued that underlying the more obvious language input there is a hidden curriculum within the EFL coursebook. ELT materials can never be neutral in terms of their cultural content but reflect a view of social order and express a value system, implicitly or explicitly (Cunningsworth, 1995: 90)

Within the texts and exercises is a way of viewing the world, a set of values, and a distinctive Western ideology. This hidden curriculum is not a result of an attempt to propagandise or to promote materialism or consumerism (although it may be), but is embedded within the invisible values and ways of thinking of the producers of texts. ELT professionals belong to what Becher called an “academic tribe” (1989), or a discourse community (Swales, 1990) who have shared “cultural codes” (Hall, 1997). They will typically have an Arts degree in Modern Languages or English, a TESOL teaching qualification usually at Diploma level. They will probably have worked overseas where their native-speaker ability gave them premium status over locally recruited teachers. As university educated, and largely middle-class, people and despite possible different socio-political perspectives, they will tend to share many culturally determined ‘taken-for-granted’ values, such as views on the rights of individuals, a belief in the post-Enlightenment rationality of thought, a Cartesian view of logic and coherence, an awareness of Eurocentric academic discourse patterns (e.g. critical analysis), an expectation of material well-being, a belief in the general rationality of the government and the legal system, the right to travel and consume, and a sense of acceptable levels of interpersonal respect and equality. Whilst these values may be the normal expectations of someone coming from the UK, some of these values and attitudes may not be valued, desired or expected within other cultures (see Geertz, 1973) where the global coursebooks may be marketed and used.
One of the aims of this study is to unpack the range of assumptions, the regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980) that underlie much of the content of coursebooks, and to make visible the hidden.

The role of the publisher

It is a truism to state that no publisher is going to make a substantial investment unless there is a prospect of substantial sales. The publisher needs to develop a product that will attract the largest audience. The larger the potential market, the more that can be invested to ensure higher production values, which will contribute to the marketing of the product.

The publishing of ELT course materials engages very large investments and a worldwide marketing strength for this predominantly export-oriented field. The publishers enjoyed strong growth from export sales through the 1990s but in 1997 began to falter… By 2000 four publishers (in alphabetical order) came to lead the global ELT market: Cambridge University Press, Macmillan, Oxford University Press and Pearson… Oxford University Press is the largest international ELT publisher and thus part of the business accounts for a significant part of its profits… Cambridge University Press … benefits from its close association with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES).

(Clark & Clark, 2001: 39)

When talking about the publishers, we must be aware that it is a publishing team including for example a publisher in overall charge, a commissioning editor, desk editors and a designer.

A ‘global’ coursebook offers the potential of a large volume of sales, as opposed to a coursebook which is only directed to a smaller, specific market. As a result, the global coursebooks are often somewhat uniform in style and content. Publishers tend to build upon what has been successful in the past. It could be argued that to attract the largest possible audience market they will need to design a product which is aimed at the lower common denominator. This is particularly true with regard to the selection of non-controversial topics (Bell & Gower, 1998). However, the ELT commissioning editors are usually themselves qualified EFL teachers and have some experience of what will work.
Publishers may invite successful material writers to produce specific materials to brief. In addition many publishers provide open invitations to experienced EFL teachers to submit written samples of potential materials (e.g. Pearson Longman, Oxford University Press web-sites), such as a unit or a lesson for a specific target student audience. This may lead to the commissioning of further samples. Publishers provide guidelines of what should and should not be included and the style conventions of their products. Gray commented upon the similarity of resemblance of the modern global coursebook:

… not only in terms of glossy design, but also in terms of content. This is partly because all ELT publishers present their coursebook writers with sets of guidelines with regard to content. These guidelines tend to cover two areas: inclusivity and inappropriacy. The first refers to the need for a non-sexist approach to the way in which men and women are represented throughout the coursebook, while the second refers to those topics which writers are advised to avoid so as not to offend the perceived sensibilities of potential buyers and readers. (Gray, 2002: 157)

Material writers are given strict guidelines by publishers about 'taboo' subjects to be avoided, such as any references to sex, alcohol or religion.

The various representations have changed over time. Early surveys (Hill, 1980; Porreca, 1984) argued that women were either under-represented or unfairly stereotyped in many Anglo-American coursebooks. Following pressure from various groups such as ‘Women in TEFL’, new guidelines for the representation of women have been adopted by all British ELT publishers (Sunderland, 1994)

The role of the student

Students, like their teachers, have only a limited influence on the design of coursebooks. Materials writers are likely to include exercises which have proved to be popular and successful with students. In any schools in the British recognised school sector students will normally evaluate their courses and be invited to comment on materials. This is fed back to publishers and materials writers. The growth of tailored ESP courses in the 1970s targeted at specific job-oriented markets was
usually based on the outcomes of an extensive needs analysis (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987; McDonough & Shaw, 2003). Nowadays most courses are based upon a needs analysis of target students. However, materials writers, in their analysis, must be careful to differentiate between needs and wants. The course designer may well identify weaknesses or areas that need to be taught and developed with the target students, however these may not be the same as the students’ perceived wants. For example, students who need to develop their speaking and listening skills may prefer to concentrate on reading and writing activities with which they are more familiar, feel more comfortable with, or have previously been successful in (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). From my experience, I became aware that many of the coursebooks that emphasised speaking skills of the 1980s and 90s were often covertly rejected by students who preferred to use grammar activity workbooks, such as Murphy’s *English Grammar in Use* (1987/2007). It is doubtful that we could have an all-encompassing needs analysis which effectively identifies the needs of students in diverse teaching contexts, with very different cultural backgrounds. The reality is that coursebooks tend to promote a vision of the idealised student and idealised teaching context. New coursebooks tend to be incremental developments on what has been successful in the past. *Headway*, for example, which was marketed as being an innovative coursebook, was in fact quite conservative in its emphasis on the role of grammar. Nevertheless, it has been one of the most successful ELT coursebooks (reputedly 10 million + sales) (Oxford University Press, 2006).

Clearly, there are many agencies and influences involved in coursebook design. However, despite the apparent pluralism of many hands, there are nevertheless significant ‘gate-keepers’ who make decisions about what to include or exclude. In the broadest sense, I would argue that the publisher and the examination boards have the predominant influence on the content and appearance of the global coursebook.

In the next section I intend to look specifically at the visuality and the appearance of coursebooks.
5.4 The visual

The late twentieth century witnessed what has been called a ‘visual shift’ in texts. (Rogoff, 1998: 25). In the realm of the EFL coursebook we have witnessed the change from the “picture free times” of E. Frank Candlin in the early 1960s through to the simple line drawings of Broughton (Hill, 2003), and on to the current coursebooks which are replete with stylish colour drawings and state of the art colour photography. These are presented on high quality papers and wrapped around with a glossy package, that is, the visually elaborate cover.

Within the EFL coursebook a broad range of visuals can be defined. This could include drawings (black and white and coloured), cartoons and cartoon strips, photographs (black and white and coloured) graphs, maps and charts, authentic and semi-authentic materials, but also I would include the increasing visual importance of typography, textual layout/composition, and even the book covers. Within these categories there are a wide variety of sub-genres, each having their own codes, conventions and modalities (Barthes, 1977; Bignell, 2002; Chandler, 2002).

The images we encounter in the coursebooks range from simple, stick-man drawings with no depth of field to more elaborate, detailed and ‘realistic’ drawings. The more mimetic they appear to be, the higher the modality for students. However, the more realistic they appear, the more they reflect a Western post-Renaissance view of perspective. The very notion of perspective reflects a cultural shift with regard to the importance of the ‘individual’ viewpoint, a point of view in which ‘you’ assume precedence and see the world from ‘your’ perspective (Jewitt & Oyami, 2001: 136; Aiello, 2006: 91). This view of the importance of the individual is very much a taken-for-granted value of Western cultures, but cannot be assumed to be universally recognised or accepted (e.g. Hofstede, 1991). It may also be seen to have initiated a trend towards the personalisation of modes of address which has become the dominant discourse of Western texts (Fairclough, 1995a), in as much as they appear to be talking personally and directly to the reader, who “is spoken to or implied to be an individual” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001: 204). This is symbolised by the choice of conversational discourse, but also the gaze and proximity of the figures within the image which suggest a faux intimacy. As Coulthard & Coulthard argue:
(the mode of address simulates) the meanings and forms… of 'friendliness', meaning and forms which imply and implicitly claim social relations and identities associated more with domains of private life…

(1996: 74)

The drawings may be presented as individual images on a page with anchorage to the text or a caption, or be part of a series forming a cartoon strip. Cartoon strips have their own codes and conventions (McCloud, 1993; Eisner, 1996; Berger, 1997; Carrier, 2000). As Scott McCloud observes, cartooning is not just a way of drawing, but also a way of seeing. To decode the cartoon strips we need to be aware of the conventions, which are not always universal. For example, Japanese cartoon conventions differ from Western conventions (see Shodt, 1983; Martinez, 1998). Gombrich summarized some of the typical conventions of comics/cartoon-strips.

… They range from the pseudo-naturalistic streaking line indicating speed to the conventional dotted track indicating the direction of the gaze, and from the hallucinatory medley of starts before the eyes after a blow to the head, to the "balloon" that contains a picture of what a person has in mind or perhaps just a question mark to suggest puzzlement. (Gombrich, 1982: 151)

In using these cartoons, as with any images, we need to be conscious that the reading and decoding may not be universal (e.g. Hall’s triad of ways of reading, 1981). They may well be culture-based and affected by reading direction (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) and iconographic symbolism (Panofsky, 1970).

Photographs are produced in a wide variety of types and genres, for example portraits, family holiday snaps, documentary, landscapes and photo journalism. Many are derived from the genre of fine art. However, it is in their role in commerce and promotion that they are most ubiquitous. In fact, many would agree with Wells that “from the very beginning, photographs were employed to induce desire and promote commodity culture” (Wells, 2002: 169). As Sontag similarly observed:

Whatever the moral claims made on behalf of photography, its main effect is to convert the world into a department
store or museum - without - walls in which every subject is
depreciated into an article of consumption…
(1977: 110)

Despite a growing awareness of trick photography (e.g. Baudrillard, 1995) and the
growing possibilities provided by Photoshop technology to alter photographic
images, photographs, particularly colour photographs, still have a high degree of
modality for audiences (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Of all the senses we still give
greatest credence to what we can see. However, photographs are not neutral “traces”
(Sontag, 1977) of reality, rather whatever their purpose they are ‘constructs’ imbued
with a specific ideology. As Sturken & Cartwright observed:

…no matter what social role an image plays the creation of
an image through a camera lens always involves some
degree of subjective choice through selection, framing and
personalization. (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001:16)

Within the restricted frame of the camera the photographer has chosen what area of
reality to focus on, what to include/exclude. Choices have been made about position
signs, the focal point of the lens, the point of view and the position of the observer.
Decisions have been made about the treatment, for example black and white or
colour, devices of filming and film processing, as well as content signs, that is objects
in the picture and their placing (Burton, 1997).

As a result of education/training, photographers develop a particular photographic
aesthetic, a distinct way of viewing the world. Even amateur photographers exposed
to innumerable photographic images and handbooks and guides similarly develop a
particular ‘photographic’ way of viewing the world which has become internalised
and naturalised. As Kress and van Leeuwen noted:

The dominant visual language is now controlled by the
global cultural/technological empires of the mass media,
which disseminate the examples set by exemplary
designers and through the spread of image banks and
computer imaging technology, exert a 'normalizing' rather
than explicitly 'normative' influence on visual
communication across the world.
(1996: 4)

As well as the process of producing the photographic image we need to examine how
they are used, displayed and presented. Barthes argued that the meaning attached to
the image can be modified by the anchorage of the adjoining title or text (Barthes, 1977; also Burgin, 1982). Similarly, the placing of the image on the page can affect the way it is read. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 224-5) provide a useful toolbox for the analysis of the meaning of composition. They draw particular attention to concepts such as the ‘given and new’, ‘the ideal and the real’, ‘salience’, ‘connection’, ‘disconnection’, ‘vectors’ and the ‘direction of reading’. As well such factors as the ‘demand’ versus the ‘offer’ gaze, and the engagement of the characters within an image to an audience (ibid: 154).

In exploring the use of photographs we need to ascertain the ‘provenance’ of the photograph. Were they specifically commissioned to illustrate the texts/coursebook, or are they ‘objets trouvés’ derived from other sources, have been produced for other purposes and then recycled within the coursebook? Wells argued that:

> The history of photography is to a large extent shaped by the characteristic ways in which photographs have been collected, stored, used and displayed. With the passage of time the original motive for the making of a photograph may disappear, leaving it accessible to being 're-framed' within a new context. (Wells, 2000: 57)

If they are recycled, what was the original purpose of the photograph? Does some of the original motivation/goal still adhere to the image? For example, advertising images are usually photographed and presented to enhance their positive qualities to make them appealing and attractive to the audience. As Wells observed:

> Commercial photographs because of their profuse nature and because they have never sought to challenge the status quo within society (since they are only produced to sell products) have also aided in the concentration and perpetuation of stereotypes, to the point at which they have appeared natural and eternal. (Wells, 2000: 179)

Wells thus raises the question of the appropriateness of including such images within an educational context, since they could be seen to be contributing to the promotion of the discourse of marketing and consumerism. This concern has become more acute recently, given the increasing use being made of image banks such as Corbis and Getty as the sources of illustrations for global coursebooks (Machin, 2004; Machin &
van Leeuwen, 2007). Machin & van Leeuwen were particularly critical of this spread of global images:

... They promote generic photography, photography which no longer captures specific, unrepeatable moments, photography which denotes general classes or types of people places and things rather than specific people places and things.
(Machin & van Leeuwen, 2007)

Echoing the earlier fears of Adorno, regarding the culture industry (1941, 1991), contemporary visual language has become more homogenised, with a restricted iconography, and has tended to emphasise a positive view of the world. “Positive thinking is itself a crucial moral value in the corporate/consumerist world” (Machin, 2004: 330). As Machin later points out, certain search categories do not elicit any images at all, and in other cases, they only produce black and white images from the past. Machin warns that:

We should be concerned about the effect of this increasingly stylised and predictable world on audience expectations of what the visual representation of the world should look like.
(Machin, 2004: 335)

The images in these global media banks appear to favour discourses which are in harmony with the interests of consumer capitalism. Photographers who contribute stock images to these banks are given lists of the kinds of images they have to produce. As a commissioned photographer observed, Getty images must be “striking, technically superb, yet meaningless”, so that they will “never conflict with the client’s message” (ibid: 319). Nowadays, images are designed rather than captured. “In advertising images such unreality was already common. The difference today is that the corporate image and its ideology have colonised other forms of photography” (ibid: 326).

In exploring the image with regard to place and setting, Machin & van Leeuwen (2007) draw attention to the ubiquity of images which are created from the point of view of tourism. Searching by place name will tend to only bring up images of places of interest to tourists: London is indexed by *Big Ben*, Paris the *Eiffel Tower*, the Mediterranean by beach scenes, and South America is represented by ethnic women in brightly coloured clothes (Machin & van Leeuwin, 2007). Within the context of the
EFL coursebook, the claimed ‘global’ nature of the modern coursebook is often signified by similar tourist images of national iconographic buildings and settings. The topics of tourism, traveller, and the ‘gap year’ are frequently part of coursebooks. The world is increasingly presented from the perspective of an elite traveller from the West (Wells, 2001: 191).

In addition to drawings and photographs, we encounter other forms of illustration within coursebooks. Maps are commonplace, whether they be imaginary plans/maps of ‘Panglossia’, maps of British cities (e.g. Oxford, Bristol), or world maps. The assumption is that all students will be acquainted with and be able to decipher them. It may, however, be that in the global environment of the audience, not all students will be competent readers of maps, or many will be unaccustomed to even maps of their own home environment. In the global coursebook, the use of maps from the UK again privileges the Centre. In maps of the world, it is the norm in UK-produced coursebooks to use a projection which has at its core the Atlantic, whereas students from Asia are more used to maps which have the Pacific at their core.

Coursebooks may also make use of charts, diagrams, graphs and signs to aid understanding. However, once again we cannot assume that their interpretation is universal (Hewings, 1991). Nisbett goes further, in his book The Geography of Thought, arguing that “Westerners and Asians literally see different worlds” (2003: 82). Some images of European art reproduced in the coursebooks could also be seen to act as gatekeepers discriminating against some students on the grounds of ‘taste’ or ‘connoisseurship’ (Bourdieu, 1984).

In discussing the visual element, we need to be aware of the increasing importance given by designers to typography. The type and form of typography has become an essential part of visual communication. As the design guru Bergström observes. “The easier the designer makes it for the reader’s eyes to move over the page, the greater the level of readability will be” (Bergstrom, 2008: 104).

He argues that the designer can bring life to the message and strengthen it by the choice of type face, type size, upper or lower case, spacing, length, column set-up, indentation, text against background, and even by the choice of ink and paper. His
viewpoint is supported by Kress & van Leeuwen (2001) and Stockl (2004) who acknowledge the crucial function of typography and text design. Typography represents a mode/code in its own right. Stockl provides a useful four-domain tool box for the analysis of typography. Graphic designers make choices concerning graphic shapes and their positioning on the page, taking into account considerations of greatest suitability and expressivity. In this way they can optimise the promotion of the ‘preferred reading’ of the text.

Contemporary designers have sought to ‘declutter’ printed texts to clarify and delineate reading pathways. The design and format of web pages has impacted upon the layout of coursebooks. The propensity for the web to enable more disjointed, random, non-linear reading patterns has increased the pressure on coursebook designers to control and signpost the direction of reading.

As Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 201) note, “the world we inhabit is filled with visual images”. The modern coursebook is not immune to this trend. In a multi-modal world of rapid communication there is an expectation that texts should be illustrated. However, this raises the question of what is the purpose of visuals in coursebooks.

Building on the work of Paivio (1975), Duchastel & Waller (1979), Sless (1981), Hardcastle (2008) and Bezemer & Kress (2008), I have identified a number of purposes that appear to be served by the visuals in the modern global coursebook.

1. **Attentional**: the image is there to attract and maintain interest. They make the text more interesting to pick up and read.
2. **Explicative**: the image provides a context for the learning of new language. This may involve the visual display of vocabulary or the setting up of a situation for a dialogue or a reading text. The visual predisposes the reader to predict the type of language/topic that would be used in the situation, and thereby ‘understand’ new language input.
3. **Retentional**: visual images act as a trigger for an effective way of recalling knowledge. They provide reinforcement of points made in the text/ lesson, allowing the reader to revisit the information and thereby increasing the likelihood that they will retain the language/information presented.
4. **Decorational**: images help to break up large blocks of written text into more accessible chunks of learning, thereby making it more interesting and less intimidating.
5. **Enigmatic**: the image entices the reader to look into the text to find information that relates to the image being displayed in order to make sense of it.
6. **Narratational**: the visual images help to move the narrative of the book, providing links between pages and units. The narrative thrust directs the flow of reading. The visuals in western-produced coursebooks tend to operate in the present continuous aspect of the future form. The narrative logic is to move from left to right, from the front of the book to the end. In many ways, the narrative of the coursebook resembles the ‘episodic seriality’ of a television soap. The end of one episode is but the prelude to the next, that is the next unit or the next book in the series. This analogy to a soap is very visible in *Building Strategies* (Abbs & Freebairn, 1979), which has a typical Proppian/Todorovian narrative surrounding a heterosexual love story. This episodic seriality, complete with ‘cliffhangers’ at the end of each unit, appears to have been quite common in materials produced in the 1980s. It is even more obvious in the accompanying and supplementary videos, such as the BBC co-productions *Follow Me*, *Bid for Power* and *The Lost Secret*.

7. **Promotional**: the promotional role of the visuals is reflected in a number of ways. The images help directly to promote the purchase of the coursebook. The high quality production values and visual attractiveness help the coursebook to pass the ‘flick test’ and thereby increase sales. The visuals can also be seen as representative of what Fairclough (1995a) called the discourse of promotion and marketing, which I would argue has become the dominant discourse of both contemporary Britain and of globalisation. The discourse evident in global coursebooks is redolent of the discourse of advertising. As Sturken & Cartwright observed:

> Advertising often presents an image of things to be desired, people to be envied, and life as it "should be". As such, it necessarily presents social values and ideologies about what the "good life" is. It is also a central strategy of advertising to invite viewers/consumers to imagine themselves within the world of the advertisement. This is a world that works by abstraction, a potential place or state of being situated not in the present but in an imagined future with the promise to the consumer of things "you" will have, a lifestyle you can take part in. (2001: 189)

If advertising speaks the language of the future, I would argue that so do modern EFL course books. Learning English is predicated upon a transformative aspect. The book is a magic potion which offers the means to achieving a more fulfilling life. As pointed out earlier, the titles tend to evoke the promise of the future, and implicit within the texts is the promise of a more interesting lifestyle. The students are encouraged to have a para-social relationship with the characters in the course book, with whom they will share experiences, travel and meet interesting, beautiful people. Interestingly, it is the NEST who is most likely to enjoy these perceived benefits of English. Implied within much of the topic content is the notion of consumer culture and the manufacturing of desire.

Roland Barthes’s analysis of an Italian sauce and pasta advertisement (Barthes, 1977) argued that it was not simply about presenting a product, but
it was about producing a ‘myth’ about Italian culture, that is the very concept of ‘Italianicity’. I would argue that course books similarly contribute to producing myths about Britain and the English language. It is, for example, significant that within the course books there is a preponderance of glossy, positive images of heritage sites, recognisable iconic images of London, Oxford, Cambridge and Brighton, creating a mythic land of tradition and abundance.

A further element in the promotional role of visuals is that they frequently portray the logos of western companies. Many of the visuals in course books are recycled images from advertising campaigns. Some of the authentic materials used can also be seen from the perspective of promotion. Many of the images contain recognisable UK brands. For example, in kitchen cabinets we frequently see Sainsbury’s own label foods, and some texts actually test the students’ ability to recognise well-known brand logos. On other occasions companies provide locations for narrative photographs. For example, in Opening Strategies (Abbs & Freebairn, 1982) we see a Benetton franchise clothes shop used as the backdrop for a unit on clothes, size and colours. The Benetton colours and logo are very conspicuous.

These categories are not mutually exclusive. The image or illustration may fulfil more than one role. These categories, and the methodology outlined, will now be used in a more detailed analysis and deconstruction of the chosen course books, to unpack the underlying social assumptions and taken-for-granted values contained within them.
Chapter 6

Analysis of Coursebooks

6.1 Pre-1970s coursebooks

In 1953 Arthur Freed was preparing to produce Brigadoon and went to Scotland to scout out locations. On returning to Hollywood, he declared “I went to Scotland but I could find nothing that looked like Scotland” (Hardy, 1990: 1). He was later to produce the archetypal bogus Scotland. It would seem that many of the materials writers and illustrators of EFL course books have similarly created mythic representations of England. Overseas users of the coursebooks would have difficulty in finding the England portrayed within them. I argue that materials producers have created “imaginary communities” (Anderson, 1983) which reflect their own values, interests, education and background, giving rise to fictive, mythical countries, which might well be designated ‘New Concept England’, ‘Streamlineland’ or even ‘Headwayland’ (the latter referred to by Pickering, 1999). By and large these tend to have a rather rose-tinted view of an affluent middle-class country, projecting a very positive image of England, which could be seen as propagandising or promotion, which could in turn lead international students to draw negative comparisons with their own cultures and societies (Adaskou, Britten & Fahsi, 1990; Canagarajah, 1999).

I have sought to deconstruct the visual element of an archive of EFL coursebooks from the 1960s to the present. This archive represents what van Leeuwen calls a “semiotic resource” (van Leeuwen, 2005: 3). The EFL coursebook market is, as mentioned earlier, a huge one. Vast numbers of coursebooks have been produced over the period to be explored. It would not be possible to analyse them all, and I have therefore concentrated on a number of significant texts. I would argue that with my mode of enquiry, social semiotic analysis, it is the quality of material analysed which is important rather than the quantity. As Tonkiss observed:

What matters is the richness of textual detail, rather than the number of texts analysed.
(Tonkiss, 1998: 253)

Given this, it is even more imperative to justify and make explicit my rationale for choosing specific coursebooks. The reasons for my choices are two-fold. I have
tended to select coursebooks that had high sales and were widely used, based on information derived from regular statistics supplied in the EFL Gazette. The other major factor is that I have had first-hand experience of using the chosen coursebooks with EFL students, both in the UK and overseas. I thus approached them from the perspective of an insider.

As part of the reflective process (Schön, 1991; Moon, 2000) I have considered ways in which my own experience might have influenced my perceptions of the data. Like many EFL teachers in the past I did not set out with the intention of being one. I began teaching EFL on a temporary basis in 1979 while a research student. I had little knowledge of the practice and methodology of EFL. Although I was a qualified teacher, having taught full-time in primary and secondary schools in the UK and Australia, I had not really enjoyed my experience of teaching in schools, where I felt much of my time had been spent in crowd control and maintaining order. However, in the EFL classes, I found small numbers of highly motivated, respectful young adults from overseas, who looked to me to provide them with the opportunity to learn English. With little experience I was heavily dependent upon the coursebooks provided by the school. Initially, these were First Things First, Kernel Intermediate, and Kernel Plus. I was not really sure of the most effective way to use them. However, I was conscious of the fact that the visual images within them provided a useful starting point to set the scene for the language input and provided a useful explanatory source for vocabulary. For the first time in my teaching career I was enjoying teaching. What started out as a temporary one-month job ended up being a three-year appointment, and led to over thirty years of involvement with teaching international students.

The real breakthrough in the development of my awareness of a more effective methodology for teaching EFL came about as a result of the purchase of Streamline Connections (Hartley & Viney, 1979) by the school I was working in. This came with a Student’s Book and Teacher’s Book and accompanying tapes. The Teacher’s Book was divided up into discrete one-hour lessons and contained the page from the Student’s Book interleaved with an adjoining page of teacher’s notes and a lesson plan that gave precise and detailed instructions of how to present and practise the target language, and suggestions of further activities to enable the students to
creatively produce language. The book was a revelation to me and I became heavily
dependent on it. I was an enthusiastic user of this and other later course books and did
not initially adopt a critical stance towards their content. However, I did become
aware that not all students learning English necessarily had a positive view of Britain
or the values espoused in the coursebooks. This was particularly evident when I was
teaching English in Argentina during the Malvinas/Falklands conflict. Later, when I
became involved in teacher education and materials evaluation, and later still when I
re-engaged with media studies, I began to look more critically at the content of the
coursebooks and their potential for cultural imperialism.

The 1960s witnessed the early beginnings of the modern EFL profession. Significant
events would include the publication of Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching
(Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, 1964), Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Chomsky,
1965), in 1966 the setting up of the Centre for Information on Language Teaching
(CILT), the first meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics (1967),
and the first professional qualification for teaching English as a foreign language by
the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) in 1967 (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004).

Two contemporary pioneers of EFL course books were L.G. Alexander (New
Concept English, 1964 onwards) and G. Broughton (Success with English, 1968
onwards). My focus will be on New Concept English. New Concept English consists
of four course books from Beginners to Advanced. They are Book 1, First Things
First, Book 2, Practice and Progress, Book 3, Developing Skills, and Book 4,
Fluency in English. I will concentrate my analysis primarily on Book 1, although I
will later make reference to visual images in the other levels.

First Things First (1967)

The cover and appearance (see Appendix 3)

In contrast to later course books studied the cover seems rather austere. It is divided
into two sections, a white third with the title and name of the author in black
typography, and in contrasting purple a line in upper case (“An integrated course for
beginners”). First Things First is a somewhat cliched English proverb. The teaching
of English proverbs was often a staple of the colonial teaching of English which often chose to emphasise the often anachronistic and contextually inappropriate language of the ‘mother country’; in which students would be encouraged to learn long lists of outmoded phrases and proverbs (e.g. Ridout, 1967). The phrase has the connotation of slow steady progress from the basics.

The lower two thirds of the front cover is purple, which has a number of different connotations. Since Roman times it has been linked with wealth and nobility. It is frequently used in the packaging of luxury goods. It is also the colour most associated with New Age philosophies. “It has a futuristic quality that would speak well for products that involve newness and cutting edge technologies” (Eiseman, 2000: 48). It is significant that purple was a very popular colour in the late 1960s. On the purple there are four circles, with shading suggesting globes. One is white, and within it is written in black New Concept English, the name given to the four-book course. The whole effect is that this is a ‘serious’ global course book. The title New Concept English suggests that this is a new innovative way of teaching English, which is reinforced by claims in the Teacher’s Book.

Despite the great progress that has been made (since Harold Palmer’s time) teachers in many parts of the world still cling to old-fashioned methods and to some extent perpetuate the systems by which they themselves learnt a foreign language.

(Alexander, 1967: xi)

Whilst it does appear to be incrementally different to some earlier coursebooks, it nevertheless seems to be somewhat backward looking. The statement is also patronising to overseas teachers. It suggests, by implication, that they need to learn from the expertise of the Centre. The vocabulary range of the course is based on the General Service List of English Words compiled by Michael West in 1953, which in turn was based on data originally collected in 1938 and 1949. Given the dramatic changes in language and language use over this time, one might question how relevant it was to the late 1960s.
The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

Alexander observes “… textbook illustration becomes extremely important at beginner’s level, they are far from being merely decorative” (Alexander, 1967: xiv). According to the categories listed earlier I would suggest that the images are primarily ‘attentional’ and ‘explicative’, although they may have a ‘retentional’ purpose when students revise the lesson. Within the coursebook there are two distinct types of images. Lessons with ODD numbers usually have a cartoon strip of six or seven related images running vertically down the right hand side of the page which are intended to illustrate a dialogue which runs vertically down the left hand side of the page. Students are instructed by the teacher to cover the dialogue with a mask, which is provided at the end of the Student’s Book, and to listen to the dialogue without reading it. The aim of this is that the visual stimulus would help in the understanding of the new unseen dialogue. Lessons with EVEN numbers have columns and rows of numbered illustrations which are used as a stimulus for repetition and pattern drills. Initially, I shall provide a close reading and detailed analysis of two lessons, Lesson 5 and Lesson 10, to illustrate and contrast the ‘odd’ and ‘even’ style, and to examine some of the underlying assumptions and representations.

First Things First is illustrated by Tom Bailey and Ted Pettengel, who have developed a distinct and unique style of drawing which they have used in a variety of media. For example, they used a similar visual style for the Ealing Course in Spanish, also published by Longman (Locke et al., 1967).

Target students

The target students for this course were adults and secondary school students who were absolute beginners.

Image analysis of specific exemplars

The original drawings simplify and essentialize the objects and characters within the frames. The images have a stylised consistency. They are not mimetic (except for the
drawings of recognisable makes of cars in Lesson 6), and as a result have a low level of modality (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) when compared to colour photographs. The black ink drawings are two-dimensional and schematic. The simple line drawings are usually set against a white background which contains little depth of plane or perspective. The use of black and white was the norm at this time in order to reduce costs of production. It was only later when the publishers realised the potential market for global coursebooks, and were faced by competition for that market, colour became commonplace. It is significant that the 1997 repackaged version of *New Concept English* which was recycled for the newly expanding Chinese market made use of colour. The composition within each frame (mise-en-scène) seeks to achieve a delicate balance of black and white. For example in a two person shot we usually find one has black hair and the other white. As is commonplace in cartoons and comic strips, the physical dimensions of the characters are malleable. Their proportions are distorted, such that in most of the images characters’ heads occupy almost half of their body size in contrast to actual bodies where they are usually one sixth. This is nearer to the proportions in children and babies, which attract adults and contribute to their ‘cute’ appearance. Gender is suggested by the classical conventions of comic strip and animation art (McCloud, 1994; Eisner, 2008; Wells, 2002). The concept of femaleness is indicated by long hair, big eyes and exaggerated eyelashes. Different hair styles are suggested by minimal marks on the page. Maleness is connoted by short hair or in older men by baldness and moustaches. Clothes are also prime indicators of gender as well as being used to signify professions. In Lesson 5 (see Fig. 6A) we have a series of interlinked drawings measuring 1 inch by 2 inches. They resemble a comic strip in as much as the seven drawings are arranged in interrelated panels. However, unlike the normal convention of Western magazines and newspaper strips we do not read them horizontally, but vertically. Nevertheless, they conform to the concept of comic “sequential art” (Eisner, 2008). The frames and gutters suggest separate stages of a short narrative in which we, or rather Alice Dupont, is introduced to her classmates. Rather than addressing the reader, which is common in later coursebooks, the students in frames 3 to 5 look out of the frame, where we assume Mr Blake and Alice are, which van Leeuwen terms “non-transactive viewing” (2005). We, the readers, are observers who are not emotionally involved with the characters. It is also noticeable that, unlike many comic strips, there are no speech or thought
Lesson 5

MR BLAKE: Gőd mőrning.
STUDENTS: Gőd mőrning, Mr Blāke.

MR BLAKE: This is Miss Álice Dupőnt.
Álice is a new stüdent.
She is Frënh.

MR BLAKE: Álice, this is Háns.
He is Gérman.
HANS: Höw do you dö?

MR BLAKE: And this is Britt.
She is Swëðish.
BRITT: Höw do you dö?

MR BLAKE: And this is Dimitri.
He is Grëek.
DIMITRI: Höw do you dö?

MR BLAKE: And this is Pául.
He's Brazialian.
PÁUL: Höw do you dö?

MR BLAKE: And this is Stëlla.
She's Spañish.
STELLA: Höw do you dö?
bubbles. The dialogue is set out in a vertical column on the left of the page. The individual chunks of speech are linked to the different images.

Although my major focus is on the images, it is important to keep in mind that the image and the text are a semiotic unit (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 185). Kress & van Leeuwen drew attention to the composition of the pages. They argued that within Western print media, texts and images placed on the left hand side of the page are prioritised and have more credence and acceptance, being taken for granted “givens”. Items on the right hand side of the page represent the “new”, and these need to be introduced and accepted. It is significant that, in the odd lessons, the dialogue, in the form of the written word is the given, while the image is the new. The given and the new configuration are also evident in the visual images.

In Picture 1, the viewpoint is from behind the teacher and the student. We appear to be placed at a low angle relative to the teacher, indicating his dominance. The male teacher is placed on the left of the frame, suggesting that the authority of the teacher is a given. The teacher’s attire signifies a stereotypical image of a British teacher. He has a mortar board, gown and a suggestion of a checked tweed jacket. He is wearing glasses, which conventionally signify studiousness. The characterisation is evocative of a typical private or grammar school teacher of the 1950s. Next to the teacher is a young female, signified by long hair, the suggestion of a bust and a short pleated skirt. These two characters occupy half the frame. The other half is occupied by four students sitting at simplified two-dimensional desks (only two legs visible). However, another desk is half drawn at the edge of the frame, that is an “open form” (Monaco, 1981:151,159. & 2003), suggesting the possibility of additional desks and students outside the frame (we are later introduced to five students). The four students are young adults who are all looking up towards the teacher and smiling. The accompanying dialogue has them greeting their teacher formally as Mr Blake. It is significant that the later norm in language schools of this type was always to use the teacher’s first name.

In Picture 2, our viewpoint is from the position of the student, looking upwards from a seated position towards Mr Blake and the female student. There is an obvious break in continuity, as the teacher is now to the left of the student, whereas logically he
should have been on her left. This seems to reinforce the importance of the left side of
the frame for the given of the teacher’s authority, but it is also necessary to create a
“visual rhyme” (Van Leeuwen, 2005) of the composition of Picture 2 to the following
five frames.

The teacher introduces the girl as a new French student called Alice Dupont. French
characters in EFL materials are frequently and stereotypically titled Dupont, as this is
a common name. Miss Dupont is looking admiringly towards Mr Blake. The image of
Miss Dupont uses the conventions of cartoon signifiers of femininity: small nose, big
eyes with the suggestion of eyelashes, the suggestion of a bust under a small cardigan,
and a pleated skirt. The composition places her in the middle, so that a small box
insert can be framed in the bottom right hand corner, in which is drawn an outline of
part of Europe, with the outline of France shaded in black to reinforce the statement
that she is French. The following five cartoon frames are of the other students in the
class. They are configured in the same basic format creating a visual rhyme. They are
all smiling and waving, and looking out of the frame to the left, where we assume the
teacher and Miss Dupont are situated. It suggests that our relationship with the
characters within the coursebook is non-transactive, that it is to be via the mediation
of the teacher. We see them only from the waist up and our viewpoint is more or less
on a level with them. A horizontal line at the bottom of the frame is suggestive of
their desk tops.

In Picture 3, the student introduces himself as Hans, and we see from the map in the
bottom right hand corner that he is from Germany. Our attention is drawn to the
divide between East and West Germany, which reflected the reality of the time when
the book was produced. His cartoon character has short hair, small pin-hole eyes, he
is wearing glasses, again signifying seriousness, and a formal jacket and a tie.

Picture 4 is of a Swedish female student named Britt, again a stereotypical Swedish
name (intertextually this had extra resonance to the native speaker teacher by the
obvious allusion to the Swedish actress Britt Ekland, who had recently married Peter
Sellers). She has typical long blonde hair, big eyes and big eyelashes, a flowery dress
which emphasises her femaleness. The small right hand box contains a map outline of
Sweden.
In Picture 5 we have Dimitri, who has a typical Greek name. He has curly hair and small eyes. He is dressed formally in a suit (with round lapels) and black tie. The right hand box contains the profile of Greece and the islands.

Picture 6 shows Paul, who is described as Brazilian (box map of Brazil). He has a more stereotypical ‘latino’ appearance, thick short black hair and eyebrows with very large sideburns. His latino appearance is further signposted by his Italian-style double-breasted jacket.

Finally, in Picture 7, we have Stella from Spain. Stella has long, thick, black hair, held tightly in a bun, with a ‘Peiñeta’ comb. She has a wispy side curl in her hair, and large earrings. Her eyes are not as large as Britt’s, and her eyelashes are a dark strip, rather than being separated lashes. She is wearing a dark black dress which echoes the colour of her hair. Her appearance is reminiscent of a Franco-era Spanish widow. The map box has a black profile of the whole of the Iberian Peninsula rather than just Spain.

In Lesson 10 (Fig. 6B) the page is composed of twelve thumbnail sketches of various people in the top half of the page. They are numbered 11-22 (for the purpose of introducing number recognition). The bottom half of the page consists of some pseudo-handwritten incomplete sentences, which the students have to copy and insert words into. The compositional arrangement reflects the layout and configuration of many pages from magazine advertisements, as defined by Kress and van Leeuwen, that is the top half consists of an illustration which Kress and van Leeuwen call the ‘ideal’, and the bottom half written text or copy, i.e. “the real” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996:). The sketches are full-length drawings of various cartoon characters, which have been chosen to represent various opposite adjectives, so the purpose could be seen as explicative. They are facing directly towards the viewer. The first character represents ‘fat’. We have a man who resembles Oliver Hardy, a large round head occupying half his body size. He is wearing a two-piece suit, which he appears to be bursting out of. He has small features, huge cheeks, thinning hair, and a tiny bowler hat balanced precariously on his head. He resembles a joke fat person that is the staple of seaside postcards. Pictures 13 and 14 are of a police man and woman. He
is tall, signified by his long legs which occupy half the size of the figure. The audience’s eye level coincides with his waist. We are thereby placed in a position of subordination by the direction of his look, that is down towards us (Berger, 1991; Horn, 1998). In contrast, next to the policeman, there is a significantly shorter policewoman, but she is also drawn to look fat (students will have already encountered her in Lesson 8 where she is seen arresting a cartoon-style burglar in a striped top and eye mask). This repetition of characters is designed to help narrative recognition.

Images 15 and 16 contrast a dirty mechanic (male) with a crisp, clean female nurse. There are a series of lines around her which in the Western convention of cartoons indicate sparkling or a radiant glow (intertextually it invokes the convention of religious painting of Jesus and the Saints). Images 17 and 18 contrast ‘hot’ with ‘cold’. Mr Ford, apparently sweating whilst gardening, utilises the index of droplets (C.S Pierce, in Berger, 1991) and the wiping of his head with a handkerchief to indicate heat. Mrs Ford (we assume she is his wife) appears to be shivering in her fur coat in the snow. Her nose is shaded to reflect a cold nose, although this suffers from a lack of colour. Images 19 and 20 contrast ‘old’ and ‘young’. For ‘old’ we have a milkman with a traditional overall, cap and milk crate. This is very much a British culturally-specific image. Not all non-native English speaking teachers would recognise the iconography. A drawing of an air hostess is used to represent ‘young’ (the gender specific term ‘air hostess’ has now been replaced by the gender neutral ‘cabin crew’). She has her arms on her hips and has a short-skirted uniform and a cap perched jauntily on her head. She is looking sideways in a somewhat coquettish manner, perhaps reflecting commonly held myths of glamour regarding air hostesses which circulated in the mid to late twentieth century (and which was ‘parodied’ by a 2009 Virgin Atlantic advertisement). Images 21 and 22 illustrate the adjectives ‘busy’ and ‘lazy’. The choice of content is again, to contemporary viewers, somewhat anachronistic. ‘Busy’ is represented by a barber, who looks stereotypically ‘latino’ (sideburns and moustache), who is frantically cutting hair. The term ‘barber’ has largely been replaced by hair stylist. Image 22 is perhaps the most shocking to contemporary audiences, as ‘lazy’ is represented by a housewife sitting with her feet up in a kitchen where there are dirty dishes still lying in the sink. This is clearly very
judgemental of the housewife, who does not seem to be fully engaged with her ‘role obligations’.

Lesson 10  Look at . . .

that man! (fat)
that woman! (thin)
that policeman! (tall)
that policewoman! (short)
that mechanic! (dirty)
that nurse! (clean)
Mr Ford! (hot)
Mrs Ford! (cold)
that milkman! (old)
that air-hostess! (young)
that barber! (busy)
that housewife! (lazy)

Exercise
Look at this:

Robert isn’t a teacher. ---- an engineer.
Robert isn’t a teacher. He’s an engineer.

Copy this. Put in He’s, She’s or It’s.

Mr Blake isn’t a student. ---- a teacher.
This isn’t my umbrella. ---- your umbrella.
Mrs isn’t a teacher. ---- a typist.
Mr Ford isn’t cold. ---- hot.
Stella isn’t Brazilian. ---- Spanish.
This isn’t a German car. ---- a Swedish car.

Fig. 6B First Things First (1967) Lesson 10 p. 20
Mode of address

The mode of address seems to be impersonal and teacher-centred. The teacher acts as a source of knowledge and as a mediator between the students and the course book. As Alexander observes: “the student must be trained (my emphasis) adequately in all the basic language skills…” (Alexander, 1967 xii), and when he refers to students he uses ‘he’ or ‘his’. His rather paternalistic and didactic mode of address perhaps reflects his previous experience teaching in army education in Germany (The Independent, obituary, 2002). The students under the guidance and control of the teacher look at the visuals, and there is little personal engagement between the students and the image characters.

*First Things First* is targeted at young adults or adult beginners (and ‘false’ beginners). According to Alexander, there is sufficient material for one year’s work. However, in an intensive course it would have a shorter time-scale. From the images in the course book, beginning in Lesson 5, it seems that Alexander’s idealised students would be young adults studying in small classes in England with a native speaker teacher. The classes would have a multilingual mix of nationalities but would be drawn from Europe or European extraction. Other nationalities are pictured in later images (e.g. Lesson 52 & 54), but they are only peripheral. It is significant that the Arab world is not referred to, especially when we consider how important the Arab market for EFL teaching was to become in the 1970s and 80s.

Aspects of stereotypes and representation

Ever since Lippman first proposed the notion of stereotypes (1922) they have been the subject of considerable debate within psychology, sociology and media studies (Allport, 1954; Dyer, 1977; Perkins, 1979; Pickering, 2001; Gauntlett, 2002) with regard to the relationship between stereotyping, generalisations, typicality, cognitive schemas and representation. Semiotically speaking, stereotypes are synecdoches, that is, on the basis of the description/visualisation of a part we make generalisations about the whole (Berger, 1997: 54). Although stereotyping is simplistic and often dangerous, particularly when they emphasise some perceived negative characteristic, ‘typicality’ does allow authors to characterise people quickly and economically.
However, we should always be conscious of the extent to which this can cause harm to those depicted. The latter part of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of special interest groups, leading to concerns about how their representation affected how they were perceived. By their very nature cartoons simplify, essentialise and exaggerate in order to communicate with a minimum of lines. Looking at the images in First Things First from the perspective of the twenty-first century, they seem somewhat anachronistic, stereotypical, and at times borderline sexist and racist. One is particularly struck by the portrayal of gender roles and the family. For example, in Lesson 55 we see Mr and Mrs Sawyer and their two school-age children (Fig. 6C). Mr Sawyer takes the children to school on his way to work while Mrs Sawyer stays at home every day to do the housework. In the afternoon, she usually sees friends for tea and a chat. Mr Sawyer arrives home late from work. Later he reads his newspaper, while Mrs Sawyer is sewing and the children do their homework. The majority of the older women in the coursebook are housewives who spend their time happily cleaning, shopping (in 1957 it was estimated that they averaged 7.6 visits to the grocer and 3.3 visits to the butcher per week, Kynaston, 2007: 676), having tea with friends (Lesson 47) and preparing meals (Lesson 81). In the case of Mrs Jones (Lesson 29), she has a cleaning lady. In the class lines portrayed, the cleaning lady is always referred to as Bessy, whereas Bessy calls her employer Mrs Jones. Mrs Jones does not employ a cleaner to enable her to go to work. However, in reality by the 1960s a significant proportion of married women were working outside of the home (Jones et al., 1991/2003).

In the portrayal of occupations, if women do work, it is usually in the caring professions (Lesson 8), for example as a nurse, or an air hostess, with the only exception being a policewoman. The air hostess is portrayed as pretty and young (Lessons 16 and 18). Younger unmarried working women are frequently portrayed as typists (Lessons 17, 32 and 45). In Lesson 17, for example, the young women typists are referred to as Miss Grey and Miss Taylor. The dialogue says “Those girls are pretty. What are their jobs? They’re typists”. In the 1997 updated version, they are addressed as Nicola Grey and Clare Taylor. They are not described as pretty, but hard-working, and they are no longer typists, but keyboard operators, so the publishers have clearly adapted to modern sensibilities. In descriptions of houses and
Lesson 55

The Sawyers live at 87 King Street.

In the morning, Mr Sawyer goes to work and the children go to school. Their father takes them to school every day.

Mrs Sawyer stays at home every day. She does the housework.

She always eats her lunch at noon.

In the afternoon, she usually sees her friends. They often drink tea together.

In the evening, the children come home from school. They arrive home early.

Mr Sawyer comes home from work. He arrives home late.

At night, the children always do their homework. Then they go to bed. Mr Sawyer usually reads his newspaper, but sometimes he and his wife watch television.
Lesson 65

Father: What are you going to do this evening, Betty?
Betty: I'm going to meet some friends, Dad.

Father: You mustn't come home late.
You must be home at half past ten.
Betty: I can't get home so early, Dad!

Betty: Can I have the key to the front door, please?
Father: No, you can't.

Mother: Betty's eighteen years old, Tom.
She's not a baby.
Give her the key.
She always comes home early.
Father: Oh, all right!

Father: Here you are.
But you mustn't come home after a quarter past eleven.
Do you hear?
Betty: Yes, Dad.

Betty: Thanks, Mum.
Mother: That's all right, dear.
Goodbye.
Enjoy yourself!
Betty: We always enjoy ourselves, Mum.
'Bye, b'ye.

Fig. 6D First Things First (1967) Lesson 65 p. 129
rooms, these are usually referred to as ‘Mrs Smith’s living room’, or ‘Mrs Smith’s kitchen’. The house is seen to be the domain of the woman (Kynaston, 2007:569).

In Lesson 65, we have an interesting perspective on inter-generational roles (Fig. 6D). We have a very stern-looking father, stiff collar, moustache, jacket, waistcoat and striped trousers (indicative of a city worker) and his eighteen year old daughter Betty dressed in relatively fashionable clothes. She is told by her father to be home by half past ten. When she requests a key to the front door, he refuses. Her mother intercedes, and he finally agrees to give her one, although insisting she is home by quarter past eleven. From the perspective of 2010 this seems severe and autocratic. However, it must be remembered that the age of majority was only lowered from twenty-one to eighteen by the Family Law Reform Act of 1970. The granting of a key to the front door was the traditional symbol of achieving the age of majority. Other negative gender portrayals that would be disapproved of in current publishing guidelines are evident in *First Things First*. Women drivers crash cars into lamp posts (Lesson 87 and 102). In Lesson 107, a large lady is choosing a dress and we are invited to be amused by the fact that the shop does not have a dress large enough for her. Intertextually, this is evocative of McGill’s sea-side postcards (Orwell, 1941; Alderson, 1970; Medhurst, 2007). In Lesson 75, it is stated that women always wear uncomfortable shoes.

The depiction of different ages is equally stereotypical. Children wear school uniforms, including a cap for the boys, a gym slip and black stockings for the girls (Lesson 55) and they use pen and ink for their homework. Girls are said to like pink (Lesson 37). In Lesson 72 and 101, the grandmother is depicted with an earphone, which is reminiscent of portrayals in cartoon comics such as The Beano and Dandy. Such images play important roles in the social construction of old age stereotypes (Blaikie, 1999:182).

Another area of noticeable negative stereotypes is that of nationality. As the coursebook is geared to the teaching of EFL, we would expect it to show a knowledge of, and sensitivity to, different nationalities. However, it seems to be primarily focused on the mores and culture of England. Reference is made to other nationalities (e.g. Lesson 5), however, the depictions tend to be simplistic and stereotypical. For
example, in Lesson 16 Russians are depicted as Soviet soldiers with large greatcoats, boots, red star and fur hat. The English wear bowler hats, have moustaches and striped trousers, and carry umbrellas. In Lesson 54, the depiction of the Chinese and Japanese characters would from today’s perspective be seen as racist images of the ‘other’ (Said, 1978; Hall, 1997). In Lesson 94, various cities of the world are depicted. They are usually represented by iconic buildings, but if these do not exist, the illustrators have resorted to simplistic stereotypes. For example, we have palm trees, watermelon stalls and curly-headed women to represent Accra, though significantly they are not black-faced (the choice of Accra seems to reflect the colonial legacy and intertextual references to the war in Biafra), a snake-charmer to signify Bombay, a bull-fighter to signify Madrid, and for Japan we have people with eyes drawn as ‘slits’, wearing traditional peasant clothes and there is pseudo non-roman writing on the signs.

In discussing stereotypes, we should be sensitive not only to what is represented, but also to noticeable absences. For example, apart from an image of the Royal Palace of Tehran, there is no reference to the Islamic world. The inclusion of Tehran may well reflect the fact that Iran under the Shah was an important market for EFL and a major centre for the British Council from the late 1950s until 1979.

Other noticeable absences include the depiction of England as white. There is no reference to the ethnic minorities who had been emigrating to the UK since the late 1940s, and who by the 1960s had become a significant part of multicultural Britain. This white centrism socially constructs a norm of an ethnically white nation (Gilroy, 1987; Dyer, 1997). There is no reference to other regions or nationalities in Britain, but rather an anodyne lower middle class vision of a mythic middle England. We have no reference to non-typical families, no long-haired young men in contemporary fashion, no career women, or suggestions of different, alternative lifestyles (Thornbury, 1999) which were already evident in the 1960s.

The cultural values embedded in the images

It would be wrong to judge the images from the perspective of current moral sensibilities, and we must be aware that behaviour and practices which today would
be criticised were at the time when the materials were produced perfectly acceptable and commonplace. However it is important to explore something of what they say about the time they were produced.

Considerable material changes have taken place since the coursebooks were created. For example, credit cards have replaced hire purchase, and word processors have replaced typewriters. The home-visiting family doctor is no longer the norm. British people have travelled more and there is a greater knowledge of other cultures. However, I would argue that to some extent the images and texts in this coursebook were already anachronistic in 1967. For example, supermarkets had begun to replace the separate greengrocer, butcher and stationers depicted. They represent a nostalgic vision of Britain, backward looking, conservative and paternalistic, an England that was more reminiscent of the 1950s (as described by Kynaston in his recent book *Family Britain* 1951-57) than that of the 60s. The coursebook reflects the world view of the creators, an England from the perspective of a middle-class educated teacher, a world where radio and books were the major leisure activities. There is only a brief acknowledgement of the existence of television. However, since the introduction of commercial television in 1955, TV viewing had become a major part of leisure time by the 1960s. It is significant that Alexander had been involved with Army education and since the 1950s worked overseas teaching English in Germany and Greece, and his vision of England seems to be tinged by ‘ex-pat nostalgia’, that is the England of the time he had gone overseas. The ‘humour’ seems equally from an earlier time.

Does the visual privilege the native-speaker and the English of the Centre?

I would argue that the coursebook is so focussed on a nostalgic mythic England that many of the signs and iconography would only have resonance for a native speaker of British English. Recognising and explaining very culture-specific images, such as the burglar, the London Transport logo, a double-decker bus, a British weather map, a Church of England church, football pools, the family GP, the teacher in mortar board, the ‘tramp’, the food and the specialist shops would give the NEST an advantage as a ‘knower’ over a non-native speaker teacher, inducing a perceived superiority for the NEST.
Alexander’s coursebooks had remarkable sales. According to one obituary:

Long before the term “globalisation” became fashionable, he was a global writer and the distribution of his books a global operation. (the late sixties on). were also the years in which English was steadily becoming, as it is now, a truly global language; Alexander made by his enhancement of the teaching and learning of the language a significant contribution to the process. (Independent 11 July 2002).

Alexander argued that First Things First encouraged the teaching of “Natural English”, English in “real-life situations” (Alexander, 1968 xv.). Real life becomes conflated with England, thereby privileging the Centre. Similarly he states, “the lesson should be conducted entirely in English” (1968: 2) and that the use of the student’s mother tongue should be avoided. This clearly disadvantages the NNEST. With a monolingual group being taught by a NNEST it would be difficult to avoid using the student’s L1, even if the teacher had native-speaker fluency. Implicit within the coursebook is the idealised multilingual group being taught in the UK where they would be taught British English. There are no intimations of situations where dialogues would take place between people from different cultures in a non-standard (Anglo) form.

In analysing the coursebooks in New Concept English, it is clear that the visual element plays a more crucial role in the beginner’s book First Things First. The text and the images seem to be working in tandem to mutually reinforce the introduction of the language. Nevertheless, they do appear to give a rather distorted picture of England. There is no real sense of the contemporary Britain of the 1960s. They say less about the time they were produced, but more about the values and world view of the producers. They are seen through the particular perspective of the male creators, their generation and their specific experiences of class, the war and education.

In the later books in the series, the images are less central to the course books, as there is an increasing emphasis on the importance of the written text, in particular reading comprehension. The images are predominantly ‘decorational’, illustrative of a specific phrase in the written text, or visualising a punch line or ‘gag’. In Books 2 and 3 the cartoon images were created by the newspaper cartoonists Michael ffolkes, and Graham and Gus ‘moonlighting’ from their ‘day-jobs’ at respectively the
Telegraph/Punch and the Manchester Evening News, and seem merely to replicate the visions of Britain that they portray in their newspaper cartoons. Ffolkes, for example is best known for his illustrations of the somewhat archaic and reactionary Peter Simple column in the Telegraph. He claimed “not to care about or understand the modern” (House, 2003). The images appear to be an afterthought by the publisher to liven up the appearance of the page. There is little concession to the target audience and they seem to be enigmatic by default. The written texts, specially written by Alexander, also appear to be somewhat idiosyncratic and backward looking (see Figs. 6E and 6F).

The last book in the series (*Fluency in English*, 1967) focuses on the reading and comprehension of 60 different authentic texts drawn from a variety of pre-published sources. All of the passages are illustrated by a black and white photograph at the end of the text, which either accompanied the original article or had been obtained from image banks, tourist offices, or government information offices. The passages seem to be rather eclectic. The underlying ideology seems to be that they reflect what would be seen as an educated middle-class English man’s view of current affairs and issues. The textbook is targeted at the Cambridge Lower Certificate, acting like a gatekeeper to an ‘elite club’ of native English speakers.

The passages were drawn “from the work of a variety of modern authors” (e.g. J.B. Priestley; Aldous Huxley; Max Beerbohm; Fred Hoyle). However, it is significant that only three were written by women. The rest were written either by British or American male writers. None of the passages were written by English speakers from post-colonial territories. In some of the texts there is a sense of colonial nostalgia in passages and images, e.g. Unit 44 the Ministry of Natural Resources and Local Government in Malawi, Unit 51 Elephants, and Unit 55 an image of a Pandang girl from Burma.

Where the illustrations are merely seen as decoration the commissioned illustrators appear to have been given a freehand to decide on the form and style of the images. They do not seem to have been drawn to communicate with an EFL target audience but rather reflect the personal style, preoccupations and idiosyncrasies of the artists themselves. If we examine the illustrations in *Success with English* (Broughton,
3 An Unknown Goddess

Some time ago, an interesting discovery was made by archaeologists on the Aegean island of Kea. An American team explored a temple which stands in an ancient city on the promontory of Ayia Irini. The city at one time must have been prosperous, for it enjoyed a high level of civilization. Houses—often three storeys high—were built of stone. They had large rooms with beautifully decorated walls. The city was even equipped with a drainage system, for a great many clay pipes were found beneath the narrow streets.

The temple which the archaeologists explored was used as a place of worship from the fifteenth century B.C. until Roman times. In the most sacred room of the temple, clay fragments of fifteen statues were found. Each of these represented a goddess and had, at one time, been painted. The body of one statue was found among remains dating from the fifteenth century B.C. Its missing head happened to be among remains of the fifth century B.C. This head must have been found in Classical times and carefully preserved. It was very old and precious even then. When the archaeologists reconstructed the fragments, they were amazed to find that the goddess turned out to be a very modern-looking woman. She stood three feet high and her hands rested on her hips. She was wearing a full-length skirt which swept the ground. Despite her great age, she was very graceful indeed, but, so far, the archaeologists have been unable to discover her identity.

Comprehension and Précis

In not more than 80 words describe what archaeologists discovered in an ancient temple on the island of Kea. Do not include anything that is not in the last paragraph.

Answer these questions in note form to get your points:

1. Where did the archaeologists find clay fragments?
2. What did they represent?
3. Had they once been painted or not?
4. Where was the body of one statue found?
5. Where was its head found?
6. Were the fragments reconstructed or not?
7. How tall did the goddess turn out to be?
8. Where did her hands rest?
9. What was she wearing?
10. Is her identity known or not?

Vocabulary

Give another word or phrase to replace the following words as they are used in the passage: explored (ll. 3–4); ancient (l. 5); prosperous (l. 7); storeys (l. 9); beneath (l. 13); fragments (l. 18); remains (l. 20).

Fig. 6E Developing Skills (1967) Unit 3 p. 16
‘It’s Only Me’

After her husband had gone to work, Mrs Richards sent her children to school and went upstairs to her bedroom. She was too excited to do any housework that morning, for in the evening she would be going to a fancy dress party with her husband. She intended to dress up as a ghost and as she had made her costume the night before, she was impatient to try it on. Though the costume consisted only of a sheet, it was very effective. After putting it on, Mrs Richards went downstairs. She wanted to find out whether it would be comfortable to wear.

Just as Mrs Richards was entering the dining-room, there was a knock on the front door. She knew that it must be the baker. She had told him to come straight in if ever she failed to open the door and to leave the bread on the kitchen table. Not wanting to frighten the poor man, Mrs Richards quickly hid in the small store-room under the stairs. She heard the front door open and heavy footsteps in the hall. Suddenly the door of the store-room was opened and a man entered. Mrs Richards realized that it must be the man from the Electricity Board who had come to read the meter. She tried to explain the situation, saying ‘It’s only me’, but it was too late. The man let out a cry and jumped back several paces. When Mrs Richards walked towards him, he fled, slamming the door behind him.

Comprehension and Précis

In not more than 80 words describe what happened from the moment Mrs Richards entered the dining-room. Do not include anything that is not in the last paragraph.

Answer these questions in note form to get your points:

1. How was Mrs Richards dressed?
2. Where was she going when someone knocked at the door?
3. Whom did she think it was?
4. Where did she hide?
5. Did she hear footsteps in the hall or not?
6. Who suddenly opened the store-room door?
7. What did she say to him?
8. Did he get a bad fright or not?
9. Did she walk towards him or not?
10. Did he flee or did he stay there?
11. Did he slam the front door or not?

Vocabulary

Give another word or phrase to replace the following words as they are used in the passage: intended (l. 7); impatient (l. 9); try it on (ll. 9–10); whether (l. 13); failed to (l. 18); fled (l. 25); slamming (l. 26).

Fig. 6F Developing Skills (1967) Unit 13 p. 36
1968/70) we see a series of images which similarly reflect the interests and the unique style of the illustrator Quentin Blake (see Blake website n.d.). From the perspective of an EFL classroom, his images seem rather bizarre and confusing and would mean very little to the target learner, or alternatively serve to perpetuate stereotypes of nationality and gender (e.g. Figs. 6G & 6H).

This brief analysis of 1960s coursebooks suggests that the images were usually subordinate to the written text, a decorative afterthought. They appear to reflect the values, interests and world view of their producers rather than that of the target students. In the following decades developments in linguistic theories of language
learning and acquisition coupled with significant global socio-historic changes were to have a major influence on the form and structure of EFL course books, in particular the role of the visual images. The *Kernel* series of books provide a useful resource to explore these changes.

![Unit 6](image)

**Fig. 6H Success with English 3 (1970) Unit 6 p. 46**

6. 2 1970s coursebooks


In examining this archive of EFL coursebooks produced in the 1970s, it has been necessary to re-engage with and have a dialogue with the time they were produced.
This dialogue involves an examination of what they say about the time they were produced, but also from the perspective of historical distance it is possible to make visible the taken-for-granted values and ideology embedded within their discourse (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001:51).

The 1970s were a particularly turbulent and controversial time. A number of significant events occurred, both within the UK and outside, which had, or one would have expected to have, an influence on the form and contents of the coursebooks.

Domestically, as Tiratsoo (1997) observed:

> Almost everyone who has reflected seriously about Britain in the 1970s agrees that the decade was little short of a disaster… The conventional charge sheet against the 1970s is long and damning. Britain was beset by economic failure. The trade unions acted like robber barons, holding the rest of the country to ransom. Inflation stalked the land, destroying the social fabric. Ordinary people constantly found themselves bullied by powers outside their control. This was a period of strikes, power cuts and discontent. (Tiratsoo, 1997: 163)

However, it could be argued that such observations tend to neglect the good and magnify the bad. Alternative views of 1970s Britain (Beckett, 2009; Taylor, 2009) emphasised the fact that Britain witnessed huge cultural changes, such as the growth of feminism, multicultural permissiveness, gay rights, and environmentalism, and material changes, such as increased affluence, package holidays, and high street curry houses, which transformed the lives of citizens (Sandbrook, 2010). At the same time, external events impacted upon the UK. Three significant events could be highlighted. In January 1973 Britain became a member of the European Common Market (Beckett, 2009). 1973 also witnessed the Yom Kippur War and the subsequent oil crisis. Finally, in 1979 there was the Iranian Revolution (Beckett, 2009).

On Britain’s joining the Common Market, English was to become one of the major, if not the primary, language in Europe, which helped to stimulate an increased demand for English language teaching. The Council of Europe sponsored a general Threshold Level project, which aimed to produce an account of the foreign language needs (including English) of adult learners (Van Ek, 1975/1980; Van Ek & Trim, 1991;
Howatt & Widdowson, 2004: 252). These guidelines and their subsequent development, which emphasised functions, notions and communication (Wilkins, 1972; Widdowson, 1972; Candlin, 1973; Wilkins, 1976; Munby, 1978) were to have a profound effect on the materials and methods of EFL teaching.

The oil crisis of 1973 led to a tripling of oil prices by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The increased revenues were largely spent on improving infrastructure, developing medical facilities, and defence purchases (Petersen 2011). Most of these developments were conducted in, and facilitated by, the medium of English. For example, Robert O’Neill, principal author of the *Kernel* series, gives an account of teaching English to a small group of German technicians who were to train a contingent of Iranians in English on how to maintain and repair submarines (O’Neill, 1982: 105). English language teaching and the production of EFL coursebook materials proved to be one of the ways of ‘recycling’ and ‘repatriating’ the oil revenues to the West. The 1970s witnessed successive waves of adult students from Libya, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and Persia (Iran), coming to the UK to learn English in private language schools and universities. Concurrently, there was the export of English language teaching materials and native English language teachers to schools and British Council centres in the oil producing countries.

Persia (Iran) under the Shah was a particularly lucrative market for Defence (Petersen, 2011) and EFL industries. By 1978, the British Council representation in Iran was one of the top three in the world. For the native speaker EFL teacher, working for the British Council, pre-revolutionary Iran offered a prestigious well-paid job and pleasant lifestyle among the Westernised elite (see The British Council, BCiran.ca)

The Islamic Revolution of 1979 led to the closure of the British Council representation in Iran and the exodus of many native speaker teachers. Nevertheless, the appetite for learning English amongst the largely middle class elite of Iran was undiminished. From personal experience as a University of Cambridge/UCLES examiner, Tehran continues to be a major centre for Cambridge EFL examinations and major market for the related examination-focused coursebooks. The Revolution
also witnessed the flight of many of the former elite, a significant proportion of whom made their homes in English-speaking countries. I had personal experience of teaching EFL to large numbers of such students in Worthing in the period after the revolution.

The 1970s witnessed a rapid development of private language schools in the UK. The increased market meant that they could expand from summer-only schools to all-year-round centres. As Simon Gray’s satirical play *Quartermain’s Term* (1981) suggests, early UK language schools had attracted their fair share of buccaneers and eccentrics as teachers and owners. However, the formation of the Association of Recognised Language Schools (ARELS) and later the Federation of English Language Colleges (FELCO), and the provision of teacher training and recognised qualifications (e.g. RSA Certificate [now CELTA] & Diploma [now DELTA]) meant that a career in EFL teaching became an attractive option for UK graduates in modern language and humanities. The UK private schools began to produce their own in-house materials and to set aside resources for the development of materials geared to the specific needs of their target students. Students typically came for intensive one month-plus periods. Increasingly, the syllabus/curriculum of these coursebooks was derived from targeted analyses of the students’ specific needs (English for Specific Purposes/ESP [Hutchinson & Walters, 1987; White, 1988]). The students were in a hurry to acquire the language, which led to the development of more narrowly focused functional language curriculum. I was a willing advocate of this approach as it seemed to produce quick results. Students’ language skills, particularly spoken language, developed markedly, even on short courses. However, these materials have often been criticised for their narrow focus. It could be argued that such course materials were largely designed to meet a set of particular utilitarian requirements and thus would tend to confine their educational scope. As Edward Said observed following a visit to an un-named Middle Eastern university:

The reason for the large number of students taking English was given frankly by a somewhat disaffected instructor: many of the students proposed to end up working for airlines, or banks in which English was the world wide *lingua franca*. This all but terminally consigned English to the level of a technical language stripped of expressive and aesthetic characteristics and denuded of any critical or self-conscious dimension…
These custom-made courses were very much influenced by the needs of the international service industries and the socio-economic imperative of globalisation, which Fairclough referred to as the marketisation of discourse (Fairclough, 1995a). The producers of EFL materials in private language schools, witnessing the apparent success/effectiveness of their in-house courses, saw the opportunity to expand, and educational publishers saw the potential to market the materials outside of their host institutions, both in the UK and overseas. The coursebooks to be examined emerged from the private language school sector.

The Kernel Series

Taken as a whole, the Kernel series provides a useful resource to trace the evolution of the EFL coursebook, and the visual elements within them, in the decade of the 1970s. The coursebooks reflect the changing nature of EFL pedagogy, and the changing nature of the profession, as well as the evolving socio-historic environment. The series emerged from the Eurocentres Research Centre which was set up in Bournemouth in 1969. Eurocentres is a Europe-wide network of schools, which aims to teach European languages in the countries “where it is spoken” (Kernel Intermediate, 1971: vii). The principal author of the series was Robert O’Neill. It is significant that O’Neill is not British, but from the USA, and approached the teaching of English from a different perspective. He came to Europe as a young man, and spent prolonged periods in Germany and Japan, and learnt something of their languages. Unlike the previous authors studied, he was not brought up in a Post-War, Post-Colonial Britain. Nevertheless, it could be argued that he has internalised many of the dominant paradigms and ideology of the milieu of language schools of the time.
**Kernel Intermediate (1971)**

The cover and appearance

The cover (see Appendix 4) has a background of glossy light green. It is perhaps significant that green is the traditional colour of Islam, where green represents paradise. Many flags of Islamic countries are green, and Islamic countries in the 1970s represented a growing market for EFL teaching and course materials. The top half of the cover has the title ‘Kernel Lessons Intermediate Student’s Book’ and the authors’ names all in the same size of shadow fonts. The lower half contains an orange circle with outer layers in blue and orange, which appear to be unpeeling to reveal the ‘kernel’ inside.

The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

The Student’s Book consists of 25 units. Each unit begins with a page of black and white cartoon strips on the opening left-hand page, which Kress & Van Leeuwen 1995 referred to as ‘the given’. The written text therefore represents ‘the new’. The teachers’ notes observe:

… the picture on the left helps to explain the texts or ‘situation’ on the right page. The situations are typical examples of when we use the new construction you are studying: in class first cover the ‘situation’ and look only at the pictures… Try to understand the whole situation even if you don’t understand the individual words. (O’Neill, 1971: ix)

The image thus falls within the category of the ‘explicative’, in that it is expected to predispose the reader to predict the type of language used in the situation. However, what is noticeable is that all the situations are set in an Anglocentric world. They may have little or no resonance to an audience outside the UK, imbued as they are with images, icons and the preoccupations of Britain in the 1970s, and would probably only have major significance to students studying in the UK.
Target students

The target students for *Kernel Intermediate* are what are known as ‘false beginners’. These are students who have studied English in secondary school and “perhaps have a reasonable vocabulary” (O’Neill, 1971: viii), but have acquired limited competence in producing the language. The book aims to get them to intermediate or threshold level. The syllabus has a traditional grammar base, beginning with the present simple tense and then introducing students to more complex grammatical forms. According to the blurb:

> Kernel Lessons *Intermediate* is an intensive revision, reinforcement and extension course designed for adult students of English. The course carefully reintroduces the basic essentials of the language and then uses these as the basis for entirely new work on more advanced structures. The course will also be found suited to adults who have learned English at some stage of their lives but who have forgotten most of what they have learnt… (O’Neill, 1971: back cover)

Implicit within the coursebook is that the lessons will ideally be for multi-lingual groups studying in the UK. The coursebooks emerged from the UK private language school sector. However, they were exported and marketed for use in overseas institutes and even secondary schools. Whilst it is argued that the materials have been tried and tested with a wide range of students (O’Neill, 1971: vii), and that they may arguably have better production values than locally produced materials (O’Neill, 1982), it does raise the issue of how appropriate much of the cultural content is for students from non-Western backgrounds (e.g. Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Adaskou et al., 1990; Prodromou, 1988; Ellis, 1990; Sellami, 2006). In the late 1980s, whilst teaching a group of Tunisian trainee teachers, I was surprised to find that their secondary coursebook had been *Kernel Intermediate*. Whilst this group had come to England, and could therefore arguably make use of some of the cultural information contained within the coursebook, they represented an elite minority of English learners within their school cohort. The majority of the users of the coursebooks had not achieved their level of proficiency, and nor were they ever likely to visit the UK. Interestingly, the only clear memory of the content of the book many had was that of the episodic narrative, ‘The Man Who Escaped’, concerning the quest of a disgraced policeman Edward Coke to clear his name. This short, fictional story occupies a mere
The narrative was not accompanied by visuals, however, the success of this ‘narrative thrust’ (O’Neill’s term) led the author to adopt the concept of narrative visuals into the core of later Kernels.

Image analysis of specific exemplars

*Kernel Intermediate* (1971) Unit 1a p. 2 (Fig. 6.2A)

The black and white pen and ink drawings by James Val are usually arranged in 6 boxes. Each box looks at a separate character. There is not usually a sequential narrative between the individual frames on each page. However, after their initial introduction, the characters are revisited later in the coursebook, so that we gradually build up a picture of them and their lives, and to some extent develop a parasocial interest in them. The images are not cartoon-like, or Ludic (Gray, 2010), but although simplified, aim to represent a simulacrum of reality, and thus will have a higher degree of modality, i.e. the more realistic the interpretation, the more likely students will invest belief that these are portrayals of ‘real people’. Visual modality is defined by Kress & van Leeuwen as:

> The degree to which certain means of pictorial expression (colour, representational detail, depth, tonal shades etc.) are used. Each of these dimensions can be seen as a scale, running from the absence of any rendition of detail to maximal representation of detail, or from the absence of any rendition of depth to maximally deep perspective. And on each of these scales there is a point that represents the way the given pictorial dimension is used in what could be called standard naturalism. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996:256)

In Picture 1 our focus is drawn to a young woman (Julia) entering an office. She is fashionably dressed in a short black mini-dress and has a contemporary ‘Mary Quant-like’ hairdo. Unlike the earlier coursebooks the characters are given first and surnames. The surnames are not the anodyne Browns and Smiths of earlier texts, in fact many of the names carry subtle cultural connotations, for example Tom Atkins. The use of the first name represents a more personal, friendly, and informal approach.
One of the features of UK language schools that often comes as a cultural shock to international students is the fact that everyone, including their teachers, is referred to by the first name. This simple etiquette may be very much contrary to what they have experienced or expect. Often in their home institutions teachers have sought to remain
distanced and formal. The use of the first name can lead to the students being confused about the nature of the student-teacher relationship, but despite the apparent informality, the power relationship between the teacher and student is largely unchanged. This personalised informality is very much a feature of the ritualised marketing discourse of globalisation, particularly the discourse of the service industry (Fairclough, 1995a).

In Picture 2, we are introduced to Frank Martin, who is a factory worker (indicated in later units by his appearance in overalls). Frank is being dropped off at work by his wife. Although only a portion of the car is revealed, it is clearly recognisable as a Hillman Imp, which was sold in the UK as an alternative to the Mini, and specifically marketed as a shopping car for ‘housewives’. The implied message would seem to be that, in the UK, factory workers have access to cars and other material goods (which may lead to unfavourable comparisons with the material status of students in developing countries). Cars are drawn recognisably and represent distinct signs within the coursebook, as signifiers of status. For example Arthur Tigers, the factory owner, is shown with a Jaguar (Unit 4, Picture 5). Interestingly, we see a number of Hillman cars. These would have a particular resonance for Iranian students, as under the Shah the Hillman Husky was assembled in Tehran (known locally as the Paykan—see BBC News.co.uk, 15 May, 2005), and when I was there in 1970 it was a staple of Iranian taxi firms. It could be interpreted as an early example of product placement.

In Picture 3 we see a young man, Tom Atkins (a language teacher), speaking to Frank Martin about marrying his daughter. The full-length image has a three-dimensional perspective. In the background we can see a typical Post-War Modernist-designed school (the native speaker teacher would clearly recognise the outline) with the suggestion of children in the playground. In the middle distance we can see Susan, Frank’s daughter, wearing a short dress and horn-rimmed glasses with her hands on her hips waiting determinedly for her father’s approval of the marriage. Unlike Julia, Susan lives at home with her parents before she marries (which may more likely correspond to the experience of non-Western students). We are given no indication of whether she has a job.
In Picture 4 we are introduced to Charles Kay, a film actor, and there are cultural references to Frankenstein films. Charles is in the foreground of the picture playing with his dogs. In the background there is a small child and a cottage with a thatched roof. Many international students and their teachers would not appreciate the significance of the cottage. For example, the idea of the affluent purchasing older properties is an alien concept to many cultures.

In Picture 5 we are introduced to Arthur and Deborah Tigers. Deborah is a young woman in her twenties, depicted with long hair and a contemporary mini-dress. Arthur is middle-aged and dressed in a lounge suit and wearing glasses. We find out later that he is a rich self-made businessman, and that his first wife has died. Deborah is his new trophy wife. In the background we see a large neo-Georgian detached house, which in the Anglosphere is a signifier of ‘new wealth’.

In Picture 6 we see Deborah lying in bed at 9.15 and her maid is bringing her breakfast. The implicit message seems to be a young attractive woman can marry into wealth.

Mode of address

The mode of address of an image is, according to Kress & van Leeuwen determined by choices made regarding the social distance and the direction of the gaze of the people depicted within the frame. They relate the represented social distance of participants to Hall’s (1976) discussion of proxemics, dividing social distance in images into six values ranging from intimate to public. In the images in Unit 1 (Fig. 6.2A) we tend to see the whole figure, “with space around it”, which corresponds to their “far social distance” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996:129). There is also no eye contact with us, the audience, so we can say that the mode of address is somewhat impersonal. We are external observers of the actions of the characters, and not intimately involved. However, we must not forget that the acceptable proxemic distances are not universal, but are culturally defined, so that the reading of the cultural connotation of social distance within the images cannot be assumed.
The very fact that we view the images from an individual ‘point of view’ can similarly not be taken for granted. This way of viewing the world, which follows the conventions of depth perception demanded by the representation of three dimensions on a two-dimensional surface, is very much derived from Western Renaissance art and the later development within the grammar of the Hollywood film. This way of viewing, with its emphasis upon the individual viewpoint is so embedded within the western psyche that we are largely unaware of it, to paraphrase Wim Wenders, it “has colonised our unconscious”. It represents a particular set of ideological values which may well contradict cultures with a more collectivist outlook. It could be argued that these images follow the conventions of filmic frames. As Monaco observed:

Our sense of cinema’s connotations depends on understood comparisons of the image with images that were not chosen (paradigmatic) and images that came before and after (syntagmatic), so our sense of the cultural connotations depend upon understood comparisons of the part with the whole (synecdoche) and associated details with ideas (metonymy).

(Monaco, 1981 and 2003: 136)

For example, in Picture 2 in Unit 1 the framing follows the conventions of filmic framing. We recognise the Hillman Imp solely from its front grill, but this knowledge needs to be culturally learnt. Also, in Picture 6 the three planes of depth, the large clock, Deborah in bed, and the relative size of the maid in the background, reflect the conventions of deep focus photography (e.g. Citizen Kane), whereas Monaco observed, “it is not the material of the shot but its design that tells the story” (2003: 161). Increasingly, throughout the Kernel series we see a development of this filmic sensibility in the design of the images. This is particularly evident in *Kernel One*.

Aspects of stereotypes and representation

Gender

The gender depictions tend towards traditional roles and settings. The female characters are more often shown in domestic settings (cleaning [Unit 3 & 6]), cooking (Unit 5), taking morning coffee (Unit 2), and performing domestic, menial or low status jobs (typists [Unit 1], maids [Unit 1], shop assistants [Unit 6], underwear saleswoman [Unit 4]) (Gunter, 1995; Dines & Humez, 1995; Gauntlett, 2002). In
contrast, the male characters are depicted more frequently in the workplace (Frank
Martin in a factory wearing overalls (Unit 2), Arthur in front of his factory (Unit 4),
Charles Kay on location filming (Unit 20), or they are railway porters, policemen, a
lecturer, estate agents, or travelling abroad to Canada or France. Jobs and occupations
are presented as more important for men. For women, jobs are presented as
something they do before they get married and have children and reiterate the
findings of Gunter’s content analysis of media texts in the 1970s (ibid, 1995).

Young women are presented and judged on their appearance. Deborah Tigers, for
example, is shown as the young non-working pampered wife of the older widowed
successful businessman Arthur. Julia is depicted as an attractive twenty plus single
girl, who lives in her own studio flat (Unit 3, see Picture 1, Fig 6.2 B). In the course
of the book she has two boyfriends, rejecting the first one in favour of another one
who has a car and takes her out to dinner. Carol Stewart (Unit 7) is depicted in a
swim suit and the accompanying text says “Carol Stewart plays the piano and tennis
very well. She is a very good cook and swimmer. She speaks French and German
perfectly. She is beautiful too. That is why she was Miss Europe last year” (O’Neill,

In Unit 18 we are presented with an image of an old millionaire amidst bags of money
proposing to a young blonde in a very short mini-skirt. In Unit 20 we see the same
young girl accepting a large diamond ring from him as a Christmas present. In Unit
19 we see a ‘pretty’ girl getting off a plane from Canada and going through the
customs without being stopped, whilst a male passenger is stopped. Women are
presented as being materialistic and dependent on their male partners. The images
endorse the idea that appearance is intrinsic to the notion of femaleness. “It associates
romance, even possession and power over the male with that appearance” (Burton,
1997: 14).

In Unit 17 we see Tom Atkins in the kitchen doing the washing up. However, we find
out from the accompanying text that the only reason he is doing it is because his wife
Susan is visiting her father in hospital, implying that washing up is normally
women’s work.
Race and ethnicity

Foucault (1970) argued “representation works as much through what is not shown as through what is” (Hall, 1997:59). From the perspective of the 21st century, it is surprising to see that all the people shown in the coursebook are universally white. There are no ethnic minorities depicted. Race was a very live issue at this time, coming as it does so soon after Enoch Powell’s notorious 1968 ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech (Turner, 2008: 29). The images give a mythical picture of Britain when it is remembered that, by 1970, the estimated number of non-white residents in the UK was 1.4 million, a third of whom had been born in Britain. (www.civilrights movement). However, this relative invisibility was a feature of much of the media at the time. In fact Jeremy Isaacs has suggested that, to reduce racial tensions, ethnic representation was deliberately played down in the media (Turner, 2008:30).

Despite the coursebook being targeted at foreign learners of English, there is little or no reference to other nationalities. The only reference is an oblique one, in Unit 19 (Picture 5). There is ‘a very pretty girl’ (O’Neill et al., 1971) at the customs who in Picture 6 is shown attending ‘a language institute in London’ with other young adults, whose appearance suggests that they can only be from European origins.

Representation of age

Whilst there is a broad range of ages represented in the images, they predominantly focus on the lives of young adults, presumably because it was felt that these will be of more interest to the target audience for the coursebook. Children are only briefly shown, e.g. Susan has twins and a child is seen playing in a park and threatened by a snake. Older people tend to be presented as poor, frail and forgetful (Unit 14, Unit 22), or lacking in road sense (Unit 8). The only exception to these stereotypes is that of rich older men who are able to attract trophy wives. These may reflect many of the negative stereotypical representations of the elderly which still circulate in the Anglosphere. However, they could conflict with the norms and connotations of the elderly held by international students.
Unit 3

Simple past tense
(Regular and irregular verbs)

(a) late this morning?
(b) eat?
(c) drink?
(d) the dishes?
(e) much time?

(a) friend’s question?
(b) Where/manager?
(c) When/he Julia?

(a) How often London?
(b) London yesterday?
(c) friend’s question?
(on time yesterday?)

(a) Where/Arthur this morning?
(b) Where/Deborah/station?
(c) Deborah’s question?
(d) Who/Arthur/meet?
(e) train early?

(a) Tom and Susan/this morning?
(b) What/now? 
(champagne/cake/good time)
(c) What/Susan’s father?

(a) Who/at the party?
(b) What/all do?
(c) Tom’s mother
(d) What/Frank?
The images present a simplistic view of a society divided by social class. However, the major determiner of class seems to be money. The acquisition of wealth not only is reflected in material symbols (e.g. Arthur’s detached house, Jaguar car and clothes), but also to distinctly different lifestyles. For example, Arthur travels first class on the train (see Fig 6.2B, Picture 3), goes to the opera with his wife Deborah, eats in expensive restaurants, drinks champagne, and visits night clubs. Deborah his wife has a maid and travels extensively to exotic locations, whereas working class men go to the football or watch TV in their leisure time. Most of the characters, however, are portrayed as affluent, well-housed and well-fed. They also have the newly-available opportunities to take holidays abroad (e.g. Tom and Susan go skiing for the first time in Unit 8). The only exceptions to this affluence are in Unit 22, where we have an unemployed man. However, the accompanying text suggests that his lack of work is his own fault. “He would probably find one if he got a haircut, shaved off his beard”. This may reflect something of O’Neill’s US background and the ethos of self-help, but it is also a fact that the popular media encouraged the growing social perception “that people can make what they want of their own lives” (Gauntlett, 2002: 16). In Unit 22 we are shown two poor old people who have fallen on hard times in front of their run-down bungalow.

The absence of any real poor could be an attempt to promote a positive image of England, but it might also reflect a sense of general shared affluence that was evident under the post-war consensus. The Gini coefficient, a common measure of income inequality reached its lowest level in Britain in 1977 (Beckett, 2009:409).

Relationships

The depiction of relationships very much reflects the contemporary liberal views of the Anglosphere in the 1970s. Julia is shown as a young, independent, single girl living in her own studio flat, and having social relationships with a number of young men. Peter is also shown as having a number of girlfriends. Fred Collins is presented
as a wayward character. He loses his job through incompetence, and frequently goes out drinking in the pub, leaving his wife at home. He is even caught by his wife propositioning a young woman in a pub, suggesting the possibility of infidelity. These taken-for-granted laissez-faire attitudes to social relationships may well be at variance with the social mores of the learner audience. As Adaskou et al. point out:

… the use of foreign milieu by inviting cultural comparisons contribute to the student’s discontent with their own material culture and to the yearning for the big city and the flesh pots of Europe.
(Adaskou et al., 1990: 7)

Cultural values embedded within the images

The images contain a number of implicit values and ideology within them. They also reflect many of the preoccupations of the contemporary Anglosphere, some of which have already been touched upon. As was stated earlier, the 1970s in the UK was often seen through the prism of political strife and industrial unrest. In Unit 5 (Fig. 6.2C, Picture 1) we see an anti-war demonstration taking place. The protestors are portrayed as long-haired ‘hippy types’. They are being observed benignly by a number of ‘bobbies’ from the sidelines, and they are being filmed by television journalists. They are carrying a number of placards, one of which is partly obscured, but it says ‘Stop the War in …nam’, which is clearly an allusion to the war in Vietnam which was still ongoing and the subject of considerable social discord in the UK and US. It would have had particular resonance to O’Neill’s generation. The fact that there was an expectation that such demonstrations would be permitted by the authorities is a taken-for-granted by those in the Anglosphere, but as recent events in North Africa and Syria have shown, this is by no means a universally accepted principle.

Implicit within the images is a view of governance based upon citizens’ democratic rights, which would invite audiences to perhaps draw negative comparisons with the conditions in their own countries. In Unit 5 (Fig 6.2C, Picture 3) we have a group of cloth-capped pickets outside a factory gate demanding improvements in working conditions. In the foreground we again have two ‘bobbies’ nonchalantly observing. The issue of strikes and pickets was very much in the forefront of British
Some, any, a few, a little

1. (a) demonstrators? (b) policemen? (c) soldiers? (d) tourists? (e) reporters? (f) birds interested?

2. (a) What/Susan? (b) What/want to use? (c) How much sugar usually always?
(d) chocolate?

3. (a) When/strike? (b) Where policemen and strikers? (c) What day? (d) What/most of the men? (e) reporters there?

4. (a) What/Arthur order? (b) waiter bring? (c) many people?

5. (a) How many men? (b) any women? (c) What time? (d) Fred? (e) What/want? (f) Fred/any money?
consciousness at the time, for example the number of days lost to strikes was to reach nearly 6.5 million in 1974, (Beckett, 2009: 404). However, it could be seen as a rather Anglocentric issue. Whilst the issue of strikes may have been of interest and concern to the citizens of the UK, it would be of doubtful relevance to international students studying English in their home country.

Other examples of cultural specific images which might not be automatically decoded by students/teachers with no experience of the UK would include British Rail staff uniforms, police ‘Z’ cars, black taxi cabs, a bus conductor and inspector, a bank night-safe deposit box and a public house.

Does the visual privilege the native speaker teacher and the English of the Centre?

The images contain a lot of cultural information which would be easier to deconstruct and explain if someone had a native-speaker background in the UK. Emphasis is placed upon speaking and understanding spoken English, and there is an expectation that the lessons will be conducted entirely in English, with no use of the students’ mother tongues. As O’Neill observes:

… 2 You can learn to write words later. First learn to use and pronounce words correctly. 3 Take an active part in intensive question work… Do not be afraid to make mistakes. Everybody makes mistakes. (O’Neill, 1971: ix)

There are a number of underlying assumptions in these statements, such as: the class will be small enough for all of the students to take an active part; the idea of experimentation, making mistakes is not a universally accepted pedagogy. It is also the case that many non-native speaker teachers of English have been educated in the grammar translation method and could feel more confident in reading and writing (Medgyes, 1994). Some of my former students from Japan and Korea observed that they had never heard their teachers actually speaking English. In fact, some of them had reported that on returning to their home institutions, their teachers had been very reluctant to speak English to them, feeling a sense of ‘shame’ about their own limited speaking ability (see Llurda et al., 2006; Braine, 2010).
In the hands of a native speaker of English the images provide the opportunity for verbal elaboration, the introduction of additional vocabulary, and tangential discussions of UK culture and society. Having observed O’Neill using his coursebooks in workshops and book launches, this is how he expected them to be used. In order to avoid becoming stale when repeatedly using the coursebooks with new cohorts of students, O’Neill observed:

In my opinion, it is important that the textbook should be so designed and organised that a great deal of improvisation and adaptation by both teacher and class is possible.
(O’Neill, 1982: 107)

In the introduction to Kernel Intermediate, O’Neill notes: “There are many things which you can understand and can even practise, but which you still cannot use correctly, quickly and as automatically as a native English speaker does” (O’Neill, 1971: viii). As with most EFL coursebooks, the language of the introduction, which is supposedly aimed at the student, is more difficult than the target language in the book itself. It can be supposed that it is actually aimed at the teacher.

Inevitably, the emphasis upon English situations within the images and the accompanying texts, and the emphasis on the native speaker standard, reinforced by the accompanying tapes, privileges the English of the Centre. As Prodromou (1988) suggests, we need to recognise:

…the ideological nature of language teaching..that what we teach and particularly the way we teach reflects our attitudes to society in general and the individual’s place in society, and that our own educational practice is an implicit statement of power relationships, of how we see authority in the classroom and by extension in society outside the classroom.
(Prodromou 1988: 74-5)

Kernel Lessons Plus (1972)

Kernel Lessons Plus reflects an emerging pedagogic confidence, and a movement away from a syllabus fixed to a perceived hierarchy of grammatical input. Kernel Lessons Plus emerged from a topic based form of syllabus which was aimed at
encouraging discussion. It contains drawn images and photographs. Photographic images have their own visual and technical codes, (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Fulton et al., 2005). Barthes (1967, 1977) argued that there are two levels of meaning in the signs of photography, denotative and connotative, the latter relying on the culture and patrimony of knowledge of the viewer. However, within the context of the EFL classroom, the knowledge/power relationship (Foucault, 1972, 1980) between the teacher/knower and the students would tend to produce a dominant/preferred reading of the image (Hall, 1980). Since the earliest days of photography there have been debates for and against the idea that photographs provide a ‘trace’ of reality an objective unbiased affirmation of ‘truth’ (Barthes, 1977; Burgin, 1982; Berger, 1998/2005; Sontag, 1977; Wells, 2000). Despite a growing scepticism with regard to the ‘myth of photographic truth’ (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001):

It is a paradox of photography that although we know that images can be ambiguous and are easily manipulated or altered…much of the power of photography still lies in the shared belief that photographs are objective or truthful records of events.
(Sturken & Cartwright, 2001:17)

However, there is no single practice or form that is photography there are different types of images which serve different material and social uses (Wells, 2000:18).

The photographic images in the course book are of two types: reproduced copyright material from image banks, which are used as a stimulus for discussion, and a specially commissioned set of photographs, which are used to illustrate an ongoing narrative concerning a small group of central characters, a manager, a journalist and a secretary who work for a fictional television company named the English Broadcasting Company (EBC). The coursebook has two parallel strategies. These are a series of themed topics for discussion, and a narrative. The choice of themes/images very much reflects the views and concerns of a particular group. O’Neill, in his introduction, argues that the texts:

… will introduce you to many of the ideas and themes that people all over the world are talking about in the 1970s and will still be talking about in the 1980s. But just as important, it will introduce you to the language you will need to talk about these things yourself.
(O’Neill, 1972, Introduction)
Whilst I would not question the sincerity of the author, and the sense of sympathetic humanism evident in the selection of the themes, I would argue that the topics chosen reflect the concerns and preoccupations of a white, Anglo-Saxon, liberal, educated, male. They may well be of interest to other groups and cultures, but we cannot assume their importance or relevance. As Thompson argued:

> The argument then is that what are being ‘globalised’ are cultural patterns at a much more profound level than tastes for film genres, jeans or soft drinks. Globalisation involves the installation world-wide of Western versions of basic social-cultural reality: the West’s epistemological and ontological theories, its values, ethical systems, approaches to rationality, technical-scientific world view, political culture and so on. (Thompson, 1997: 144)

The themes and images, such as: Holidays, Letters to an Advice Column, The World of Advertising, Crime and Punishment, The Titanic, Inflation and Women’s Liberation, could be seen here as “a predominantly white/First World take on things” (Massey, 1994: 165).

The cover and appearance

The cover (see Appendix 5) is predominantly white, with three colour roller printed abstract strips overlayed with the onion-peeling Kernel logo that was present in Kernel Intermediate. The titles are in Roman script of various font sizes. It is significant that, unlike the previous Kernel, Robert O’Neill is credited with sole authorship, although as O’Neill has observed, as the book was produced under the aegis of Eurocentres, much of the royalties from the sales of the book went to the Eurocentres Foundation.

The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

The book has 15 units which are divided into 2 lessons. The images appear on the first two pages of each unit. As mentioned earlier, there are two types of photographic image. The copyrighted images appear to be primarily explicative, to provide a context for learning a new language. They also act as a stimulus for description and discussion. After discussing the images, students will hear/read short texts about the
theme of each unit. They will also have attentional and retentional purposes. The commissioned photographs play an explicative role, but they also have a narratational purpose, helping to illustrate and provide visual cues to the ongoing narrative.

Target students

According to the teacher’s notes, *Kernel Lessons Plus* was designed for students who had “acquired a basic knowledge mastery of the patterns and structures (of English)” in books such as *Kernel Lessons Intermediate* (O’Neill, 1972: 7). The book aims to revise and extend this knowledge and to prepare students for Cambridge Lower Certificate (now First Certificate). So the coursebook is not only tied in to the earlier textbook, but also to a British qualification, with all the academic assumptions of the English of the Centre. The emphasis is on encouraging students “to say what you want to say and not just what is in the book”. However, there are a number of implicit assumptions underlying this. Are the students interested in the topics? Do they have any relevance to them if they will never visit the UK? Do they have the confidence to engage in discussions? (This is something they may not be capable of doing in their first language). Will the classes will be small enough for all the students to be able to participate? The idea of an individual giving their own personal viewpoint on an issue could also be seen as representing a very Anglocentric take on the nature of knowledge and learning, and may contradict the norms of societies which place more emphasis upon collective harmony (e.g. Japan ‘giri’) and silence (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Pennycook, 1996: 170) than individualism (Hofstede, 1991/2005; Trompenaars, 1993). The very notion of an individual point of view reflects a distinct cultural perspective.

Image analysis of specific exemplars

*Kernel Lessons Plus* (1972) Lesson 3, Unit 2, p. 16 and 17 (Fig. 6.2D and Fig. 6.2E)

The visual element of these two pages consists of four images visually and textually linked. Visually they are framed to follow the convention of a Western filmic narrative, a wide angle establishing shot, a full-length shot, and then a medium close-
up. We then cut to a wide-angled two shot, which initiates the ongoing narrative. Picture 1 is a pen and ink drawing from an elevated viewpoint looking down on a block of mid-twentieth century buildings, on which is written the logo of TV Centre. The image clearly alludes to similar images of the British Broadcasting House in London. The focal point is the entrance, a vector which implies we are going to enter the building in which we will find the mini-narrative of the EBC will take place.

Picture 2 occupies a quarter of the page and consists of a full-length shot of a thirty-something male occupying half the image. From the accompanying text we learn that he is David Nelson, who works in television. In order to reinforce this idea, the image had been constructed to include the typical iconography of a TV studio: headphones on David (the floor manager), a cameraman in the background. A TV camera mounted on a dolly occupies the other half of the frame. Although a construct, the black and white photographs invoke a sense of documentary realism (Burton, 1997: 14). In Picture 3 we have a medium close-up shot of a young woman sitting at a desk behind a typewriter. The focal point is the woman’s face, which is looking directly at us. The eye level of the observer is that of someone sitting opposite the woman on the other side of the desk. As Kress & van Leeuwen observe:

There is, … a fundamental difference between pictures from which represented participants look directly at the viewer’s eyes, and pictures in which this is not the case. When represented participants look at the viewer, vectors, formed by the participants’ eye-lines, connect the participants with the viewer. Contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level… The producer uses the image to do something to the viewer. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 4)

It is for this reason that Kress & van Leeuwen call this kind of image a ‘demand’, that is that the viewer is expected to enter into some kind of imaginary relationship with her. The accompanying text speaks directly to us. It introduces Linda Blake and she details some of her biography. We are drawn into a sense of faux intimacy. She confesses to us that she wishes to get a job with EBC, and we share in her hopes. Picture 4 depicts a two shot of Linda (Picture 3 and 4 are connected by the device of her wearing the same striped cardigan) sitting in an office chair opposite a man behind a desk. The position signs suggest that she is having an interview for a job in
This is the headquarters of the English Broadcasting Company. People call it the EBC for short. This company makes radio and television programmes in English and then sells them to countries all over the world.

Questions
1. What is this building?
2. What does EBC mean?
3. What does the EBC do?

Hello. My name's David Nelson. I was born in England but I lived in South America when I was a child. I lived there for ten years. Then I came back to England. I'm a journalist. I worked for a London newspaper for five years, and I've been working in television for the past two years. I don't work for the EBC. I work for another company. The EBC has just offered me a job. I'm thinking about the offer. I'm considering it very carefully.

Questions
Ask and answer questions about David like this:
Ask where he was born.
A: Where was he born?
B: In England.

Now you do it. Construct the questions carefully. Be careful of the tense! Ask:
1. what his name is
2. where he lived when he was a child
3. how long he lived there
4. where he lives now
5. what his job is
6. if he still works for a London paper
7. how long he worked for the paper
8. what he has been doing for the past two years
television. The viewpoint of the photograph is a low angle shot investing the man (Robert Wilson) with a sense of authority/dominance over us, but also over our ‘new found’ friend. We do not see another image of Linda, but we have been drawn into a relationship with her. In the ongoing narrative, we maintain a mental picture of her
and empathise with her travails. Linda gets the job, despite having little or no experience of TV, but because Robert Wilson ‘likes her’. The audience have been drawn into linking English language learning with the glamorous world of working in TV, a life less ordinary than that of many of the student audience, an ‘imagined lifestyle’ in which they can take part (Sturker & Cartwright, 2001: 189).

The choice of themes and topics reveals an underlying sense of liberal humanism. However, it could be argued that the choice of images may evoke contradictory responses. The topic of one lesson is titled ‘The Rich and the Poor’. There are four images to illustrate the topic (see Fig. 6.2F). The top two pictures have a visual link. The arrangement of black and white within them gives an impression of a positive and a negative image. The textual anchorage suggests that they represent binary extremes of the world divided into the rich and the poor. The left hand image (the given) has a full body side-view shot of a middle aged male whose facial appearance suggests he is from Europe or the USA. The picture is copyrighted to Camera Press Image Bank. He is well dressed in a white T shirt, shorts and trainers, is working out with weights in a gym or health club, and in the darker background we can see other exercise equipment. The man is overweight, and the accompanying text speaks about people in rich countries needing to diet and to do exercises to lose weight.

On the right hand side of the dyptich we have an image of a young dark-skinned boy looking straight at the camera (a demand image). He is wearing a ragged T shirt, grubby shorts, and has bare feet. He is looking somewhat forlorn and destitute. The image of the boy is set against a neutral background, which is improbable in terms of naturalism, but the absence of distracting objects in the background give the image sharp impact. The copyright for this image is Oxfam, so in all likelihood it was originally used for the purpose of raising awareness/money for developing countries. However, it could be argued that photographs such as this help to perpetuate the concept of developing countries as ‘the other’, a concept which played such a major role in the discourse of imperialism, where “European culture was defined against ‘the other’ of colonial peoples” (Wells, 2001: 70). I would argue that these adjacent images project the uni-directional notion of progress (west to developing countries) of progress through particular stages of technological development.
The world is divided into two main parts. The difference is that one part is rich and the other is poor. In the poor part, a lot of people never get enough to eat. In the rich part a lot of people eat too much. In one part, children starve and in the other, a lot of people get fatter and fatter and have to go on diets, or do special exercises in order to lose weight.

Questions

You are interviewing an expert on world problems. Get him to tell you about:
1. the difference between the two main parts of the world
2. the number of people who don’t get enough to eat and where they are
3. children in the poor part
4. the things that happen in the rich part
Imagine his answers as well.

The poorer countries are called “the developing countries”. They have special problems. Sometimes the land is too poor to grow anything on. The land can be improved but a lot of things must be done first. New farming methods must be introduced. The people must be educated. Water must be found.

Many of these problems are too big for one country to solve alone. Help should be given by the richer countries but it must be the right sort of help. Money is not enough. The developing countries must be helped to help themselves.

Questions

Continue the interview. Get the expert to tell you about:
1. the special problems of the developing countries
2. what can be done
3. what must be done first
4. why he thinks help should be given
5. who should give the help
6. what sort of help
7. why money is not enough
Imagine the expert’s answers as well.
Picture 3, which occupies the bottom right hand corner of the page, depicts a crying squatting child in dirty ragged clothes. In front of her is an empty metal food bowl. She is set against a cracked and dried up landscape. The viewpoint of the shot is from above, suggesting that the viewer is dominant and has power over the subject. The camera shot is not from a frontal angle, but is oblique, which Kress & van Leeuwen suggest marks the difference between detachment and involvement.

The frontal angle says, as it were: ‘what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with’. The oblique angle says ‘what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with. (Kress & van Leeuwen: 1996: 143)

Like the other image of the developing world, this image is the copyright of Oxfam. These images are not viewed in isolation, but allude to the proliferation of similar images which contribute to the overwhelming negative perceptions of the developing world. As Lister and Wells point out documentary photographs of famines in Africa have played a key role in “constructing a Eurocentric view of Africa and its people as economically and technologically weak, dependent victims of natural disasters” (Lister & Wells, 2001:78). As a seemingly liberal attempt to show balance and an antidote to the negative images the fourth photograph on the facing page shows a smoky landscape of an inner city coalmining factory town (probably northern England) by the Czech photojournalist Paul Popper. The accompanying text suggests that rich countries also have problems, and argues that the things that make them rich also make them unpleasant, which could be seen as an argument against development. However, what is unsaid is that the rich countries have had ‘a choice’ to develop. Despite the attempted balance, the overall impression is that life is potentially better in the West. These images, however, show the extremes of the spectrum from rich and poor. The question for the student audience is where they would place themselves. I would argue that the images serve to create an explicit link between wealth and the acquisition of English.
Read this article from a newspaper.

Women wish they had been born men

Sociologists working in Western European countries, especially West Germany and England, have found that a large number of women wish they had been born men. The number is said to be as high as 60\% in West Germany.

"Women often wish they had the same opportunities that men have, and are convinced it is still ‘a man’s world’", said Dr James Holden, one of the sociologists who did the study.

Questions
Ask and answer.
You are talking to Dr Holden; you want to know:
1 what some women wish
2 why they wish they were men
3 how many wish they were men
4 in which countries

Anne Harper has a very responsible job for an international oil company. She also believes in “Women’s Liberation”, "I don’t wish I were a man,” she says, “and I don’t think many women do. But I do wish people would stop treating us like second-class citizens. At work, for example, we often do the same job that men do but get paid less. There are still a lot of jobs... usually the best ones... that are open only to men. If you’re a man you have a much better chance of leading an exciting life. How many women pilots are there... or engineers... or architects?"

Questions
Find out:
1 what sort of job Anne has
2 if she believes in “Women’s Lib”
3 if she wishes she were a man
4 if she thinks many women do
5 what she wishes would happen
6 what she means by “second-class citizens”
7 what sorts of jobs are open only to men
Give the answers as well.
Mode of address

In both the images and the accompanying texts the tendency of the book is to speak directly to the students. As O’Neill says, “You must do far more than simply read and understand these texts. You must often ask questions, answer questions and use the language of the texts to discuss the ideas in them” (1972: 7). The visuals come with two distinct points of view. The photographs from the image banks which tend to have a photojournalist perspective and the specially commissioned photographs in which the participants tend to look directly at the reader with a relatively intimate social distance.

Aspects of stereotypes and representations

Gender

The topic of Unit 13 is Women’s Liberation an issue that was very much in the consciousness of the US and UK at the time (e.g. Equal Pay Act 1974). There are two images to illustrate the topic. The image on the left (the given) features a commissioned photograph of a young woman seated behind a desk (Fig. 6.2G). The focal point of the image is the woman’s face. She is looking directly at us (a demand image), unsmiling but with a look of confidence and control. Her short hair and dark top give a somewhat severe demeanour. The impression given is that we have interrupted her during important work—signalled by the large number of in-out trays (all cleared) and the presence of three telephones and a Dictaphone.

The accompanying text informs us that she has a responsible job for an oil company (we are not told the job). She says that she doesn’t wish she were a man but complains that there isn’t equal pay for equal work. Interestingly, when using this image with students, many automatically assumed she was a secretary. On the facing page, we have a full length pen and ink drawing of a harassed looking young man struggling to pacify his baby. We learn from the text that he is a teacher and that his wife works in the evening so he takes care of the child. From the perspective of the 21st century, it is interesting to observe the 70s debate about women’s rights, for example Barry says “sometimes I wish I’d never said she could go out to work”.

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Does the visual privilege the native speaker and the English of the Centre?

Many of the issues discussed and the accompanying visuals very much reflect the concerns and preoccupations circulating amongst the UK liberal classes in the 1970s. We find images illustrating women’s rights, inflation, crime and punishment, and dockers on strike. The images are predominantly drawn from the UK, for example in Unit 27 we have an image of an open plan British primary school where the children are having their morning milk. In Unit 29, on the topic of ‘progress’, all the images are drawn from the UK. An initial image of a Gustave Dore etching of a London slum from the 19th century is contrasted with an image of a 747 on its flight path to Heathrow, an image of the M6 motorway, and a nuclear power plant. Whilst from the current perspective some might question the choice of images to suggest progress, it would, however, privilege a native speaker.

**Kernel One 1979**

The final coursebook in the series to be examined in detail is *Kernel One* (1979, Longman). This represents a further evolution in the production of EFL coursebooks for an increasingly global market. The structure of the text reflects O’Neill’s commitment to the notion of ‘narrative thrust’. (This reached its apogee in his video course *The Lost Secret* [O’Neill & Shovel, 1989]). *Kernel One* is organised around a small group of characters and a story line. As the blurb explains:

The characters represent a variety of types (student, engineer, businesswoman, unemployed youth, young ambitious office worker, newspaper reporter, etc.). The story line develops gradually, and at first revolves only around the main themes of the book (e.g. travel, finding a place to live, getting a job, entertainment etc.) But towards the end, to sustain interest, it becomes an exciting kidnap plot involving all the characters in the book.
Cover and appearance

In comparison to contemporary 21st century coursebooks the cover seems somewhat bland. It is predominately grey with the title in red and yellow shadow font within a circle which contains a red and yellow circle (the kernel?). The author’s name is written in another red and white circle. It does not seem to have been expensively produced. Nevertheless, the overall appearance of the inner text/visuals seems much more ‘modern’ than the previous coursebooks examined.

The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

The visual images have an ‘explicative’ purpose, in that they contextualise the new language to be introduced. However, their main purpose is to help to visualise and advance the on-going narrative. There are two types of images. On page 2 we find stock photographs from Barnaby’s Picture Library of iconic images of London (Big Ben) and New York (Empire State building and Broadway) which firmly anchor the location of the narrative within the Anglosphere. The rest of the images are black and white drawings by John Walsh, which were originally produced in pencil. The attention to detail and their high degree of mimetic ‘realism’ would suggest they have been derived from photographs. The images are arranged in a sequential form (top to bottom) and placed on the left hand side of the page (the ‘given’), with an accompanying dialogue/text on the right hand side. They read like a graphic novel or perhaps more strikingly they resemble an elaborate storyboard for a film. As Eric Sherman observed:

The storyboard consists of making a series of sketches where every basic scene and every camera set-up within the scene illustrated – it is a visual record of the film’s appearance before shooting begins.
(Sherman, cited in Hart, 2008: 3)

The storyboard provides a frame-by-frame shot-by-shot programme for the shooting sequence (Hart, 2008). The visuals are drawn in elongated rectangles which match the aspect ratio of a projected image. The individual frames reflect the point of view and ideology of the producers of the image. The narrative is reminiscent of a classic Hollywood narrative (Bordwell et al., 1985). We see individual shots cropped and framed like a movie and we see shot-reverse-shots and parallel editing of concurrent
scenes. The plot involves elements of a typical heterosexual romance in the gangster genre, for example, the appearance of the two villains in the plot visually allude to the Edward G. Robinson character in *Little Caesar* (1931) and Ray Danton in *The Rise and Fall of Legs Diamond* (1960). O’Neill’s sense of narrative is very clearly influenced by Hollywood films and the way the text’s organisation functions to position the reader (McCabe, 1985).

Target students

*Kernel One* is a beginner’s book. It is targeted at students who may have may have studied some English in the past, but with a more traditional grammar-based syllabus. *Kernel One* follows a functional approach to the teaching/acquisition of language. However, it could be argued that the functional language presented is more appropriate to someone coming to live, study or work in an English-speaking country, or specifically in London. The visuals and iconography tend to focus on real places in London. The course book would be more appropriate to young adults studying at a private language school in the UK, such as Mike Sutton’s Camden English Centre which is portrayed in the narrative. I first encountered/used *Kernel One* when working in a small, private English Institute in Buenos Aires in 1981, which offered one-to-one or small group classes to adults in the evenings. The students were a mix of university students seeking to improve their English with the aspiration of doing postgraduate study in an English-speaking country, young people planning a ‘trip of a lifetime’, housewives married to employees of multinational companies, and doctors who needed English to attend international conferences. In retrospect it is hard to see how this one course book could cater for such a mix of needs. The group who most identified with the book were those planning a trip to London. The images of the mythic London portrayed in the course book seemed to actively promote their appetite for travel. They clearly projected themselves as becoming part of the fictional community of young people presented within the course book. They often digressed during the lesson, interrogating me as a ‘knower’ about the places presented and questioned me about life in London. Like a travel brochure, the images appeared to contribute to the promotion of England. Students often said they could not wait to visit London and they invested their trip with transformative potential (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002).
Other indications of the target students occur in the appendix, where reference is made to Mike Sutton’s job at the Camden English Centre which gives information regarding his mythical multinational students, who come from France, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Japan, Italy and Venezuela.

Mode of address

In Unit 1, the reader is encouraged to enter into an intimate conversational relationship with the characters in the book (Fairclough, 1995a). In Picture 1 (Hello) (see Fig 6.2H), we see a close-up shot of a young man and woman in their twenties, the social distance signifying intimacy (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). The angle of the shot is at eye level, signifying equality between us the audience and the two protagonists. They are looking directly at us (demand gaze). They introduce themselves to us before they introduce themselves to each other in the next frame. Mike is smiling and Anna has removed her glasses in a gesture of openness towards us. They are dressed in smart casual clothes and appear to be relatively affluent. Anna has shoulder-length cropped hair and Mike has a beard and longish hair, very much reflecting the contemporary style of the late seventies. In contrast, in Unit 2 (page 7) we are introduced to George King, the villain of the narrative. The viewpoint is more distant, and the angle of viewing is oblique. We have no eye contact with him, he doesn’t speak directly to us, and we are relatively uninvolved with him. Characters we are expected to identify with positively are shown more intimately, and therefore the reader develops a quasi-relationship with them and is interested to see how their narrative and relationships develop.

In Unit 9 (Fig. 6.2I, p. 45), we have an image set in ‘The Bell’ pub in Camden Town (a real life pub). We see the four main characters we have been sympathetically engaged with enjoying a ‘typical’ evening in a pub listening to Terry playing his guitar. The point of view for the reader is from behind a table in the foreground looking up to Terry, and being part of the crowd enjoying a pint in the company of other young adults.
MIKE: Hello. My name is Mike Sutton.

ANNA: And my name is Anna Parker. Hello.

MIKE: What's your name?
ANNA: Anna Parker. What's your name?
MIKE: Mike Sutton.
ANNA: Hello.
MIKE: Hello.

MIKE: Anna.
ANNA: Yes?
MIKE: What's the time?
ANNA: It's one o'clock. Look!
MIKE: Thank you.

One   Two   Three
Four  Five  Six

Fig. 6.2H Kernel One (1979) Unit 1 p. 1
It is nine thirty and Janet is in “The Bell” with Mike and Anna. Mike and Anna are her friends. Terry is playing his guitar. He is finishing now.

ANNA: Hmm. Very good. He plays very well.
JANET: Yes, I think so, too. What’s his name?
ANNA: I don’t know. Mike! Do you know him?
MIKE: Yes, I do. His name’s Terry Carter. He’s a student. He often plays the guitar here.
JANET: Really? When?
MIKE: Well, usually on Wednesday and Friday.
JANET: Oh.
ANNA: He’s coming over here now.
MIKE: Terry! How are you this evening?
TERRY: Oh, hello, Mike. How are you?
MIKE: Fine, thanks. Oh. Terry. This is Anna Parker. And this is Janet Snow.
ANNA: Hello, Terry. Nice to meet you.
TERRY: Hello. And . . . pardon . . . what’s your name?
JANET: Janet. Janet Snow.
TERRY: Nice to meet you. Erm . . . do you often come here?
JANET: No. Not often. Sometimes.
TERRY: Oh? When?
JANET: Usually on Saturdays.
TERRY: Oh? Really? Erm . . . cigarette?
JANET: No thanks. I don’t smoke.

1. Does ___ know ___?
2. When does ___?
3. Does ___ think Terry plays well?

Speak about the conversation, like this

___ knows . . . but . . . doesn’t know . . .
___ often . . .
___ comes to “The Bell” on . . .

You are speaking to Mike in “The Bell”.
What are his questions? What are your answers?

MIKE: ___ name?
YOU: ___

MIKE: ___ name?
YOU: ___

MIKE: Oh! ___ is Janet Snow and Anna Parker.
YOU: Nice ___

MIKE: ___ you often ___ here?
YOU: ___

Mike knows Anna. = He knows her.

1. Janet knows Mike. ___ knows ___
2. Terry knows Mike. ___ knows ___
3. Anna knows Janet.
4. Janet knows Anna and Mike.
5. George knows Janet.
6. Janet doesn’t know George.
Having developed a faux relationship with Janet, Mike, Anna and Terry, we are concerned as to how their lives will develop. We are particularly concerned when Janet is kidnapped, and relieved when she is rescued by the undercover policeman (allusions to O’Neill’s earlier character in *Kernel Intermediate*). The narrative has a typical Hollywood closure: Janet says goodbye to Mike at the airport but we know she will return. Frequently, the book directs questions directly to the audience, e.g. what about you?, which reinforces this sense of personalisation.

**Image analysis of specific exemplars**

In Unit 2 (On the plane) we are introduced to Janet Snow, one of the central characters in the book’s narrative. There are five images on the left-hand side of the page (Fig 6.2J). These resemble a typical director’s storyboard, because of the aspect ratio and the sequential nature being used to advance the narrative. The images on the storyboard very much reflect a ‘New Hollywood’ aesthetic, and the images set in New York resemble the shots in Hollywood detective films, such as *Madigan* (1968) and *The French Connection* (1971). In Picture 1 we have a medium close-up shot, featuring Janet in the left-hand side of the page, who is hailing a taxi. The iconography of the mise-en-scène is typical of a New York street. We can recognise a yellow cab (though it is not in colour) and a single decker New York City bus. The image is dominated by the taxi.

In Picture 2 we have an intimate view inside the cab. The viewpoint is from the bottom of the passenger seat looking up to the cab driver. Janet’s head is visible in the back seat. This shot has become a typical cliché for car interiors. Picture 3 is an establishing shot of the taxi speeding towards Kennedy Airport (left to right, the direction of the airport from New York). Picture 4 has a long shot of a British Airways jumbo jet landing on the tarmac (right to left, a typical viewpoint from the arrivals lounge). Finally, in Picture 5, we have a medium shot of Janet facing us, checking in at Kennedy, and an over-the-shoulder shot of a stewardess. We identify with Janet and are drawn to follow her on her journey.
Unit 4 Page 13 (In London) (see Fig 6.2 K) continues the narrative of Janet’s journey. Picture 1 and 2 feature a shot-reverse-shot. In Picture 1 we have a shot looking up past Big Ben to a Pan Am 747 on its rainy flight path down the Thames to Heathrow. In Picture 2 we have a two-shot close-up of Janet and another passenger looking...
down on Big Ben through a porthole. Pictures 3 and 4 continue the narrative of some of the characters already introduced. In Picture 3, George King is shown breaking the no smoking rule on the plane, thus adding to our perception that he is to be the villain of the piece. The images from Units 2 and 4 of Janet’s plane journey to London
reflect the increasing frequency of transatlantic travel following the introduction of the Boeing 747 in 1970. The introduction of this large capacity jet had made transatlantic journeys more accessible to US and UK middle classes, however despite ‘stand-by tickets’ and Freddie Laker’s Sky Train in the late 1970s, such journeys were still largely reserved for a minority of affluent travellers. The image of an independent, financially secure woman, enjoying ease of travel, would for most students have been aspirational and unattainable.

Aspects of stereotypes and representation

Gender

When compared to earlier coursebooks, the representation of gender has changed significantly from that of the course books of the sixties. The two principles female characters, Anna and Janet, are depicted as independent young women with their own flats. Anna is a newspaper reporter and has the trappings of affluence in the form of her own MGB sports car. Janet is the daughter of a wealthy American banker. She has money to travel, to stay in the best hotels (e.g. the Park Hotel overlooking Hyde Park in Unit 5) and to later rent a flat near Regent’s Park. She is in London as a student at the London School of Dance. However, her gender makes her vulnerable as a ‘victim’. She is kidnapped and a ransom is demanded from her rich father who flies from the US to rescue her. The images and lifestyle of the women clearly reflect the radical changes in women’s rights in the UK during the 1970s. For many international students, this model of an independent self-assured young woman would be extremely aspirational, and might lead them to assume that all young women in the Anglosphere had such jet-setting lifestyles. They could either draw negative comparisons with their own lives, or misguidedly assume that English would act as a gatekeeper to the same opportunities. Whilst it may be true that the acquisition of English may provide opportunities for material advancement, it would be wrong to assume that such a lifestyle would be achievable for all. Significantly the two central female characters are more affluent than their male partners.
Age

The central focus of the course book is on young adults. We are introduced to a few older characters, such as Laura Francis’s widowed father in Watford, and Janet’s banker father in the US, but in general the older generation are largely noticeable by their absence. At the other extreme, we only briefly see one child, Simon, the son of Peter and Mary Norris (Unit 8, p. 37).

Villains

The villains of the narrative are stereotypically signified by their choice of clothes and cars, and George is presented as the owner of a bunny-style nightclub Kings.

Race and nationality

Despite the presence and advances of ethnic minorities in the UK in the 1960s and 70s, we cannot but notice the absence of black British people within the text. The England portrayed is almost universally white. The only exception is the inclusion of a woman in an image of Camden High Street, who from her appearance suggests her ethnic origins were the Indian sub-continent. The only nationalities depicted in the main bodies of the Units are UK and US citizens. Despite the fact that Mike Sutton teaches in the Camden English Centre, we have little reference to his international students, apart from what we read about in the appendix.

Does the visual privilege the native speaker and the English of the Centre?

The images in *Kernel One* are entirely drawn from the Anglosphere. There are iconic images of New York and London, but the majority of the images are set in real-life locations in the UK, which a native speaker would more likely be able to recognise and decode. For example, in the book we find images of Liverpool Lime Street Station, Euston Station in London and Watford Station. Much of the narrative is set around locations in Camden Town. There are images of British policemen and women, British customs officers, British rail rolling stock, a post office, and British cars, which only someone who had lived in the UK or visited would recognise.
The filmic sensibility featured in the storyboards is also present in Unit 12, where we find a number of faux posters for imaginary films. They have titles and actors which make comic allusions to other Hollywood films, e.g. John Dane, Barbara Streiger, and Boris Cushing. This form of humour also features in some of the Streamline series (see Gray, 2007), and would probably only have a resonance to the NEST.

Interestingly, in the portrayal of the criminals, O’Neill differentiates between the professional career type and those like the character Frank Mitcham, who are drawn into crime as a result of their limited life chances. This distinction seems to reflect something of the liberal humanism previously displayed in Kernel Plus.

Having analysed exemplars from the 1970s I will now explore how/if later coursebooks exhibit significant changes.

6.3 *Strategies* coursebooks (1970s to 1980s)

The strategies series began as a single volume book entitled *Strategies* (Abbs et al., 1977). This was an innovative course book, as it was structured around the notional/functional syllabus set out by van Ek (1975) and elaborated upon by Wilkins (1972/1976). Implicit within the syllabus was the adherence to pedagogic approaches which come within the general rubric of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Munby, 1978; Johnson, 1982; Krashen, 1985; Prabhu, 1987). The success of the original “White Strategies” (Abbs, [www.its-teachers.com](http://www.its-teachers.com)) led the publishers, Longman, to commission additional titles, *Building Strategies* (Abbs & Freebairn, 1979) and *Developing Strategies* (Abbs & Freebairn, 1980). Studied together, the Strategies series prepared students for the Cambridge First Certificate examination. The increasing competition from other publishers and the expanding market for EFL course book sales led the publishers to include specially commissioned colour photographs to *Developing Strategies*.

However, in comparison with newer course books, the original *Strategies* began to look rather drab and dated. A new updated beginners book, *Opening Strategies* (Abbs
& Freebairn) was introduced in 1982. Whilst I will refer to the other books in the series for the purpose of this study I will focus on *Opening Strategies*.

The cover and appearance

One is immediately struck by the high production values demonstrated by *Opening Strategies*. The book is constructed from quality paper, and illustrated throughout with full colour glossy images. John Berger (1972) provided some interesting links between oil-painting, ‘publicity’ (advertising) and colour photography, when he observed that colour photography:

> can reproduce the colour and texture and tangibility of objects as only oil paint had been able to do before. Colour photography is to the spectator–buyer what oil paint was to the spectator-owner. Both media use similar, highly tactile means to play upon the spectator’s sense of acquiring the real thing which the image shows.
> (Berger, 1972: 140)

Students acquire the book, which they can often be seen proudly displaying. Possession of the book can also be seen as acquiring an identity (Kullman, 2003; Gray, 2010) belonging to a virtual community of English language learners. The book also suggests the promise of acquiring the objects in the images.

The cover (see Appendix 6) is an eye-catching orange. The front is dominated by the *Strategies* logo, that is three overlapping concentric circles, in which are contained a series of target-like circles of eight colours, each with a red ‘bulls-eye’. The circles signify movement and progress. The title is in the distinctive recurrent black font of the *Strategies* ‘brand’. It has the connotation of a structured plan to achieve success. Just as advertisements often appeal to the future and the promise of a ‘new you’, EFL course books offer the same promise of self-improvement. The typography and spacing create a clear organisation of the pages, and reflect an awareness of the need for effective presentation and signposting.
The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

Every page has a colour element. This consists of either high definition colour photographs, authentic materials (Breen, 1985; Bacon & Finneman, 1990; Tomlinson, 2003), or coloured boxes and substitution tables. Many of the photographs dominate the page, occupying up to nine tenths of the layout. The visual images appear to serve a number of purposes. They are eye-catching and ‘attentional’, ‘explicative’ and also ‘narratational’. Opening Strategies, like the earlier Building Strategies and Developing Strategies is constructed around an ongoing narrative. In the specially commissioned series of photographs, we are introduced to a number of central characters, and we follow them in a fictional story set against a back-drop of real settings, predominantly in London, and specifically focused on the iconography of the tourist sites and affluent areas of the city. The closure of the narrative occurs in Unit 14. Unit 15 is an additional add-on consolidation unit which is unrelated to the earlier narrative, but which is culturally biased towards Western ideals of knowledge and connoisseurship (Bourdieu, 1984). The narrative form of Opening Strategies, as with Building Strategies (see Gray, 2010), resembles the ‘episodic seriality’ of a Soap. The Todorovian narrative moves from equilibrium to disequilibrium and then back to an altered equilibrium (Todorov, 1973; Strinati, 2000). It includes the loss and recovery of Diana’s video and the narrative closure of her winning a prize at the video conference. However, the ‘character paradigm’ more closely resembles that of a US Soap, in as much as the characters are “part of the socially and professionally successful. They are well-groomed and cleanly limbed. They live in homes with no visible mops or spray cans…” (Porter, 1982: 126).

Most noticeable about Opening Strategies is the ‘promotional’ role of the visuals. This takes a number of forms. The visual attractiveness is eye-catching. Its well-lit, warm, rosy, positive images provide a useful marketing tool directed at potential purchasers. The images help to promote a particular vision of Britain, specifically London, which is reminiscent of travel brochures and advertising. The photographs are loaded with cultural information about living and touring in England. In addition, there are images which appear to directly promote places and businesses, which include: The Tower Hotel, a four star hotel adjacent to Tower Bridge; the Benetton shop franchise; Stansted airport; and tourist sites such as St Katherine’s Dock,
Target students

*Opening Strategies* is a beginner’s or false beginner’s course for students aged fourteen or over (Abbs & Freebairn, 1982, blurb). In a recent interview (Feb. 2011), Abbs revealed that the *Strategies* series was based on materials developed at Ealing Technical College (now University of West London) for international students living in London, specifically ‘au pairs’ ([www.its-teachers.com](http://www.its-teachers.com)). Freebairn noted that they had aimed to create materials that concentrated on the “kind of language needed to get about, work and make friends“ (ibid). The dense cultural content of the images is almost entirely confined to the Anglosphere (a short reference to Mexico and Madrid aside) and are clearly targeted at students living and studying in England, being taught in small groups (twelve to fifteen) by native speakers of English. Whilst it could be argued that such a course book addresses the specific learning needs of such students, it is questionable how appropriate they are to students studying overseas. I personally used *Opening Strategies* in 1983 at a private school in Eastbourne, which catered to multinational adult students on one month-plus courses, who were staying with English host families. The classes were small (maximum of twelve), which enabled me to exploit the communicative activities such as role play. The materials proved to be effective in developing the speaking and listening skills of these students, and provided them with the appropriate skills for out-of-class engagement with local inhabitants. Many of them recognised the sites in London pictured in the coursebook. On pages 14 and 15 a number of fictional students with different nationalities are shown e.g. France, Germany, Italy, Greece, and Brazil, which gives some insight into the potential target students. The underlying assumption is that they will be taught in multilingual groups.

Mode of address

*Opening Strategies* continues the trend for a mode of address targeted directly towards the students. The mode of address ‘appellates’ (Williamson, 1978) the reader to an ideological position as a member of an exclusive group. This is done with
written text that specifically speaks to the viewer as ‘you’” (Cartwright & Sturken, 2002: 203). Interestingly, the ‘you’ is always spoken to, or implied to be, an individual. In Unit 1, Page 5, we are introduced to a group of six people, four of whom we will follow throughout the narrative. The six characters are set against a white background, thereby eliminating distraction. The medium close-up shots signify an intimate social distance (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). They are looking directly towards the viewer (demand). Their eye levels focus on a level with those of the viewer (equality). They all look open and positive towards the viewer. The women tend to smile more openly (a socially induced behaviour) and have ‘chocolate-box’ facial expressions where the projected mood is “blandly pleasing, warm bath warmth” (Chandler, 2005). Throughout the course book, the mode of address is one of personal engagement with the reader. The preferred reading persuades us to believe that we know the habits and personality traits of the characters displayed. The visual engagement is reinforced by the inclusion of frequent role plays and one-sided dialogues in which the students are expected to engage in dialogues with the fictitious characters of the book. The students are invited to become part of an ‘imagined community’.

The high quality colour photographs give the images a high modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), a sense of reality which contradicts the fictional construction. As Sturken & Cartwright observed:

…photographed images rendered to perfection… retain the power of the photograph as an indexical sign- the idea that they represent real people- while they are actually highly constructed images which bear little or no relationship to the codes of documentary realism. (2001:215).

Instead, the images reflect the codes of advertising (Burton, 1997; Bignell, 1997). The commissioned illustrator, Con Putbrace, describes himself on his website as an advertising and commercial photographer. In presenting these constructed images, it could be seen to be legitimising a ‘consumerist’ way of seeing. The use of such images could place the teacher in a position of appearing to promote a particular consumerist set of values.
Image analysis of specific exemplars

The first page of the Student’s Book consists of four interrelated images (see Fig. 6.3A). The top half of the page is dominated by a long shot of a black London taxi outside a hotel. At the centre of the image we see a young well-dressed woman emerging from the taxi. She is accompanied by a slightly younger man, dressed in smart casual clothes, who is carrying the suitcases. The woman has a briefcase, a signifier of a professional or business person, and she is paying the taxi driver. At the entrance of the hotel we can see a uniformed porter, which indicates that this is an expensive four or five star hotel. The image is cropped so that the logo ‘Thistle Hotels’ is very visible, as it protrudes out of the frame at the top. The placing of this image conforms to Kress & van Leeuwen’s notion of the ‘ideal’, and could be seen as evoking the future ‘you’.

The bottom part of the page consists of a sequential triptych, in which we see the woman (Diana Trent) and her companion (Paul Roberts) checking in to the ‘Executive Registration’ reception desk. Diana appears to be calm, confident, and in control. The bottom of the page contains a transcript of the dialogue with the receptionist. The right hand image is repeated on page 7, only this time it is enlarged, so that it occupies the whole page, such that we can read the hotel price rates displayed behind the receptionist. The words ‘Executive’ and ‘Penthouse’ are clearly visible, and the relatively high prices for the rooms signify wealth and status. We also notice the logos for various credit cards, which at the time were not widely available, and tended to be restricted to individuals earning above a certain income. We find out later in the course book that Diana is a film director for a company called Focus Films and Video. She is in London to attend a video conference at which she wins a silver star award for her video. Her individual success (particularly as a woman) is presented as relatively effortless and unproblematic, although her role as a ‘victim’ of a robbery could be seen as conforming to traditional stereotype of women as vulnerable.
Fig. 6.3A Opening Strategies (1982) Unit 1 p. 4

Unit 3 (I Like London) (Fig. 6.3B)

This large image occupies two thirds of a double page spread. London is exemplified by a panoramic view of St Katherine’s Dock. In the centre of the photograph we can see Paul and Joanne, who have recently met at the video conference. Joanne is wearing a figure-hugging red jump-suit, white T-shirt, accompanied by white court shoes, a white shoulder bag and a white belt. The image appears to emphasise her sexuality. She is something to be looked at, the ‘ideal’ of many advertisements. She is engaged in a conversation with Paul, who is dressed in a pink shirt, beige blouson,
white chinos and white deck shoes. Their appearance is evocative of an advertising fashion shoot, and they are looking intensely into each other’s eyes, suggesting the possibility of a future romance. However, the real subject of the image is the renovated St Katherine’s Dock.

This image and others contained within *Opening Strategies* (e.g. Unit 6, p. 44) resemble many of the promotional shots for the Dock that can be found in London tourist literature and on the Docklands web-site. In the early 1980s the Docklands redevelopment was a flagship of the new Tory government. They had decided to redevelop the docks as a second financial hub in London. Rather than demolish the existing buildings, they were renovated, modernised and gentrified. A special body, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), was set up under the Secretary of the Environment (Heseltine). This body scrapped business taxes and introduced compulsory purchase orders to entice trade to the area. Critics of the project accused it of focusing on elitist luxury developments rather than affordable housing, squeezing the poor out and being instrumental in the start of a property boom (www.londondrum.com). It also reflected the policy of investing in consumer services and property rather than manufacturing (Hutton, 1995: 68). The preservation of many of the historic artefacts of the former docks, for example the period lighting, the riverside loft apartments and the Dickens Inn (out of the old brewery building), can be seen in the context of the popularisation of a heritage ethos, a nostalgia for an imagined past (e.g. Victorian values) (Judt, 2005) and “the invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm, 1994), which affected housing, cinema, literature and museums. As Higson observed regarding the repackaging of history and historical sites:

*The commodity on offer is an image, a spectacle, something to be gazed at. History, the past becomes in Frederick James’ phrase ‘a vast collection of images’ designed to delight the modern day tourist-historian. In this version of history a critical perspective is displaced by decoration and display, a fascination with surfaces, ‘an obsessive accumulation of comfortably archival detail’ in which a fascination with style displaces the material dimensions of historical context. The past is reproduced as a flat, depthless pastiche, where the reference point is not the past itself but other images, other texts.*

(Higson, 1993: 112)
Given the ideological contentiousness of the Docklands project, should these images have been included in the course book? I would argue that it could morally compromise the teacher, inasmuch as they may be seen to be supporting an ideologically driven view of development. As Buzzeli & Johnson comment:

> Those of us who work in classrooms find ourselves as individuals and teachers constantly in situations of ambiguity, in moral predicaments that may be solved momentarily, but whose final resolution lies beyond our grasp.

(2002, 30)
Aspects of stereotypes and representation

Gender

Among the central protagonists there is a high degree of equality of representation. Women are shown in high prestige professional roles enjoying active independent lives. Diana, for example, has been to university in Bristol, has got a successful career and a husband who shares child-rearing responsibilities. There are also images of women involved in non-traditional roles, for example, a civil engineer and a policewoman. (Many of my students did not recognise the policewoman, mistakenly thinking she was a parking attendant). These more positive representations of women in the course book are either in response to criticisms of earlier texts (Hill, 1980; Jaworski, 1983; Porreca, 1984) or reflect the changing realities of the Anglosphere. Nevertheless we should be aware that such depictions may be at variance with the social realities of students from other contexts, and possibly imposing a Western perspective of gender roles.

Additionally, it must be observed that the successful women depicted in the course book tend to conform to the norms of beauty inherent in much of the media in the Anglosphere. The women are universally slim and well-dressed. Success is implicitly linked to physical attractiveness. However, getting these thin figures is depicted as a result of hard work and discipline. For example, Kelly Hall is shown getting up at 6am every day to go jogging. The women speak the language of self-management, self-control, self-realisation and conformity (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001) which Foucault defined as “docile bodies”, and which conforms to the neo-liberal ethos of personal responsibility. The women are displayed to be looked at, reinforcing Berger’s dictum that “women appear“ (1972: 47).

The camera shots tend to emphasise their physical attributes. Joanne is a slim, blonde, young woman who is dressed for much of the book in a figure-hugging bright red catsuit with obvious sexual connotations. One image, on page 32, is particularly striking (Fig. 6.3C). The photographer has sought to illustrate Joanne and Paul visiting London sights. In order to frame both Paul and Joanne, the Dome of St Paul’s and a
Dialogue: Part 3

JOANNE: London is an interesting city. I love these streets. How old is St Paul’s Cathedral?

PAUL: It’s about three hundred years old, I think. Well, here’s the hotel.

DIANA: Paul! You’re late! We have a meeting.

PAUL: Sorry, Diana.

DIANA: That’s all right.

PAUL: See you later, Joanne.

JOANNE: Yes, so long! And thanks for the coffee.

PAUL: (to Diana) Mmm. I like her. She’s nice. She’s very nice!

Are these true or false?

St Paul’s Cathedral isn’t very old.

Paul is late for his meeting.

Paul likes Joanne.
London bus within one image, the photographer has had to take a position at pavement level looking up. The unfortunate side-effect (accident or design?) is that the focus of the image is centred on Joanne’s bottom in her cat-suit which tends to suggest both the image and this character are meant to appeal primarily to a male audience. Noticeably this image was deleted from some markets where it was felt it might be offensive. Similarly, the image on pages 72-3 of Diana and Judy walking unaccompanied at night on the London South Bank was sometimes redacted.

Despite the representation of the central female protagonists in fictitious high-profile roles, in the images taken in the real-life Tower Hotel and the Benetton shop, we see the employment realities of many other women, nameless shop assistants and hotel receptionists, a service class almost invisible in the background of hotels and shops.

Race and ethnicity

In contrast to earlier course books, one of the four principal protagonists of the narrative is Vince Hall, a black American who works as a sound technician for a film company. We also see images of his wife Kelly, an affluent and successful business woman/student in Los Angeles. However, these two successful black characters are not from the UK. The only visible black English person is a nameless, non-speaking hotel receptionist located in the background in an image of the Tower Hotel (Unit 13).

By the early 1980s a few children from the West Indies heritage had achieved national prominence, e.g. Lenny Henry, Trevor MacDonald, Moira Stuart, “but generally to be black meant to be consigned to a low paid job or no job at all, to live in sub-standard housing in an inner city ghetto…” (McSmith, 2010: 80). In fact, in the recession of 1981, unemployment among black people went up to 82% (Scarman Report, quoted by McSmith, 2010: 81). The low visibility of non-white citizens at the various tourist heritage sights displayed in Opening Strategies presents a mythic white England. The earlier Developing Strategies course book displayed a more racial and culturally-diverse population.
Representation of age

Given that the target students are young adults it is not surprising that the majority of images are of young adults. Children are depicted in some black and white drawn images (Unit 5, p. 39, Unit 12, p. 92) and there is a drawn image of a well-equipped open-plan primary classroom (Unit 7, p. 53). However, these drawn images have a lower modality than the colour photographs. In Unit 12, on pages 92 and 94, we have colour photograph images of a young boy (Jason) who went to Cambridge with his father at half-term and met Diana there. This subplot provides the opportunity to include iconic ‘touristy’ images of King’s College and punting on the Cam. Older people are largely absent - there are only two small drawn images (Unit 5, p. 39 and Unit 13, p. 104).

Class and lifestyle

An increasing feature of the UK produced course book from the 1980s onwards has been their role in projecting “particular lifestyles” (Chaney, 1996). The images in Opening Strategies project a particular aspirational lifestyle. As van Leeuwen observed:

‘Lifestyle’ combines individual and social style. On the one hand it is social, a group style, even if the group it sustains are geographically dispersed, scattered across the cities of the world, and characterised, not by stable social positioning such as class, gender and age, or comparatively stable activities such as occupation, but by shared consumer behaviour (shared tastes), shared patterns of leisure time activities (for example, an interest in similar sports, or tourist destinations) and shared attitudes to environmental problems, gender issues etc…
(van Leeuwen, 2005: 144)

These lifestyles, values and sets of attitude are often signified by appearance. Unit 8, entitled At the Kennedy’s is a good example of this ‘lifestyle’ display. There are three pages of images of their house (pages 60, 62, 64) (Fig. 6.3D & 6.3E). In (Fig 6.3 E) Diana and Paul visit the fictitious Kennedy’s for Sunday lunch.
The Kennedy’s (Doug and Liz) are a middle class, professional couple who live in a period detached house (three bedrooms and two studies), in an area north of Kensington Gardens. This is probably Notting Hill or Islington, areas of London that
underwent significant ‘gentrification’ in the 1980s. The house seems typical of this sort of development, a blending of the original period features of 19th century houses (lovingly restored), plus antique furniture, combined with modern amenities such as fitted kitchens and central heating. The images reflect a distinctly affluent way of life.

They are all dressed in smart-casual weekend clothes. Doug, in particular, is wearing ‘country casuals’, a Tattersall shirt, green cord trousers and a beige sweater draped over his shoulders. On page 62 we see a modern, well-appointed pine kitchen, lots of work surfaces, matching cupboards and abundant ‘white goods’. The oak kitchen table is covered with a substantial buffet of beef (fashionably pink), chicken, salad with dressing, wines, juice, cheese, bread rolls in a basket. The whole image reflects the eighties middle class vogue for entertaining at home, and a new interest in food resulting from popular holidays in France and Italy and the prevalence of celebrity TV chefs. Images are reminiscent of advertising shots from the Sunday Times Magazine. The overall effect is to present a very positive view of south east Britain in the 1980s, a world of middle class abundance. It gives an overly positive view of Britain, and overseas student audiences could be excused for thinking that this was a typical British household, and could draw negative comparisons with the living standards in their own country. In Unit 11, the Kennedy’s discuss their holiday plans with friends the
dialogue is set against a postcard image of a tropical sunset and a section from a holiday brochure for luxury holidays in exotic locations – The Caribbean, Kenya, Mauritius, The Seychelles and Malaysia. The representation of this affluent lifestyle as a UK norm, whilst it may reflect the taken-for-granted values and experience of the authors and publishers, could be seen to be a form of cultural imperialism.

The cultural values embedded within the images

The very positive, glossy, affluent images of London presented in Opening Strategies reflect a particular view of society. They do not reflect what, for many, was the turbulent and divisive decade in which it was produced. The ‘rosy’ picture of England presented seems at variance to the lived experience of many UK citizens in the early 1980s, who were grappling with “high taxes, high prices and job insecurity” (McSmith, 2010: 27). As Sir Nicholas Henderson, the British Ambassador to Washington, and a keen Conservative supporter, was to concede in his diary in 1981:

The news at home is unredeemably bad: economic decline, rising unemployment, hunger strike deaths and violence in Ulster, riots in many towns in England.

In May 1979 official unemployment was 1.1 million, but it would never be that low again whilst Margaret Thatcher was Prime Minister. “In 1980 alone the figure rose by 836,000, the highest recorded annual rise since 1930” (McSmith, 2010: 27). However, within the mythical England portrayed in Opening Strategies, there is little sense of this gloom. The only reference to unemployment is a short reading text and image of a fictional unemployed man (Unit 10). We see a full length image of a man from an oblique angle, the meaning of which Kress & van Leeuwen suggest is that we have little engagement with him. Although he looks miserable and depressed, he is very well dressed in a nicely-tailored black overcoat, smart trousers and expensive brogue shoes. He does not look the image of destitution or despair. The accompanying text suggests that he has sufficient money for three regular meals each day, and enough money to go to the pub or cinema on a Friday evening, and that he is enthusiastically job hunting, which puts a positive gloss on the topic of unemployment.
Does the visual privilege the native speaker teacher and the English of the Centre?

The high propensity for images and artefacts to be drawn from the Anglosphere, for example, places such as Trafalgar Square, Hyde Park and Southbank, images of London taxis, the London underground, double-decker buses, British cinema and theatre hoardings, British road signs, English money, a Morgan car and a British dental surgery, and Anglo-American celebrities (e.g. Brooke Shields, Olivia Newton-John) privileges the Centre. The UK native speaker of English will arrive at the course book with an inbuilt advantage, a patrimony of knowledge or ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 1980). In contrast to most non-native teachers, a native speaker will have an insider’s knowledge of the background culture which will enhance their status, and their power /knowledge in the eyes of the students.

The choice of language, particularly the functional language, is geared to “getting around, working and making friends in the UK” (Abbs, www.its-teachers.com), is a clear manifestation of the priority given to the language of the Centre. Needs analyses, on which functional syllabi are based, are predominantly geared to providing a quick and efficient means of acquiring oral language competence which is aimed particularly at the needs of the language training agenda of the international service industry (Fairclough, 1995a; Pulverness, 2003). As Howatt & Widdowson comment:

… quite apart from...socio-political considerations, there are also grounds for questioning the practical justification for setting native-speaker norms(*both language and cultural knowledge*, my emphasis) as learner objectives, since most current uses of the language are for international communication between people who are not native speakers…(see Graddol 1997; Crystal 1997) (2004:360)

The authoritarian imposition of native speaker norms and socio-cultural values makes EFL learners subservient, and as such constitutes a continuing colonization.

Canagarajah (1999) and Tollefson et al. (2003) have argued that there is a need to uncouple the language from its primary socio-cultural communities. If English is to be truly recognised as an independent and international lingua franca, is has to be
allowed to be freely associated with other values and cultures. However, as we have seen, there are powerful stakeholders who have an abiding interest in maintaining the dominance of the Centre. As we began to examine and deconstruct more recent examples of British-produced coursebooks, it is necessary to explore the extent to which their producers have responded to critics of previous Anglocentric materials.
Chapter 7

The Headway Series (1986-2009)

Having looked at the development of British EFL course books since the 1960s, I will now focus my analysis upon a ‘contemporary’ course book series. Headway, in its various editions (currently version four), has dominated the coursebook market for the last 25 years. According to the publisher, Oxford University Press, since Headway’s first issue in 1986 “over 51 million components have been sold”; an estimated 100 million students have learned English with Headway and it is used in “over 127 countries” (wwwoup.com 2006). An archive of Headway coursebooks provides a very useful “semiotic resource” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) to explore the nature of the discourse of the visual language and the ideological position, ‘the hidden curriculum’ (Cunningsworth 1995) that is espoused within them. I argue that there is some truth in Duriya Wala’s observation that:

…. A curriculum (and teaching materials form part of this) cannot be neutral because it has to reflect a view of social order and express a value system implicitly or explicitly.
(Wala, 2003: 62)

Given the large volume of material in the Headway portfolio, I will focus my analysis on the visual element of three editions of Headway Intermediate (1986, 1996 and 2009) and three editions of Headway Upper-Intermediate (1987, 1998 and 2005), to explore the authors’ vision. What view of the world, of English, of learning English, and the identities of the teacher and learner are being constructed and presented, both explicitly and implicitly? What taken-for-granted values, the ‘hidden curriculum’, are embedded within them? Do the various editions exhibit continuity or change? What do they say about the times when they were produced? Finally, could they be seen as contributing to a form of cultural imperialism?

I will initially look at the first editions in detail, and then compare the later editions, to explore how they differ and identify socio-cultural factors which could be said to have contributed to the changes.
7.1 **Headway Intermediate (1986)**

The original *Headway* of 1986 was conceived as a small two-level English revision and extension course for adults. “The two books take students up to the Cambridge First Certificate examination level” (Soars & Soars, 1986). However, no one anticipated that it would become the “biggest selling course in the world” (www.oup.com, 2006) and even now, it continues to contribute significantly to the revenues of the Oxford University Press. It is firmly embedded within the British English standard form, being linked as it is to Cambridge First Certificate. The organisation of the course was very much a reaction against functional syllabi of the late 70s and early 80s, following considerable criticism and debate (see Chapter 5). Much of the organisation of the books was determined by the prescribed grammatical forms and language structures defined by the Cambridge examination. The books provide a traditional comprehensive coverage of the English tense system, a Type A syllabus (White, 1988), but this is combined with “communicative approaches“ (e.g. Johnson, 1981; McDonough & Shaw, 1993). The global coursebook market is essentially conservative, focussing on a structural approach to linguistically-graded materials. “Publishers look for materials that fall under a general umbrella of acceptability yet have twist or pizzazz that makes them marketable” (Mares, 2003:132-3). Whilst the centrality of grammar in the syllabus is a given, the materials writers John and Liz Soars seek to provide an interesting and eye-catching approach to their presentation.

*Headway Intermediate* was produced in the mid-1980s, a time when the Thatcher government was firmly entrenched, following the triumph in the Falklands/Malvinas conflict and the defeat of the miners. For many in work these were years of increasing affluence, consumerism and the ‘loadsamoney’ culture. Lifestyle, homes, family and holidays became central preoccupations. In 1986 the world was still divided by the Cold War, although the seeds of the Soviet collapse were already evident. Symbolically, April 1986 witnessed the Chernobyl catastrophe, and the elevation of Gorbachev in 1985 had begun the thaw (Sebetyen, 2006; Judt, 2005). As mentioned earlier, the promotion of English language had been a powerful weapon in the Cold War and, according to the Oxford University Press, *Headway* was to play its part. “Headway is incredibly sought after across the world - so much so that in communist Poland, copies were smuggled in for teachers to use in private lessons” (www.oup.com. 2006). It could be argued that the consumerist materialist values embedded
within the coursebook helped to promote Western values amongst the student learners (Judt, 2005).

The cover and appearance (see Appendix 7)

From the outset, *Headway Intermediate* developed a very distinct cover. The succeeding covers have been slightly modified in later editions (see Appendix 8 for *New Headway Upper Intermediate*, 2005), but they continue to display the distinctive brand image and logo. The cover is high quality, glossy, coloured card, consisting of a mottled, neutral green-blue background with the title Headway in large red shadow font, the capital letters occupying the top quarter of the page. The title evokes notions of progress in the face of challenges. The main part of the page is dominated by the trade-mark logo. This is characterised by a series of vectors moving across the page from left to right, which point to the notion of movement and progress (from a Western left to right perspective). The vectors consist of two types, one a multi-coloured collage of patterns and shapes torn from images of graphs, diagrams and charts suggesting modernity, and the other vectors consist of a collage of torn typescript (see [www.oup.com.2006](http://www.oup.com.2006) for an account of development of the logo). On examination, it can be seen that the text is derived from the blurb on the back cover. Repeated phrases and words can be deciphered which reiterate the marketing discourse for the course book, in particular the emphasis upon the academic and pedagogic credentials of the authors John and Liz Soars.

At the bottom of the page the names of the authors are highlighted. On the back cover there is another multi-coloured arrow/vector pointing to a blurb box. Central to the blurb is an account of the experience of the authors “… Both have many years of experience as teachers and teacher trainers, and Liz Soars is one of the chief examiners of the RSA Dip TEFL. She has been director of teacher training in International House London where John Soars has been Director of Studies” (Soars & Soars, 1986). As Foucault has argued, establishing the expertise of certain professionals gives them a social authority that determines in advance how they will be received (Foucault, 1971; Rampley, 2007). The RSA and International House are part of the UK EFL establishment, and by highlighting them, they indirectly promote an English model for teacher training, student qualifications and the private language
school sector. This privileging of the Centre in later imprints of the coursebook is marked by the inclusion of an additional stamp on the front cover which highlights the fact that the book was “highly recommended” in the 1987 Duke of Edinburgh English Language competition, an award which is sponsored by the English Speaking Union. The English Speaking Union, set up in 1918, and based in Mayfair, (motto “Greater Global Understanding Through English”), aims to develop links between English-speaking countries. However, it is often seen as something of a guardian of the English language and promoter of the standard forms of the Centre.

The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

The *Headway* series is marked by the proliferation of images, photographs and colour within them. (As the series develops the number of publishers’ acknowledgements in the back pages increase). The visuals take a number of forms. There are drawings, cartoons and charts, black and white and colour photography, some specially commissioned and others from image banks. The most striking feature is the use of images from authentic materials from British popular media. As John Soars observed, “to find listening and reading materials we are tuned in daily to all media. We buy lots of magazines and newspapers and flick through them thinking ‘Ah! That might be interesting’…” (Oxford University Press, 2006). These authentic images depict very English culture specific personalities and icons. For example, in Unit 2, Page 9 (Fig. 7A) we are presented with a photo-montage of personalities seen on UK television at the time: Les Dawson, Terry Wogan, Geoff Hamilton and Cagney and Lacey. Whilst the latter pair might be seen on TV channels around the world, the other characters would only have resonance for UK residents or students studying in the UK, and would be unlikely to be recognised outside of this context, thereby advantaging the UK native speaker as a knower. UK celebrity images are often used to introduce topics, e.g. David Attenborough (Unit 12, p. 70).

The purpose of the visuals/art work seems to be primarily ‘attentional’ and ‘decorational’, emphasising the ‘look’ and appearance of the coursebook. The 1980s was very much the decade of the ‘look’. People were judged very much by their
appearance as symbolised by the ‘power dressing’ phenomenon. However, the images
could also be seen as a promotional device for the course books. Many of the images
are derived from image banks and carry with them the connotation of consumption
and display the glamorised artificiality of advertising images (e.g. glossy enhanced
images of food items such as the photo of a ‘rack of lamb’ on p.28) and as such
contribute to the presentation of a distorted vision of life in the UK. They can be seen as promoting England and a specifically consumerist set of values.

Target students

According to the rear cover, *Headway Intermediate* is a revision and extension course for adults who want to break through the difficult “intermediate plateau of language learning”. There are twelve units, which are expected to provide approximately 120 hours of teaching. The marketing copy for *Headway* makes much of the fact that the inspiration for the course book came “straight from the classroom”. However, which classroom? At the time the authors were working for International House (IH) in London. IH is a large, international, private language school system, which attracts multi-national and multi-lingual students who are taught in small groups by predominantly English native speakers. In 1962 IH under John Haycroft launched the first training course “in how to teach languages interactively, without translation, in a lively and motivating way” (ihworld.com). The IH certificate was to develop into the RSA Certificate and later UCLES CELTA. It developed a very distinct and prescriptive view of EFL pedagogy, which emphasised presentation, practice and production (PPP) and communicative activities which necessitate small group teaching.

Mode of address

The mode of address seems to be quite didactic and teacher-centred. The coursebook ‘tells’ the teacher and the learner what to learn, in Halliday’s terminology the communicative metafunctions of the ideational and the interpersonal (1973:106; 2007: 184). The tasks and activities address the learner directly, which is evidenced by the repetitive use of the imperative in the instructions to the students. The return to a grammatically-focussed curriculum is matched by a return to a rather conservative transmission mode of pedagogic address which was current in the 1980s, the ‘back to basics’ ideology which was seen as a reaction to the perceived failures of 1960-70s pedagogy. The content is very much determined by the back-wash effect of the knowledge needed to achieve the Cambridge First Certificate. The course book seeks to combine elements of “a linear-graded structural syllabus” (Mares, 2003) with
activities to encourage communication (CLT). But as can be seen in the contents page the grammar (language input) is placed on the left hand, ‘given’, side of the page. Whereas, the speaking and listening, the ‘new’, is placed on the right. The young-adult target audience for the coursebook meant that the presentation of grammar had to be accessible and appealing, hence the selection of texts and images from popular culture and journalism, which can be interpreted as a form of ‘edutainment’. The coursebook reflects a shift from a society organised around class to a social organisation around lifestyle (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) seeming to concur with Margaret Thatcher’s dictum that ‘there is no such thing as Society’ (Vinen, 2009; McSmith, 2010) and the “construction of audiences as consumers to be entertained” (Fairclough, 2003; Gray, 2010). Increasingly, the coursebooks in the series appear to emulate the format of a glossy Sunday supplement or lifestyle magazine (in fact many of the materials have been sourced from such journals). They combine chunks of information (grammar), elements of culture (both ‘high’ and ‘popular’), quizzes and questionnaires, and aspects of humour (e.g. cartoons). However the decoding of the latter is often very much geared to a knowledge of the Anglosphere. This is particularly true of many of the ‘humorous’ cartoons (e.g. Unit3, p. 14 [see Appendix 9], Unit13, p. 76; Unit10, p. 55) which are more likely to be understood and appeal to a native speaker. As Gray (2010, pp. 56/7) points out, this characteristic was also very prominent in the earlier Streamline series.

Image analysis of specific exemplars

Flicking through the images in Headway Intermediate, one notices the prevalence of photographs of homes and texts about house buying. For example, on page 31 there are three images - a thatched cottage, a semi-detached house and a three storey modernist block of apartments. These are anchored by an accompanying estate agent’s blurb. This focus on house buying very much reflects the contemporary (at that time) preoccupation of Britons. The Conservative Party were strong advocates of home ownership and the notion of a property owning democracy (Viner, 2009; McSmith, 2010). In the UK, particularly in the south east, property prices were rising rapidly and there was a scramble to get on the ‘property ladder’. In Margaret Thatcher’s second term, “a fevered consumption boom developed in the South. House prices rocketed, and many workers found the value of their houses appreciating faster
than their annual incomes” (Hirst, 1997: 200). The desire to own a house was not confined to the middle-classes. In 1980 the government had introduced the ‘right to buy’ council owned property (see Vinen, 2009:203). The topic of house prices was very much a core preoccupation of the UK at this time. However, what is peculiar about *Headway* is the choice of some of the images used to depict housing.
On pages 52-53 (see Fig. 7B) to accompany a listening text about a couple house-hunting, there is an internal and external image of a half-timbered Tudor mansion.

The image on page 53 (which occupies half the page) is, in fact, of Rufford Old Hall in Lancashire (although with no acknowledgement). This National Trust property has been lovingly restored inside (p.52), and it has authentic period furniture and artefacts. The inclusion of the image of this property reflects the mood of nostalgia and heritage which was ideologically pervasive in the 1980s (Higson 1993). These sorts of image are interdiscursive with contemporary filmic images, which contributed to the creation of a ‘mythic’ image of the UK. This concern with architectural preservation and nostalgia for the past is very much an Anglophone Western value, whereas in many other cultures, particularly in the developing world, people aspire to the new and the modern. The inclusion of such grand buildings (p.54 similarly displays an ancestral Georgian country house) as a perceived ‘norm’ gives a distorted and rose-tinted view of ‘typical’ British housing, and could give a questionable impression to students who have not visited the UK.

Another distinctive feature of *Headway* is the use of authentic recycled images and texts from popular UK journalism. In Unit 1 (see Fig. 7C) we have a reproduction of a page from the Sunday Times magazine of the ‘A life in the day of’ series, featuring Linda McCartney, the celebrity wife of Beatle Paul. The framing and social distance (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) conveyed in the image creates a faux intimacy. We, the viewers, are positioned on a level with Linda and Paul welcoming us into their ‘tiny’ living room. They both give smiling eye-contact to the viewers. They are in relaxed poses seated on a velvet sofa. They are wearing universally classless jeans and matching dark jackets. Paul is wearing a plain open-necked white shirt. His jacket is adorned with a yellow and red carnation. We can also see his mud-stained cowboy boots. The room is decorated with 60s style abstract wall paper, and we can see houseplants and clothes hanging over mirrors in the background. The overall impression is one of ‘ordinariness’, and a lack of ostentation that we would normally not expect to be displayed by people who are, in reality, multi-millionaires. Their house contrasts strikingly with the other images of housing displayed in the coursebook. The accompanying written text re-emphasises the apparent ordinariness of their typical day, e.g. taking their children to school, their home-grown vegetarian
Fig. 7C Headway Intermediate (1986) Unit 1 p. 4

meals, and their leisure pursuits, such as watching Soaps, Top of the Pops and Liverpool football club on the television. The only chink in this constructed image of their lives is when Linda reveals that she often goes riding on her stallion. By using recycled images from other authentic materials we should seek to critique what was the original agenda behind the image. This image has been very carefully and
knowingly constructed. Does some of the original purpose still adhere to the image? By allowing the viewer to enter their carefully constructed world it could be argued that the image and text are attempting to represent Linda McCartney and her relationship with Paul in a positive light. For many die-hard Beatles fans, she was seen to be partly responsible for the group’s early split. Whilst the topic may well appeal to a young audience already exposed to Anglo-American popular music. It can also be seen to be promoting an Anglo-centric celebrity culture (see Gray, 2012).

Aspects of stereotypes and representation

With regard to the notion of stereotypes, it is interesting that Unit 1 uses the topic of ‘The average British family: A Stereotype’, and features a rather enigmatic, drawn image of a butcher’s scale on which is balanced a mother and father opposite two children, a boy and girl, and a corgi dog. The accompanying text states that: “There is of course, no such thing as the average British family, but statistical data can help us understand a society and social trends”. It then goes on to describe a typical British family living in a “semi-detached house” in “the south of England” (Soars & Soars, 1986:1). Later in the unit, students are asked to make cross-cultural comparisons with their own families. Clearly such an exercise could work better with a multilingual teaching group than with a monolingual group (implicitly defining the idealised target students). Students without experience of the UK could tend to see the stereotyped family as representing the norm, and because the initial focus is on a British family, the Centre is privileged. Despite its disclaimer, the exercise only serves to perpetuate national stereotypes.

Gender

Within the coursebook, females as a percentage are under-represented, and this tendency supports critiques of the way women are/have been represented in EFL coursebooks (Porreca, 1984; Sunderland, 1994). When women are shown, they tend to be represented in stereotypical domestic or caring roles. For example, we have a friendly hotel receptionist (Unit 8, p. 42), a young nurse who is doing a charity climb in aid of sick children (Unit11, p. 62), a secretary (Unit 12, p. 65), a bank clerk (Unit, 8, p. 42), and a blushing bride in white (Unit 14, p. 84). In Unit 6 (p. 35) there is an
image of happy Catholic nuns. In Unit 11 (p. 59) we have an image of a middle-aged woman learning to drive and we find out that she has failed her test 38 times, reiterating the ‘humorous’ stereotype of women drivers. In Unit 10 (p. 56) we have an image and an authentic newspaper article about the child prodigy Ruth Lawrence going to Oxford which would need native speaker background knowledge to decode.

Another aspect of the representation of women is that they are marked by their appearance (Berger, 1972; O’Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002; Sturken & Cartwright, 2002) and often presented as objects of the male gaze (Mulvey, 1989). For example on page 27 we have an image of a catwalk model and on page 12 there is a young female tennis player in a short skirt. Another example, is an extract from article about the death of Bobby Kennedy’s son, from the Daily Mirror, which links his death with his ‘split-up’ with British actress Rachel Ward. This is illustrated by a half page publicity pin-up of Ward (see pp. 81, 82 and 83).

In contrast, men are generally portrayed as being actively engaged for example playing sports (p. 3), running the London Marathon (p. 44), playing American football, in the Army, designing cars and working on computers (p. 73). The images seem to vindicate Berger’s observation “that men act and women appear” (Berger: 1972).

Race

Like many of the texts already analysed, Headway also has very limited depictions of non-white characters in the UK. On page 11, in a section which details British TV schedule and personalities, we have an image of Madhur Jaffrey in a kitchen, wearing a sari and preparing Indian food on a BBC2 programme. The image reflects a growing popular interest in food programmes and ‘having friends round for supper’ amongst the UK middle-classes. It is also a recognition of the place of Indian cooking in contemporary Britain (i.e. curry had replaced fish and chips as the nation’s favourite). The only other non-white Britisher depicted is an image of a black man receiving the kiss of life (Unit8, p. 46).
Representation of ‘Other’ nations and nationalities

Unit 4 has a section looking at the notion of nationality. Unfortunately, the written text seems to foster narrow simplistic stereotypes, e.g. ‘Italians eat a lot of pasta’ andRussians drink vodka’. One page is dominated by a full-page image taken from a Swedish Railways advertisement which plays upon the Scottish stereotypical trait of ‘meanness’ (p. 21). Scotsmen in kilts are shown taking advantage of ‘an offer to travel two for the price of one first class ticket, whilst a third hides in the luggage rack’. The accompanying newspaper extract reveals that Scots working in Sweden have complained to the EU commissioner.

In Unit 5, Page 28 (Fig. 7D), we find three images of China which act as a visual accompaniment to an authentic British radio text about contemporary China. Since 1978 China had begun to open up to Western commerce and tourism (Hutton, 2007: 97). The three images are very much taken from a Western ‘tourist’ perspective. In the top frame we have a panoramic view of a typical ‘junk’ travelling down the Yangstze (the ‘ideal’ of Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). In the lower frame (the ‘real’) we have an image of cyclists and a few buses crossing a relatively quiet Tiananmen Square in Beijing. There are few cars at this time, however, the colour of the sky hints at high levels of air pollution. This edition of Headway came out before the square became a symbol of repression, however, several reprints continued to be produced after the 1989 massacre. Overlying the two brochure-like images is a smaller photograph, which resembles a tourist snapshot. We can see a group of smiling locals. However, they are presented, I would argue patronisingly, as exotic ‘others’, with our attention drawn to their different clothing and a little smiling boy in a homemade wooden pram.

In Unit 12 (pp. 69-71) we are presented with a number of images from the ‘developing’ world. On page 69 there are 4 images of unspoilt nature-tribesman at the foot of the Himalayas, peasants planting rice paddies, Sudanese cattle-rearers on the Savannah and thatched longhouses on the Amazon. Next to this we have photograph of David Attenborough in his trademark safari suit standing in front of a tropical waterfall. In the accompanying tape he expresses his concerns about the ‘despoilation’ of the natural world in the face of human expansion. These concerns are reinforced by
two images, the top (ideal) shows virgin forest, the bottom (real) reveals the ravages of logging. This reiterates many of the images shown in Western photographs and
documentaries which implicitly critique third world development (see earlier reference in *Kernel*).

The cultural values embedded within the images

This edition of *Headway* very much reflects the prevailing values and preoccupations of the 1980s in the UK and the Anglosphere. The book is rich in iconic images from the UK and US. For example, on page 36 we have aerial views of New York featuring the Empire State Building and the outline of the Twin Towers in the background. There is also an aerial view of Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament (the view you get from the flight path into Heathrow and from the same perspective as the earlier view in *Kernel One*). Unit 8 focusses on the topic of health, but centres on the health issues that affect affluent Western countries, such as the prevalence of heart disease, the promotion of healthy eating, the need to stop smoking and the promotion of exercise regimes. In Unit 9 there is a quiz-questionnaire (redolent of those in UK glossy magazines) which seeks to determine how long you will live, adapted from a book called ‘Lifegain’ (Allen & Linde, 1981). The accompanying text refers to lifespans in different UK regions.

In Unit 11 there are a number of images connected to Western charities, such as Mencap and Amnesty International. On page 62 we have an image from the ‘Live Aid’ concert featuring Bob Geldof, David Bowie and Alison Moyet. The concert, on July 1985, was one of the most iconic events of the 1980s. The BBC estimated that it was seen by 1.5 billion viewers in 160 countries (McSmith, 2010 : 1) and was described as one of the greatest displays of generosity ever seen. Live Aid represented a significant trend towards voluntarianism and charitable giving as a substitute for government aid derived from taxation. The live acts were interspersed with sombre images of hunger and poverty in Africa. Whilst we cannot doubt the charitable motives of many of the participants, the concert could be said to have helped to perpetuate stereotypes of the ‘Other’ as victims.

Another UK-specific issue included in the coursebook was the issue of Trade Unionism. Despite the crushing defeats and restrictions on the Union movement in the 1980s, *Headway* continued to allude to the spectre of strikes from the 1970s. In Unit 3
there is an eight frame cartoon story referring to the 1978 fire-fighters’ strike, when the army, with their ‘Green Goddesses’, took over the job of answering emergency calls. In the ‘amusing’ story, after rescuing an old woman’s cat, they inadvertently ran over it when leaving. Such a story is far more likely to have resonance for a native speaker of English. In Unit 14 we have an image of striking shipbuilders on the Tyne and Wear trying to maintain their jobs in the face of foreign competition. However, implicit within the accompanying text is the belief that the government is powerless to intervene, and that globalisation has made the changes inevitable. Such a view reflects and promotes a taken-for-granted acceptance of the dominant ideology of the time.

An additional culturally-specific characteristic evident in the coursebook is that it often forefronts the contemporary Western middle class preoccupation with ‘taste’ and connoisseurship. Bourdieu (1984) argued that social classes wage ‘classificatory struggles’ in order to distinguish themselves from each other by education, residence occupation and objects of consumption. They achieve this by constructing lifestyles which are products of what he terms *habitus*.

> Habitus represents the ability and disposition of individuals and social classes to appropriate objects and practices…that differentiate them from others. A knowledge of ‘foreign’ food, good wine, classic literature or Latin American film, for example, may all assist in differentiating from others without such knowledge or appreciation.
> (Mowforth & Munt, 2003: 123).

An example of this can be found in Unit 5 (p. 24) (see Appendix 10). At the bottom of the page, we have a photographic ‘still life’ of a number of shopping purchases isolated on a plain white background. The viewpoint is from above suggesting viewer power. The objects, whilst randomly displayed, reflect a particular sensibility to taste and conspicuous consumption. On the left there is a bottle of Beaujolais red wine symbolising the new wine-drinking culture amongst the new emerging middle class. There is also fresh fruit and a large piece of beef reflecting a healthy mixed diet of the time. On the right we find an LP of a Beethoven violin concerto and a folded copy of The Times. These items are not neutral, but indicate a particular class or lifestyle. This preoccupation with taste and lifestyle was to become even more evident in the later editions of *Headway*, reflecting the preoccupations of the affluent UK middle classes. Prominent on the cover of The Times is ¾ length image of Mrs Thatcher.
emerging from Downing Street. A news heading visible reads ‘US ready to give millions to Ulster’. For a native speaker this would have particular resonance, as Thatcher’s role in Northern Ireland had been particularly robust and contentious. The relationship between Margaret Thatcher and The Times under Murdoch was also problematic, given the support by the Murdoch-owned papers for The Thatcher government’s policies and her subsequent re-election. Similarly, Margaret Thatcher’s role in Murdoch’s acquisition of The Times and her tacit support for him during the dispute with the print unions at Wapping was the subject of considerable debate and hostility (McSmith, 2010:198). The Times and its readers at this time were seen to represent a specific set of values and ideology. By including The Times and the image, it could be argued that the publishers were tacitly endorsing them. However, a NNS may be unaware of these ideological connotations.

This representation of lifestyle differentiation is a taken-for-granted value of the book’s producers (the authors and publisher). It allows them to demonstrate a form of taste which may not only serve to differentiate them from other UK citizens who lack their cultural capital, but also undermine the self-esteem of students who similarly lack the financial or cultural capital. As we will see with later editions of Headway, this emphasis upon lifestyle is a very common feature of the coursebook series.

Does the visual privilege the native speaker teacher and the English of the Centre?

Headway Intermediate has a higher degree of modality because of the use of colour photographs in contrast to the earlier coursebooks featuring Ludic drawings and cartoons of a mythic ‘Neverland’ of England, although the restricted choice of many touristic icons from the UK could equally be seen to be portraying a sanitised mythic nation. The fact that many of the images are derived from authentic newspapers and journals produced in the UK will tend to privilege the native speaker. Many of the topics reflect the contemporary concerns of the residents of the Anglosphere. However, I would question how relevant these issues are to students learning English in their home countries who are unlikely to ever visit the UK or US. It is also worth pointing out that the tapescripts and phonetic symbols used in the books could be said to privilege the language of the Centre.
7.2 Headway Upper Intermediate (1987)

Cover and appearance

The Headway Upper Intermediate cover and appearance is very much in the branded style of Headway Intermediate (1986). A plain grey glossy cover on which is placed a bold shadow font title Headway (upper case) with small black sub-headed students’ book entitled Upper Intermediate. Below we find the recurring vector logo. Like Headway Intermediate, the later editions carry an imprint from the English Speaking Union, but this time it is for the 1988 first prize winner of the Duke of Edinburgh English Language competition, the Royal seal of approval seen as validating its credibility (power/knowledge). The apparent recognition given to the course over the years by the UK establishment reached its apogee in the New Year’s Honours List 2010/11 when John and Liz Soars received MBEs for services to English language teaching (ELT News, 2011).

The apparent purpose(s) of the visual element/image

The coursebook is very rich in visual art work. Every page has drawings, charts or black and white or colour photographs. I am conscious of the fact that there are a lot of authentic materials/images drawn from popular culture that had been produced for other purposes, and which had been incorporated into the text. The images are ‘attentional’, ‘decorative’ and ‘explicative’. They also fulfil the role of the ‘promotional’.

Overall, the course book has the feel of a popular glossy magazine, which is attractive to readers. It combines striking images, cultural information about Britain, quizzes, questionnaires and cartoons (which are often rather enigmatic for international students e.g. the Wicked Willy-style cartoons (Fig. 7E). They suggest a quality of ‘edutainment’, or fun (Fairclough, 2003).
Work

Discussion point

There are many proverbs to do with work.

**A**

a. A bad workman
b. If a job is worth doing
c. Make hay
d. Many hands
e. Too many cooks
f. Early to bed and early to rise
g. Never put off till tomorrow
h. The devil makes work
i. All work and no play
j. The early bird

**B**

- while the sun shines.
- make light work.
- what you can do today.
- for idle hands.
- makes you healthy, wealthy and wise.
- blames his tools.
- it’s worth doing well.
- catches the worm.
- spoil the broth.
- makes Jack a dull boy.

What do the proverbs mean? Do you agree?

Translate into English some of the proverbs you have in your language about work and other subjects.

**Vocabulary 1**

Here is a list of words and expressions connected with work. Use your dictionary and divide them into the following categories:
Target students

The topic for Unit 1 is language and language learning. Page 1 has a collage of international newspaper titles. However, it is apparent that these are drawn from Europe (France, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Hungary), the US and a Japanese daily. This is indicative of the nationalities of the target students, and very much reflects the populations of the private language schools in the UK in the 1980s.

Mode of address

It is authoritarian and is prescriptive in its instructions to students and teachers. There is frequent use of the imperative, e.g. ‘work in pairs’, ‘label the diagram’, which indicates the authors expect the material to be used in a specific way, and that teachers should direct activities as indicated.

With regard to one of the central concerns of this thesis, that is the dangers of cultural imperialism, it is pertinent that in Unit 1, looking at language and language learning, page 2 focuses on “English as a world language”. The image at the top of the page is a map of the world from an Anglo-centric projection (Fig. 7F). Super-imposed in blue letters on the map are the names of all the countries which speak English. They are shaded grey if English is the mother tongue, and blue if it is the second language, and the image seems to show the ubiquity of the language. Despite the different colours, the map image is reminiscent of the old imperial maps which showed the Empire occupying a quarter of the world. The accompanying text seems to be somewhat celebratory of the spread of English, stressing the presumed benefits and reasons for its spread, such as simplicity of form, flexibility and openness of the vocabulary. According to the text, people who speak English fall into one of three groups: those who have learned it as a native language; those who have learned it as a second language in a society that is mainly bilingual; and those who are forced to use it for practical purposes.

One person in seven of the world’s entire population belong to one of these three groups. Incredibly enough, 75% of the world’s mail and 60% of the world’s telephone conversations are in English. (Soars & Soars, 1987: 2)
Overall, the text seems to reinforce the arguments proposed by Crystal (1995) that English is neutral, natural and beneficial. As John Soars observed:
English has established itself as the lingua franca of the world. Some commentators see this as a bad thing, blaming the dominance of English for the demise of other languages. Others see it as a liberating influence, enabling the world to talk to each other with a shared second language. We belong to this second school of thought. (Soars, eltnews, 2001)

The accompanying listening text has six native speakers of English from different countries describing their capital cities: an American, an Australian, a Scot, a Welsh person, an Irish person and an English person. This content foregrounds English as the mother tongue and the nations of the Centre’s ownership of the language. Implicit within the text and image is the view that one does not want to be left out or fall behind by not acquiring English.

Another characteristic of the mode of address that is common to all the Headway course books is the sense that the authors are often speaking about their lives and lifestyle to the students. The texts and images draw upon their life experiences, and contain autobiographical elements, and as such can be seen as narratives of the life and preoccupations of white, middle class, educated English people. For example, in Unit 3, page 25, we have a large map of Tanzania and a listening text and written text about a woman called Liz, who went out to teach English in Tanzania at a town called Tanga, and the texts describe her early experiences. However, as she revealed in an interview (2001) this was Liz Soars’ own experience. Similarly, in Unit 9, page 76, we can see a photograph of three generations of one family (see Appendix 11). In the foreground of the image, we can see that it is in fact John and Liz Soars holding the two youngest of their four children, together with John’s parents. On other occasions within the course books, we find unattributed images of children and life experiences, which are clearly drawn from the Soars’ family narratives. Another example of this autobiographical family focus can be found in Unit 9 of the new Headway Advanced (2003). As the authors observed:

… in unit 9 there is our son’s account of when he witnessed 9/11 in New York. He recorded this for us in one go and you can feel how he starts to re-live it all as he speaks.

(Oxford University Press, 2006)
The underlying assumption, the taken-for-granted culture, of unencumbered overseas travel, will be explored in more detail in the examination of later editions of the course book.

Image analysis of specific exemplars

Unit 2, entitled The Seven Ages of Man, contains a short text on Shakespeare, which is followed by a biography of Jeffrey Archer. Page 17 is dominated by a half-page colour photograph of Jeffrey Archer in his office (Fig. 7G). He is portrayed in a standing shot looking directly towards the reader. The eye-line places him in a dominant position. He is looking unblinkingly towards the camera. He exudes wealth and affluence. He is smartly dressed in a pin stripe suit, with a plain shirt and red and blue patterned tie. He is holding an open copy of one of his hard backed novels. On his hand we notice a large signet ring. In the background, we can see signifiers of affluence: an antique wood inlaid desk on which can be found other Archer novels, and an antique sculptured timepiece. To his left we can see an antique Chippendale chair, with another in the background in front of elegant bookshelves displaying Greco-Roman style entablature and pediment. On the shelves are sets of antique volumes. The room is lit by a high Georgian window surrounded by expensive curtains. At the foot of the image of conspicuous opulence are displayed the front covers of his six novels, all of which have been best sellers. Many have questioned why Soars & Soars should choose to highlight Jeffrey Archer. Whilst this could be seen as a way of encouraging the students to read accessible literature, it could also be seen as emblematic of a self-starter entrepreneurship which was a feature of the Thatcherite times. The potted biography reveals that, after being the youngest member of the House of Commons, he had been forced to resign because of debt. However, he had re-built his life by producing best-sellers and returned to politics as deputy chair of the Conservative Party.

Unfortunately, the biography repeats the calumny that Archer went to Oxford University (it later emerged he had studied PE at Oxford Teacher’s College). He was later to be convicted as a fraudster and perjurer. Interestingly, his wealth was accrued from writing, something that the authors of the coursebook were also to do. The pre-
eminence of the Archer text and image could be seen to promote his books and free-enterprise values.

Fig. 7G Headway Upper Intermediate (1987) Unit 2 p. 17
Representation of the First and Third Worlds

Unit 7 (pp. 60-63) looks at some of the problems faced by people living in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On page 60, we have a number of logos representing Greenpeace, the Green Party and Friends of the Earth, and a celebrity picture of Jonathan Porritt, director of Friends of the Earth. These Green issues are very much a concern of interested parties in the affluent First World. On page 61 (Fig. 7H), to stimulate the discussion of problems facing the world, a number of images occupy three quarters of the page. There are four images, all from the UK. The images are derived from historical photographic banks (e.g. Mary Evans and Burrell), although unlike later books in the series their source is not acknowledged. Picture One has a black-and-white etching of a nineteenth century a ‘houseless poor asylum’, in front of which can be seen a large number of desperate destitute ragged and barefoot people. Picture two is somewhat enigmatic, showing a group of citizens dancing around a bonfire, and which is very difficult to interpret. It is probably a reference to Chartist riots/demonstrations. In picture three we see two people wearing protective clothing and oxygen masks collecting contaminants from the beach. Behind them we can see British firemen. Finally, in picture four, we see the cover of a British government information brochure regarding AIDS, that is “Don’t die of ignorance”. The AIDS issue was very prominent in 1980s Britain, and the government was forced to produce a very explicit advertising campaign. The problem of AIDS in the Third World was not as yet given much prominence. These four images would need to be interpreted by someone thoroughly cognisant with British history and culture, and would clearly advantage a native speaker.

Whilst the images on page 61 refer entirely to the Anglosphere, on page 62 we find a text and image looking at the Third World which is derived from a Christian Aid publication. The Third World is very much presented as ‘the other’. The image shows two black nurses attending to a young child. We see them from the perspective of above and at an oblique angle. There is no eye contact with the reader. As a result, as Kress and van Leeuwen suggest, we can choose not to engage with them. The article seeks to compare the lives of children in rich and poor countries, and seems to suggest that despite the many grim statistics about childhood in the Third World, there are many good things about childhood there in comparison to the “poverty of spirit”
experienced by children in western countries. Despite attempts to put a positive gloss on the situation in developing countries, we are left with a somewhat patronising view.
For example, as the final paragraph observes:

Of course 12 million children under five still die every year of malnutrition and disease. But childhood in the Third World is not all bad.
(Soars & Soars, 1987: 62)

On page 62, just like the earlier Kernel Plus comparison of First and Third World countries, the problem of the Third World is contrasted with an image of the problems of Western affluence. We are presented with a back-and-white photograph of a traffic jam in London. There seems to be little equivalence in the scale of problems.

Aspects of stereotypes and representation

Gender

In the representation of gender, men and women are depicted in both photographs and drawings. However, women are more frequently shown in subordinate roles, for example as a secretary (Unit 3, p. 21), a nurse and librarian (Unit 2, p. 18), a nurse in the developing world (Unit 2, p. 18), whereas, men are depicted as pilots and mountaineers (Unit 2, p. 18), managers, scientists and science teachers (Unit 3, p. 21). Women are indeed depicted performing sports, e.g. fencing (Unit 4, p. 34), however, they also tend to be depicted as objects of the male gaze. This is particularly true of the image of Nadia Comaneci on page 3. Under the heading ‘Flexibility of form’, we have a full-length full-colour image (from an image bank) of the nubile gymnast balanced on one leg, in a figure-hugging leotard (Fig. 7I). Comaneci had been an Olympic gold medallist in 1976, but it was her appearance that had been the subject of much comment and discussion within the Western press. The image privileges the perspective of the male ‘gaze’. Students are invited to label her body parts and to add any more they might know to the diagram. While this is ostensibly an image of a sports woman, we cannot fail to be aware of the sexual connotations that the image might evoke.
Vocabulary 1

The article on *English as a world language* mentioned three characteristics of vocabulary in English: *flexibility of form, compounds and derivatives.*

Flexibility of form

1. Label the diagram below. Work in pairs.
   Can you add any more parts of the body?
Age

Unlike some of the earlier course books examined, which tended to limit the range of images to young adults, the *Headway* series has a more comprehensive range of ages depicted (e.g. Unit 2, p. 10). Much of the focus of the text and images is on the notion of family and family relationships, which seem to be a core value of the authors (e.g. the image of their own extended family on p. 76 (Unit 9), and images of James Mitford and his daughter on pp. 77 and 78 [Unit 9]). Old age is not depicted negatively, as it was often done in previous texts. In fact, on page 91 (Unit 11) we have an image and text concerning a 74 year old grandmother who defeats a mugger (text derived from Stephen Pile’s *Book of Heroic Failures* (1979), which was a popular book in the 1980s. Also, on page 13 (Unit 2), we have an image and newspaper article (from The Standard, 1980) about an accident-prone boy Alan Davis.

Race and nationality

The characters represented in the images are predominantly drawn from the Anglosphere. The people depicted are overwhelmingly white and British. The only exceptions are a black family (Unit 2, p. 10), the pop celebrity Tina Turner (Unit 2, p. 18), and the black nurses working in the Third World already mentioned. There is no sense given that the UK is a multi-cultural society.

The world

Although the images are drawn predominantly drawn from the Anglosphere, there are some that are drawn from the wider world. However, it must be observed that, in the first edition of *Headway Upper Intermediate*, there are no claims regarding its worldliness, apart from the first unit which focuses on English as a world language. As we have already seen, there are some images of the Third World, as it was then known. In Unit 8 (pp. 66-67), entitled ‘Our colourful world’, we see images of various tourist/holiday destinations, and we are invited to view the world from the perspective of the tourist. With the increased affluence of the 1980s, the British middle classes had become accustomed to visiting more and more exotic holiday locations. For example, we see holiday destinations such as a tropical island, the foothills of the Himalayas,
Capri, and Kenyan farm land (Unit 8, p. 66). On page 87 (Unit 10), there is another picture postcard image of a tropical island with white sands, warm sea and palm trees. There are also a number of cross cultural images, where students are invited to make comparisons, for example in Unit 8 (pp. 79-82) we have a number of images of marriages (India, Japan and Turkey), which are contrasted with that of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson. However, is the inclusion of an image of a British royal family wedding comparing like with like? I would argue that the personalities involved, and the positioning of this image in the bottom right hand corner of the page (the lasting image in western viewing and advertising), gives prominence to the British wedding.

Representation of lifestyle

A noticeable feature of the *Headway* series is the depiction of particular lifestyles and values which are normalised. *Headway* presents elements of what is sometimes called ‘high’ culture, as well as popular culture icons. Linked to the concept of high culture is the notion of taste and connoisseurship (Bourdieu). Images and text are drawn from broadsheets and more popular journals, for example Shakespeare and the Globe (Unit 2, p. 11), David Copperfield (Unit 2, p. 14), and more modern classic literature represented by images from John Fowles (*The Collector*, 1963) and Ernest Hemingway (Unit, 4, p. 35). Another feature evident in the *Headways* is the inclusion of ‘famous’ paintings from Western art. For example on page 67 there is a half-page colour reproduction of Graham Sutherland’s portrait of Somerset Maugham to introduce a text on the *Lotus Eaters*. This painting is a classic of 20th century British art but would have little resonance to non-UK viewers. John Berger made the following observation about the presence of Art in advertising (publicity), but I would argue that it is equally valid with regard to course books:

*Any work of art ‘quoted’… serves two purposes. Art is a sign of affluence; it belongs to the good life; it is part of the furnishing which the world gives the rich and beautiful. But a work of art also suggests a cultural authority, a form of dignity, even wisdom, which is superior to any vulgar material interest; an oil painting belongs to the cultural heritage; it is a reminder of what it means to be a cultivated European.*

(Bohr, 1972: 135)

Paintings like this are part of the cultural capital of an educated European, which by extension excludes (or makes feel inferior) those without this capital.
Alongside these ‘high’ culture references, there are many references to celebrities and popular culture of the Anglosphere. On page 36 (Unit 4) we have stills from popular Anglo-American films: *The Mission* (1986), *High Noon* (1952) and *Gone with the Wind* (1939), none of which are titled, thereby privileging those with the cultural capital to recognise them. There are also images referring to contemporary popular writers in English: Jeffrey Archer, Frank Fellitta (*Audrey Rose*) and Jack Higgins, giving short extracts from their books. Like all the *Headway* books, we also find images of contemporary TV celebrities, e.g. the cast of *Dynasty*, and UK TV personalities such as Johnny Morris and Arthur Lowe, who were unlikely to have any significance for non-native speakers.

Having looked in some detail at the first editions of *Headway* I will now look at and compare the newer editions of the coursebooks to explore what they say about the prevailing cultural values circulating within the Anglosphere at the time when they were produced.


In analysing the new editions I sought to define continuities and change and to elaborate on some of the factors that contributed to the ‘need’ for the new editions.

i. The changing socio-cultural and historical landscape

The addition of the prefix ‘New’ to the title *Headway* tapped into a pervasive sense of renewal that characterised the ‘fin de siècle’ of the twentieth century. From the current perspective, there appeared to be an overriding sense of optimism resulting from factors such as the end of the Cold War, the successful re-unification of Germany, and the promises of the new millennium. Within the UK, there was a sense of impending political change reflected by the inclusion of ‘New’ to the title of the resurgent Labour Party which seemed to signify a break from the past. However, Blair diagnosed that “a contented majority was satisfied with the main lines of the Thatcher revolution” (Hirst, 1997: 211), but felt that the people could be persuaded to a government committed to
greater fairness. In many respects New Labour maintained the tight limits on spending and taxation of the former government. In retrospect, the changes could be seen to be about style and presentation, that is “conservatism in a red tie” (Footman, 2009). Nevertheless, the election of 1997 revealed an overwhelming majority in support of left of centre politics. The replacement of the earlier image and text about the writer Jeffrey Archer by a text and image about the writer and Labour fundraiser Ken Follet (New Headway Upper Intermediate, 1998) could be seen as a reflection of this changing mood.

The producers of Headway similarly added the prefix ‘New’ to the later editions, and the concept of the new is reiterated and repeated in the books’ blurb, for example “an exciting new era”, “new features”, “recent approaches”, “new universal topics” (Headway Intermediate, 1996). However, just as with politics, the basic form and content in many ways remained the same, and the changes were largely cosmetic. The books tend to exist within a mythic bubble where, apart from Royal Weddings or hagiographic accounts of celebrities, contemporary historical ‘real-life’ rarely intrudes. Increasingly, in the later editions, the images are drawn from image banks and photo agencies which tend to emphasise the positive (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2004).

Whereas the biggest stories of the ‘noughties’ have been terrorism, climate change, technology and the stockmarket crash (Sandbrook, 2009) they are largely absent from ‘Headwayland’ (Pickering, 1999). A subtle but notable exception can be seen in the iconic images of New York which occur in several editions. In the earlier books the Twin Towers are featured in the skyline (see Fig.7J), whereas in the post 9/11 editions, the focus shifts to the Empire State Building or Central Park.

ii. The changing popular cultural landscape

As we have seen from the first editions, many of the visuals were derived from contemporary journals and magazines and featured ‘celebrities’ from the Anglosphere. Many of the images of the earlier texts appeared dated or no longer had relevance to audiences in the UK and beyond. Much of the earlier popular cultural references to the 1980s were replaced by more current texts and more up-to-date artwork and feature characters from the changing Anglo-American media landscape. For example, the
1996 edition of *Headway Intermediate* has images and text about the TV arts presenter/nun Sister Wendy, and the 1998 edition of *Headway Upper Intermediate* has text and images of the BBC adaptation of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* featuring Colin Firth. The 2005 edition of *Headway Upper Intermediate* has images of Jamie Oliver, Robbie Williams, the cast of *Friends*, Steve Jobs, John Travolta (featuring his
jets), Roman Abramovich, and the BBC newsreaders George Alagiah and Sophie Raworth. The inclusion of Alagiah can be seen as a positive addition, demonstrating that the UK is both a multicultural nation and that there is the opportunity for social mobility for immigrants. The 2009 edition of *New Headway Intermediate* features images and texts about J K Rowling and Calvin Klein. The fact that the ‘celebrities’ are drawn almost exclusively from the Anglosphere could be seen as promoting Anglo-American popular cultural icons and the celebration of wealth and consumerism. It may also disadvantage NNS teachers and students who have not been exposed to them, nor recognise or understand their connotations. However, on the other hand, given the ubiquity and dominance of UK/US media, many of the students may well already be aware of some of them from celebrity journals in their home countries (e.g. a Hungarian student informed me that Jamie Oliver’s programmes are on their local TV).

iii. Change and existing markets

When the existing market for course books becomes saturated, or in response to the challenge from alternative providers, publishers frequently introduce a new edition to encourage new sales (Tomlinson, 2003). Continuing sales in the existing market are thus dependent on a form of in-built obsolescence, which the inclusion of contemporary authentic materials from UK journals encourages. Publishers operate on 5 to 6 year lifespan per edition which gives enough time to create/modify the new course book and trial it with potential teachers/students.

iv. New developing markets

The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe created a huge new market for the teaching of English in the 1990s. In Soviet dominated East Europe everyone had been taught Russian. However, as Tony Judt observed:

> The association of the Russia Language with the Soviet occupation considerably restricted its appeal…Within a few years of the fall of Communism it was already clear that one paradoxical effect of occupation by Germany and the Soviets had been to eradicate any sustained familiarity with their new languages. In the lands that had for so long been trapped between Russia and Germany there was only one language that
mattered. To be ‘European’ in eastern Europe after 1989, especially for the young, was to speak English. (Judt, 2005: 759).

The younger generation, raised on film, TV, international pop music, video games and the internet were easily drawn to English. *The Economist* (1990) vigorously promoted the expansion of English teaching to the newly emergent territories. UK private Language Schools such as International House and Bell opened branches in the former eastern bloc and the British Council expanded its activities, particularly in Poland (britishcouncil.org) The *New Headways* were trialled not only in the UK and Western Europe but also in Budapest and Prague. The 1990s also witnessed the arrival of new language students in the UK from Eastern Europe. Eastern European student characters begin to appear in *Headway*. For example, in *New Headway Intermediate* (1996) we have a letter (a construct created by Kathy Baxendale) purporting to be from a Hungarian student following her return to Budapest (p. 124). The letter is accompanied by a photograph of her and her family inside an affluent cultured apartment and portray her as a continuing member of an ‘imagined community’ of English speakers.

Local Eastern European teachers of English, tired of the old Soviet era coursebooks, actively promoted the use of UK-produced materials such as *Headway* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Eastern European students saw the acquisition of English as an aid to travel to destinations they had previously been excluded from. The images of tourist sites in the West shown in *Headway* only served to fuel this aspiration. However, it was not just Eastern Europe which promised new markets for *Headway*. The emerging nations of the developing world, particularly China and India, offered huge potential. In China alone there are approximately 300 million speakers/learners of English. Recent *Headways* are marketed as global or world course books. For example, the blurb for *New Headway Upper Intermediate* (2005) claims “The world’s most trusted English course” “tried and tested all over the world” and “up-to-date topics and texts with global appeal”. But how ‘worldly’ are they? How is this global sensitivity manifested in the materials?
Whilst the newer editions of *Headway* continue to display images of iconic sites/places from the UK and US there are also an increasing number of images of places outside the Anglosphere. However, these tend to be drawn from image banks
and popular UK journals and tend to view the world from the perspective of the affluent Western tourist ‘gaze’ (Urry, 1990) and to focus on sites of tourist interest. A recurring topic in the later Headways is that of young middle class adult on their ‘gap year’ backpacking through Asia and Australia and reporting on their progress to friends and family ‘back home’ (in the latest edition two young English girls send emails and a web image from New Zealand - see Fig. 7K).

Clearly not all western youths have the money to have this experience, but within the realm of Headwayland it is presented as a ‘taken-for-granted’ norm. In the earliest incarnation of the gap year (New Headway Upper Intermediate, 1998 see Fig. 7L) the image of the backpacker is set against an image of David Livingstone which are superimposed over a 19th Century Imperial map of the world.

The obvious connotation is that the young westerner is following in the footsteps of the Victorian explorers and colonisers. For many critics (e.g. van Abbeele, 1980; Britton, 1982; Mowforth & Munt, 2003) the very presence of First World tourists in the Third world can be seen as “an extension of colonialism (with all the attributes of a master-servant relationship)” (Gonsalves, 1993:11). As Sturken and Cartwright observed “…consuming otherness is central to commodity culture in the global era” (2001, 222). The very fact that an affluent English tourist has the freedom and money to travel extensively, and be serviced by locals, privileges the Centre and encourages negative comparisons regarding lifestyles and opportunities. The majority of the world’s tourists are from the industrial world (Mowforth & Munt, 2003: 51) and tourism tends to perpetuate an uneven and unequal relationship between the First and Third worlds (Britton, 1982). For many students in the developing world learning English is primarily motivated by a need to work in the service industry of global tourism.

In the later editions of Headway, quizzes and illustrated celebrity biographies often include references to facts and personalities from outside the Anglosphere (e.g. Mao, Mother Teresa). However, they could be seen as merely ‘tokenistic’, demonstrating only a superficial, ‘pub-quiz’ level of world general knowledge of an educated westerner rather than that which could be provided by an international editorial board.
International students would be aware of significant ‘absences’ from their own cultures.

As revealed in Chapter 2, a number of researchers on language teaching and culture (Byram, 1991; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993; Kramsch, 1993) have proposed that language learning has the humanistic potential to encourage intercultural
understanding and to contribute to cultural conflict-resolution. They have argued that the careful selection of course materials can provide the opportunity for the exchange of ideas and develop cross-cultural awareness, by comparing and contrasting different ways of life and behaviours in a non-judgemental and mutually enlightening manner. However, such information-exchange activities assume that the class would be made up of students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and they are less effective with monolingual groups. Some of the images and texts within the *Headway* series have been included to develop such cross-cultural awareness of difference. However, a critical examination of the coursebooks reveals that some of the exemplars chosen tend to show the lifestyle in the Anglosphere in a more positive light than their comparators, and reinforce negative stereotypes of the ‘other’. They fail to compare like with like. For example in *New Headway Intermediate*, (2009: 50-51) (see Fig. 7M) there are three images and texts about kitchens belonging to a woman from SE Italy, a woman from California and a woman from Bangalore in India. The impoverished Indian is shown living in a dark three-roomed hut. In contrast the younger healthier looking well-dressed affluent American woman is shown living in her 30 roomed-house on the beach in California. Whilst it is true that the ‘average’ US citizen does enjoy the highest standard of living in the world, the ‘average’ masks considerably high levels of inequality.

This is not a representation of the norm in the US, but of a very narrow elite. Elites within India would have similar materialist lifestyles. According to Hutton (2007: 284), 34 million Americans work full time but still fail to rise above the poverty line, so more similar lives could have been represented. As it is, these and other images in *New Headway* (2009: 10-11) reinforce cultural stereotypes and serve to promote and privilege the Anglosphere.

v. Response to readers/users feedback and new publishing guidelines

There are a number of different avenues and methods for readers and users of the course books to feed back their comments and observations on them. They may, for example, communicate directly to the publisher via user surveys, letters and increasingly via the web. The course books are extensively trialled in schools and private language institutes both in the UK and overseas. They are also frequently
launched and promoted at meetings of teachers and other potential buyers. This often involves the author or publishing representative being involved in a presentation and question and answer session. I have attended a number of these for Headway. I remember one session when John Soars was castigated over his use of UK TV
celebrities and the advocacy of the role of translation in the first *Headway*. In later editions the translation exercise was dropped, although the use of media celebrities has increased. In response to feedback, publishers frequently issue new guidelines to potential authors (Mares, 2003; Gray, 2010). It is noticeable that the proportion of women portrayed in the newer *Headways* has increased, and women are shown in a greater variety of roles. However, because the majority of images are now derived from image banks and advertising agencies, they tend to be happy, physically attractive and affluent, tending to look engagingly towards the audience and exhibit ‘chocolate box’ smiles. In *New Headway Intermediate* (p. 8) we still have an image of a non-working mother happily doing the school run (see Fig. 7N).

Similarly, revised publishers’ guidelines have led to a far greater density of characters from different ethnic backgrounds reflecting the multicultural diversity of the UK. Although it must be said that this is somewhat belated when compared to other course book series, such as *The New Cambridge English* (Swan & Walter, 1992). However, the majority of characters represented are still Caucasian.

With regard to minorities and alternative lifestyles within *Headway* the traditional heterosexual family is the norm. There has been no reaction to Thornbury’s observations (1999) regarding the absence of gay characters. This desire not to offend potential customers in more culturally conservative parts of the world reflects course book guidelines on what are seen by publishers to be inappropriate topics, which Gray refers to as PARSNIP (politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, isms and pork (Gray, 2010). However, some other recent coursebook publishers have included sexually ambiguous characters (e.g. the Challenges series). Some earlier course books (70s & 80s) made reference to contemporary politics in the UK. The first editions of *Headway* had images of Margaret Thatcher and the course book *Building Strategies* (Abbs & Freebairn, 1979) even used an image of Mrs Thatcher as a prompt to practise the function of expressing likes and dislikes. Later course book series, however, project an anodyne world largely devoid of any overt references to current politicians or politics, but these socially constructed worlds and discourses are, nevertheless, political.
vi. Response to technological change

The advances in computer generated digital publishing were matched by a greater awareness of the typography and architecture of book pages. As a result, we can see a simplifying and de-cluttering of the outlay of the pages and clearer signposting and
mapping of reading flows. Since the late 1990s greater emphasis has been given to style and appearance. As Rampley observed:

… where ‘styling’ and design were once viewed as forms of embellishment, they are now viewed as rhetorical plays to promote consumption…The notion of visual rhetoric therefore highlights the need to see past apparently innocent qualities such as ‘style’, aesthetics’ or ‘function’ in order to attend to ways in which the visual environment, visual culture, attempts to draw us into its arguments, its value systems.

(Rampley, 2005: 146-7).

The internet has had a profound impact upon reading patterns and student expectations from learning materials. Headway now offers on line support and additional practice activities over the web via iTutor and iTools (e.g. of multimodal discourse). Many writers argue that the visual is “central to the construction of social life in contemporary western societies” (Rose, 2012). We are subjected to a ‘gluttony’ of images such that westerners now interact mainly through how we see it, which Jay (1993) termed ‘ocularcentrism’. This raises a number of issues with regard to images in course books. How real are the images? What image of the UK and the world is being constructed? If the visual is central to western societies and the course books with their increasing plethora of images reflect this, is this yet another example of cultural imperialism? Are they encouraging their audience to adopt a western perspective?

vii. The changing family narrative and interests of the authors

Unlike many coursebooks, much of the content of the Headway series is author-led. As pointed out earlier the topics in the earlier Headways reflect the interests, reading habits, cultural pursuits, personal histories and familial preoccupations of the Soars. The later course books in the series continue this trend of focussing on the changing habits, interests and narratives of a middle class family in the South East of England.

This familial focus, particularly with regard to education in the UK, is evident in many of the images. For example, in New Headway Upper Intermediate (1998: 6-7), there are three images of letters on tables/desks (created by Kathy Baxendale). One is from a child (Kate) writing from ‘Welsh camp’ on her first trip away from the family (such
trips have become a regular feature of the English secondary school calendar; a second is a letter to her sister from Vicky who has just started University (see Fig. 7O); and another letter is from ex-pats, Julia and Martin, writing to friends in the UK about their trip to the hill-resort of Amani (this is very close to Tanga, where as we have seen, Liz began her teaching career). The viewpoint to these letters is an intimate one from the perspective of the letter writers. The synecdochal images contain
sufficient iconography, for example Welsh cake, tippex and calculator, tribal patterned paper and ethnic ‘objets’, to indicate (construct) their locations.

In *New Headway Intermediate* (2005: 45) we have an image of a young joyful girl opening her A level result slip before going to Bristol University. The annual ‘totty shot’ of jubilant young girls getting their exam results has become a staple of UK newspapers.

Another UK specific educational reference in the *Headway Upper Intermediates* are images and detailed listening texts about a college re-union at Durham University (see Fig. 7P) which echoes John Soars’ own experiences. These images reflect the middle class assumption and expectations of unhindered progression from school to university and beyond and naturalises the discourse. Whilst it is true that in the first decade of the 21st century nearly 40% of young adults went to university, it is misleading to suggest that this was/will be the norm. There are still a majority of this age group who would not expect to follow this route, and it gives a very partial image of educational opportunity in the UK.

The various editions of *Headway*, whilst following a consistent curriculum, reveal the evolving interests values and habitus of the authors through images and texts: that is the changing cultural milieu they inhabit, changes in their family narrative, and new updated popular cultural resources that they feel are appropriate to the topics covered.

viii. Impact of research on language-learning/teaching

Publishers frequently update coursebooks in response to new findings from research into language teaching and linguistics. Despite a number of new approaches and methods having been developed over the last 20+ years (e.g. Task-Based Learning and Teaching, The Lexical Approach, and the current rejection of method in favour of context-based, principled approaches [see Chapter 5]), the *Headway* coursebooks remain largely immune to these developments. As John Soars acknowledged:

Each new edition has a refinement to the syllabus, or the methodology, or both. Our ideas evolve and we are always
open to new developments, but the core principles which govern our writing remain the same…

(Soars ihjournal.com issue 29)

**LISTENING AND SPEAKING**

The reunion

1 **Three friends, Alan, Sarah, and James,**
were all at university together in Durham,
a town in the north of England. Now, ten
years later, they are planning a reunion.
Divide into two groups.

**Group A**
T 5:10 Listen to Alan phoning Sarah.

**Group B**
T 5:11 Listen to Sarah phoning James.

Listen and complete as much as possible of the chart. The following names are mentioned.

Claypath the Lotus Garden the Midlands
The County The Three Tuns Leeds
the Kwal Lam Saddler Street Sunderland

2 Check your answers with people in your group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travelling from?</th>
<th>Alan</th>
<th>Sarah</th>
<th>James</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving at what time?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arriving in Durham at?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staying where?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to which restaurant?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where is it?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where are they going to meet?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What time?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Find a partner from the other group. Swap information to complete the chart.

4 What might go wrong with their arrangements? Or will everything work out all right? Who’s meeting who where?

**WRITING**

**Emailing friends** p115

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**Fig. 7P New Headway Upper Intermediate (2005) Unit 5 p. 52**
Given their successful sales record there is little impetus to make radical changes as a result the underlying grammar-focussed syllabus and methodology is largely the same in all editions.

7.4 Reflections on the themes, values and representations in *Headway*

- Despite being increasingly marketed as global course books, the images, texts and values are predominately drawn from the Anglosphere, particularly southern England. They depict a sanitised, glossy, mythic England by focussing on iconic sites in London, Oxford, Brighton and National Trust properties. The images depict life in the UK (e.g. weather, newsreaders, signage). When other parts of the world are shown, they are presented from the perspective of a Western tourist.

- The newer *Headways* display a greater sensitivity to the depiction of minorities and have a larger proportion of positive images of women and ethnic groups. However, the high quality glossy coloured images are increasingly drawn from advertising agencies and image banks which tend to depict only affluent and attractive people.

- The images and texts reflect the homogenised cultural landscape of the UK middle classes. Much of the content is derived from authentic journals and magazines, and it depicts the norms/values inherent within the original sources. The content and format frequently resemble that of a glossy magazine, such as *Cosmopolitan* or *Men's Health*. A particularly noticeable characteristic is the inclusion of texts and images which look at the quirky or bizarre.

- In order to avoid topics which the publishers deem inappropriate, they tend to focus on the families, tastes and lifestyles of the bourgeoisie; school, university, and family history. A particular aspect of lifestyle that is forefronted is the topic of travel and tourism. Within the Anglosphere, where you holiday, be it Blackpool, Benidorm, Bangkok or Bali, serves to differentiate and define you. The coursebooks have numerous texts and images which explore the notion of tourist versus traveller. Much of the “new tourism is an expression of the new middle classes’ hegemonic struggle for cultural and class superiority” (Mowforth & Munt, 2003:124). The coursebooks reveal a
bias in favour of the independent traveller (e.g. contrasting images in Unit 2, pp. 20, 21 New Headway Upper Intermediate, 1998). In order to cater for this new ‘ego-tourism’ (ibid) a new class of travel professional has developed. In New Headway Upper Intermediate (2005) Tony and Maureen Wheeler, the founders of the Lonely Planet guides, are highlighted in images and text (Unit 2, pp.18, 19, 24). Implicit within the course books is the assumption that the freedom to travel, and to live and work abroad as an ex-pat, is natural and normal, or alternatively, an aspirational reward for learning and speaking English.

- The coursebooks are replete with images of Western ‘celebrities’ and the British Royals. The New Headway Intermediate (2009) has a particularly sycophantic article and images of Prince Charles (Unit 2, pp.18-19) “The life of a hard-working future King” derived from Majesty magazine). Taken as a whole, the coursebooks reveal a preoccupation with wealth and consumerism, e.g. topics on the Lottery, people and their money, and self-made entrepreneurs (e.g. Bill Gates). Many of them actively promote emblematic Western capitalist companies, logos and individuals. For example New Headway Upper Intermediate (2005) has images of Starbucks (Unit 6, p. 58) Steve Jobs and Apple Mac (Unit 6, p. 59) and Nestlé (Unit 6, p. 57).

To conclude, the images tend to privilege the Anglosphere and the native speaker teacher. The ‘hidden curriculum’ can be seen to be promoting a specific set of taken-for-granted values and a Western consumerist lifestyle and can thus be viewed as a form of cultural imperialism.
Chapter 8

8.1 Conclusions

Having analysed and deconstructed a selection of images from my sample of UK coursebooks, I am conscious of the fact that they represent only a small proportion of those coursebooks produced during the time period of the study. I recognise the dangers and limitations of overgeneralising and extrapolating from them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Silverman, 2006). However, I feel that my analysis reveals some recurring trends and patterns which provide some answers to my research questions. They appear to support my core thesis that the images with their focus on the Anglosphere and the taken-for-granted underlying values and ideology amount to a form of cultural imperialism. This study has used a qualitative method of research which is not without its critics, particularly with regards to reliability and validity (see Alasuutari, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Some might argue, for example, that I have been selective in my choice of images to analyse such that they merely serve to support my hypothesis. Whilst it is true that the natural ecology of the wordage has limited the number of images I have been able to write about, I have conducted prolonged and repeated interrogations of other images in the coursebooks which would similarly support my critical observations. As a reflective practitioner I am aware that my personal history and my personal values and ideology (I would describe myself as a broad-left Social democrat) will inevitably influence the way I view the world. I would argue that all researchers, even quantitative positivists, are never really objectively value free. The area they research and their methodology involve choices based on predetermined values. I would support Holliday et al.’s observation:

“…We do not ..feel that subjectivity is problematic. As in more formal qualitative research, each instance speaks for itself, its value being in the resonance or dissonance each example creates- in the degree to which the reader can say ‘This makes sense to me; I can recognize this type of thing from my own experience’, or ‘This makes no sense; I need to think about this more” (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2004: 2)
As a researcher/practitioner I am putting my findings into the academic arena in order that others can agree or disagree with my interpretations or find/suggest alternative readings.

In looking at the coursebooks from the historical extremes of my archive, what is evident is that there have been huge changes in the form and quantity of images contained within them. Whilst being conscious of the fallacies of ‘decaditis’ (Sandbrook, 2009), we can discern incremental changes in the coursebooks which reflect changing priorities and changing common sense assumptions between the late fifties and the noughties. With regard to the images/art work, we can appreciate the progressive change from the virtually picture-free examples from the fifties to the ludic, child-like cartoons of the sixties and seventies. These were replaced first by more “naturalistic” black and white drawings, colour drawings, then black and white photographs, through to the contemporary global coursebook which is replete with glossy coloured photographs. For most audiences colour photographs tend to have a greater modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), that is they look ‘more real’ and at a superficial level are often taken as evidence of ‘truth’. However, these coloured images are socially constructed, and reflect a very distinct discourse. They were either especially commissioned for the coursebook, or as the acknowledgements reveal, they are drawn increasingly from image banks, and advertising agencies, which tend to portray the world in a particularly positive, glamorous manner; that is attractive, happy people, wearing nice clothes, and set against the background of beautiful places, such as iconic tourist sites. Within the images of the Anglosphere, there is little suggestion of poverty or discord.

The changes reflect developments in publishing technology, rising expectations of the audiences in what is an increasingly ocular-centric world, but also they reflect an increasing awareness, by the publisher, of the need to market a more visually attractive package. The purpose of the visual developed from the purely ‘decorational’, to the ‘narratational’ (1970s to 80s), through to the current emphasis upon the ‘promotional’, that is they are imbued with the discourse of marketing, self-promotion and celebrity. The mode of address has developed from the teacher-centred approach of the sixties, to a more personalised, student-as-an-individual-centred approach. This reflects changes in pedagogy (largely UK and US driven), but also a
western ideological trend towards a particular notion of individualism, which is defined by consumption and taste.

Like all media texts they say something either directly or indirectly about the time they were produced, in particular they reveal the norms, values and contemporary preoccupations. The archive encompasses the period from the end of Empire to the globalisation of the 21st century. The earlier coursebooks examined reveal a post-war colonial and patriarchal perspective on the world, a nostalgic view of England, which is typified by the opening quote by Jonathan Raban. In the 1970s and early 80s there appeared to be a great engagement with contemporary England to address social and economic issues, such as strikes, unemployment, women’s rights and crime and punishment. However, this was but a brief window. In the coursebooks I examined, since the 1980s, there seems to have been a disengagement, a move from social concerns and society to the individual. There has been an emphasis on housing, lifestyle, travel and celebrity, creating a mythic England devoid of social discord. They project the discourse of the positive, edutainment and consumerism, and reflect the hegemonic cultural landscape defined by popular journals and weekend newspaper supplements.

If we look at the archive as a whole, we can observe that there have been significant changes in the way different groups have been variously represented. The most significant change is in the representation of gender, in particular the representation of women. They are no longer represented as the dutiful stay-at-home housewife (e.g. Mrs. Brown), or the young, attractive ‘dolly-birds’ (Kernel Intermediate), or the pretty secretary having supper dates with her boss (e.g. Streamline Departures). The representation of women in contemporary EFL coursebooks reflects the cultural changes in the UK/US in the wake of feminism. In most current coursebooks, women tend to be portrayed on equal terms to men. They are not just in the caring professions. Particularly noticeable is the role model of the successful, independent career woman who can balance a career with child rearing. Whilst these portrayals are a welcome antidote to the earlier one dimensional characterisations, for many women, both in the UK and the developing world, such roles are only aspirational, and do not reflect their day-to-day reality. It could also be argued that, in presenting these role models of sexual equality, however desirable to a western audience, they could be
seen to be inappropriate in some societies. The implicit values exhibited could be seen as unsuitable or ‘imperialistic’, and raise issues regarding the global reach of the coursebooks.

The representation of different ethnic groups within the UK has similarly witnessed an evolution, from the ‘white only’ depictions of earlier decades. Most current coursebooks now have a ‘sprinkling’ of non-white characters. However, the coursebooks were relatively slow to respond to the changing demographics of the UK, and ethnic characters are still proportionally under-represented (e.g. when compared to those on TV or film). The reasons for this are unclear, however it does contribute to the creation of a mythic England which few UK citizens would recognise.

As we have seen, the UK produced coursebook is increasingly marketed as a global artefact. How then is the world represented? Despite claims to be worldly, the images are drawn predominantly from the Anglosphere. The rest of the world is either depicted from the perspective of the privileged gaze of the western tourist/traveller, or in cross-cultural diptychs or triptychs of images which are meant to develop inter-cultural competence and cross-cultural understanding. However, as has been shown, these comparative images tend to project those from the Anglosphere in a more positive light. They often do not compare like with like, and could thereby induce a sense of inferiority within different student audiences, and create feelings of envy and dissatisfaction with their own cultures and living standards.

In examining the representations we should not only focus on the ‘presences’, we should also be aware of what is routinely absent from the depictions. For example, in the portrayal of the UK, we see little of the poor, the shabby and the down-trodden, or the unemployed. The images are predominantly of the affluent parts of the UK, populated by successful heterosexual couples and their well-groomed and well-educated offspring. I would argue that the taken-for-granted cultural values embedded within the text and the visual, not only privilege the centre and the native-speaker teacher, but are effectively a form of cultural imperialism.
8.2 The future of the coursebook

The style and form of the UK-produced coursebook have been the subject of considerable debate and criticism, and many of the perceived shortcomings have been highlighted. In response to these concerns, a number of potential scenarios can be envisaged. There has been considerable debate about whether or not to use coursebooks at all (see Chapter 5). If we accept the need for coursebooks, the debate then focuses on what form they should take. There has been pressure from schools and teachers from the outer circle to uncouple the coursebook and the English within them from their Anglocentric roots, and there has been pressure for the recognition and legitimisation of different varieties of English. Graddol (2006) predicted that in the future the UK/US would lose their monopoly of the language, and he also suggested that, in the future, English could forfeit its role as an international language to either Mandarin or Spanish. However, there are many powerful stakeholders in the UK EFL industry, publishers, examination boards, who are reluctant to relinquish their power over the market. The British Council estimated that the ELT industry brings in £3 billion to UK (Britcouncil.org, 24th Feb 2011). The market for EFL coursebooks is huge, and the publishers are ruthless in maintaining their market share. For example, Oxford University Press has recently been ordered to pay nearly £1.9 million in fines after two subsidiary companies bribed government officials for contracts to supply school textbooks in Kenya and Tanzania (The Guardian, 3rd July, 2012). Native English speaker teachers of English are also arguably important stakeholders. An example of this, from personal experience, was when one of my MA TESOL students acknowledged that the current coursebooks privileged the native English speaker and the Anglosphere, but argued that this was a good thing, as it ensured his future employment.

In opposition to those who advocate the recognition of other varieties and the localisation of the English language, there is the issue of the common standard of inter-intelligibility, the argument being that, if more variety is tolerated, English will eventually follow the course taken by Latin, and devolve into a number of mutually incomprehensible languages (e.g. see The Telegraph, 16th Sep., 2007). In areas such as aviation (see New York Times supplement Observer, 23rd June 2012), the military and medicine, the lack of a common standard of inter-intelligibility can be
catastrophic. For many, proficiency in English is still a gatekeeper to higher education, promotion and power. In many cases pre-eminence is given to spoken English, people are judged on how well they approximate to an educated native speaker (Omi & Fukada, 2010). Even though 80% of English teachers worldwide are non-native speakers (Braine, 2010: x) many of them have negative self-perceptions of their own ability in spoken English and aspire to a native speaker identity. In 2007 a survey of Japanese English teachers (Butler, 2007) found that 60% agreed that English is best taught by a native-speaker. As Sybing observed:

So long as native-speaking English is a standard for achieving prominence in society, language learners will aspire to it, despite the potential difficulties they may encounter…

(Sybing, 2011:467)

It is my contention that in the short to middle term at least the UK and US produced coursebooks will continue to have a dominant presence. The content of the current coursebooks are a result of trying to reconcile the different competing needs of a wide variety of audiences. I do not think it is possible for one coursebook to fulfil the needs/ wants of such a disparate student body, nevertheless as long as sales remain buoyant and they make a profit they will continue to be promoted to a global market.

8.3 What can be done?

We cannot as teachers teach EFL, or any other subject for that matter, from the viewpoint of a world as we would want it to be. We need to be pragmatic and to recognise the restraints and limitations, and to seek to ameliorate what we see as negative influences. The reality is that most teachers have little control of the materials they use. If we are to address some of the concerns raised about UK-produced coursebooks, there are a number of possible courses of action. Here are some suggested guidelines.

- Encourage the production of locally produced teaching materials. Many countries already do, but having seen examples, I am aware that that they also have their own limitations and drawbacks. For example, because of their relatively small markets they are often in monochrome and lack the high-level production values of UK coursebooks and suffer from comparison.
• Encourage teachers to communicate their concerns regarding the content/topics in texts and visuals. If enough people respond the publishers will take note and provide new guidelines to authors.

• Teachers should press for the editorial boards for coursebooks to be drawn not solely from the Centre but also from the periphery.

• Book producers need to be sensitive to the varying teaching situations where the coursebook will be used. The small multilingual group often encountered in the UK should not be seen as the norm.

• Images should not be sourced exclusively from western image banks and advertising agencies. There should be more images from outside the Anglosphere.

• Images from the Anglosphere should offer a wider representations eg different regions, different social classes, differing lifestyles. They should not focus on only the affluent or ‘celebrities’ from the Anglo-American mediasphere.

• Teachers should engage with the development of ‘Critical Pedagogy’ (Freire, 1970; Freier & Macedo, 1987; Reagan & Osbourne, 2002; Darder et al., 2003; Rashidi, 2011). Drawing on the work of Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) critical pedagogy argues against a banking model of education in favour of a liberating dialogic and problem posing approach to education. Teachers are encouraged to challenge and question knowledge that is taken for granted and to explore new knowledges. The teacher’s role changes from that of a supposedly apolitical technician who merely transmits knowledge to a ‘transforming intellectual’ (Giroux, 1991) who is critically aware of power and discourse and who addresses social and political issues and views the world through a critical lens (Fredericks, 2007). It rejects a vocationalist model of education, such as the current discourse regarding employability, and raises fundamental questions about the purpose of education which need revisiting.

• Encourage the development of teachers’ and students’ critical visual literacy. This could be done in a study skills section at the beginning of the coursebook or in separate pamphlet. Teachers could use the existing images in course books to interrogate them in a more critically active way, to ask questions about the image such as those proposed by Gillian Rose (2012: 346-7).
• An area for future development could be the creation of a supplementary coursebook entitled *English through Media Studies* which could provide students with the analytical tools to engage with and deconstruct media texts and thereby engage in authentic tasks using authentic materials.

• Coursebooks should (like some did for a brief period in the 1970s) engage with and reflect contemporary socio-political issues and reject the anodyne mythic England of many current UK coursebooks. They should not veer away from confronting the darker side of life (Rinvulcri, 1999) or looking at controversial topics or alternative lifestyles (Thornbury, 1999; Liddicoat, 2009).

• Coursebooks could be designed to be read in non-linear and divergent ways offering alternative reading routes and different tasks and images. Another suggestion came from Ingrid Freebairn co-author of the *Strategies* series who proposed a ‘skeleton coursebook’ available on CD-Rom which is ‘supplemented by up-to- the minute topical material, local mother-tongue supplements and alternative activities for mixed level classes.’ (Gray, 2010:187).

• Teachers and students could make use of social media to develop intercultural competence by sharing cross-cultural deconstructions/ readings of coursebook visuals via blogs etc. Clearly this would privilege students with access to computer technology and would not meet the needs of students whose only material resource is the coursebook. However, many learners of English are active bloggers (see Chinese responses to Philo’s article on reverse culture shock and Chinese female learners in *The Guardian Unlimited*, March 29th, 2007)

8.4 Potential areas for future research

1. My research has been very much based upon my readings of the coursebook images. It would be useful to test my readings of the images against the responses of different student audiences. Although I would need to be cautious that this approach could be too essentialist, and that I would need to be wary of generalizing too much from my sample audiences.
2. Having seen examples of English language coursebooks produced in other cultures it would be useful to conduct a cross-cultural study of the role of images within them.

3. Develop fuller guidelines for a more culturally inclusive global coursebook.

4. A lateral study of a broader range of coursebooks produced in the 21st Century, to explore what the images reveal about contemporary discourses.

8.5 Final thoughts and reflections

The more I have interrogated my chosen archive, the more aware I have become of the richness of the data. Given the amount of images, I had to restrict the number of coursebooks I eventually analysed. Fortunately, some of the others I had chosen have been analysed by Kullman and Gray. Each time I have visited an image I have read more into it. However, I am conscious of the criticisms of semiotics and social semiotics (see Chapter 4), and the argument that it is possible to read too much into the images, or that viewers with a different patrimony of knowledge could produce different credible readings. The fact that I repeatedly returned to the images is in some way an artificial process, as we pass by a plethora of images every day without necessarily giving them a second look. Some would argue that they were meant to be used briefly to illustrate or decorate, not to be subjected to prolonged scrutiny. I am also conscious that my own initial concerns regarding cultural imperialism may have inclined me to look for evidence, but I would contend that it is only be scrutinising what is normally taken for granted that we can detect a particular discourse which is being circulated.

Having conducted a longitudinal study, I am conscious of the fact that it ended in 2009, before the full impact of the banking crash occurred. The latter coursebooks often appear to reflect the noughties philosophy of western countries, where “conspicuous consumption” was no longer just a pleasurable activity, it was a civic democratic duty (Danziger, 2004: 2). It would be interesting to see if later coursebooks reflect a change of philosophy. In looking at my archive, I feel that the benefit of a historical distance perhaps enabled me to more easily determine the underlying values of the earlier coursebooks.
Finally, I am conscious that my thesis is predominantly interpretive. However, it must always be remembered that interpreting images is just that- "interpretation" - and not the discovery of truth. As Stuart Hall says:

> It is worth emphasising that there is no single or 'correct' answer to the question, 'What does this image mean?' ... since there is no law which can guarantee that things will have 'one true meaning' or that meanings won't change over time, work in this area is bound to be interpretive - a debate between, not who is 'right' and who is 'wrong', but between equally plausible though sometimes competing and contesting, meanings and interpretations. The best way to 'settle' such contested readings is to look again at the concrete example and try to justify one's 'reading' in detail in relation to the actual practices and forms of signification used, and what meanings they seem to you to be producing.

(Hall, 1997: 9)
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Appendix 1


Some questions about the production of an image

- When was it made?
- Where was it made?
- Who made it?
- Was it made for someone else?
- What technologies does its production depend on?
- What were the social identities of the maker, the owner and the subject of the image?
- What were the relations between the maker, the owner and the subject?
- Does the genre of the image address these identities and relations of its production?
- Does the form of the image reconstitute those identities and relations?

Some questions about the image

- What is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged?
- Is it one of a series?
- Where is the viewer's eye drawn to in the image and why?
- What is the vantage point of the image?
- What relationships are established between the components of the image visually?
- What use is made of colour?
- How has its technology affected the text?
- What is or are the genre(s) of the image? Is it a documentary, a soap opera or melodrama, for example?
- To what extent does this image draw on the characteristics of its genre?
- Does this image comment critically on the characteristics of its genre?
- What do the different components of an image signify?
- What knowledges are being deployed?
- Whose knowledges are excluded from this representation?
- Does this image's particular look at its subjects disempower its subject?
- Are the relations between the components of this image unstable?
- Is this a contradictory image?

Some questions about audiencing

- Who were the original audience(s) for this image?
- Where and how would the text have been displayed originally?
- How is it circulated?
- How is it stored?
- How is it redisplayed?
• Who are the most recent audiences for this text?
• Where is the spectator positioned in relation to the components of the image?
• What relation does this produce between the image and its viewers?
• Is the image one of a series and how do the proceeding and subsequent images affect its meaning?
• Would the image have had a written text to guide its written interpretation in its initial moment of display, for example a caption or a catalogue entry?
• Is the image represented elsewhere in a way which invites a particular interpretation to it, in publicity materials, for example, or in reviews?
• Have the technologies of circulation and display affected the audience interpretation of this image?
• What are the conventions for viewing this technology?
• Is more than one interpretation of the image possible?
• How actively does a particular audience engage with the image?
• Is there any evidence that a particular audience produced a meaning for an image that differed from the meanings made at the site of its production or by the image itself?
• How do different audiences interpret this image?
• How are these audiences different from each other in terms of class, gender, race, sexuality and so on?
• How do these axes of social identity structure different interpretations?
# Appendix 2


**REALIZATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demand</td>
<td>gaze at the viewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer</td>
<td>absence of gaze at the viewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimate/personal</td>
<td>close shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>medium shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>long shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>frontal angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detachment</td>
<td>oblique angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viewer power</td>
<td>high angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>eye level angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Represented participant power</td>
<td>low angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centred</td>
<td>An element (the Centre) is placed in the centre of the composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarized</td>
<td>There is no element in the centre of the composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triptych</td>
<td>The non-central elements in a centred composition are placed either on the right and left or above and below the Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circular</td>
<td>The non-central elements in a centred composition are placed both above and below and to the sides of the Centre, and further elements may be placed in between these polarized positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margin</td>
<td>The non-central elements in a centred composition are identical or near-identical, so creating symmetry in the composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediator</td>
<td>The Centre of a polarized centred composition forms a bridge between Given and New and/or Ideal and Real, so reconciling polarized elements to each other in some way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given</td>
<td>The left element in a polarized composition or the left polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding right element.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New</td>
<td>The right element in a polarized composition or the right polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding left element.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal</td>
<td>The top element in a polarized composition or the top polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding bottom element.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>The bottom element in a polarized composition or the bottom polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding top element.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salience</td>
<td>The degree to which an element draws attention to itself, due to its size, its place in the foreground or its overlapping of other elements, its colour, its tonal values, its sharpness or definition, and other features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconnection</td>
<td>The degree to which an element is visually separated from other elements through framelines, pictorial framing devices, empty space between elements, discontinuities of colour and shape, and other features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection</td>
<td>The degree to which an element is visually joined to another element, through the absence of framing devices, through vectors and through continuities or similarities of colour, visual shape, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3
First Things First (1967) Cover Page
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Kernel Intermediate (1971) Cover Page
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Kernel Lessons Plus (1972) Cover Page
Appendix 6
Appendix 7

Headway Intermediate (1986) Cover Page
Appendix 8

Appendix 9


Narrating past events

PRESENTATION

Unfortunately this is a true story. In January 1978 the firemen were on strike, and the army took over the job of answering emergency calls.

1. Here is a list of verbs in the Past Simple which tell the events of the story. Look at the pictures and put the verbs in the right order. Number them 1-10.

☐ rescued
☐ arrived
☐ climbed
☐ killed
☐ called
☐ invited
☐ couldn’t get down
☐ ran over
☐ put up (the ladder)
☐ offered

2. Here is a list of verbs in the Past Continuous which describe the scene of the narrative. Look at the pictures and put the verbs in the right order. Letter them a-d.

☐ was waiting
☐ were leaving
☐ was working
☐ was playing

3. Now complete the story about Mrs Brewin by putting a number or a letter into each gap.

On 14 January 1978 Mrs Brewin in her garden. Her cat,
Appendix 10

Headway Intermediate (1986) Unit 5, p. 24

UNIT 5

Future Time – Will and Going to

Future intentions

PRESENTATION

Shopping list
- sugar
- tea
- coffee
- cheese
- biscuits
- cornflakes
- tin of beans
- yoghurt

PRACTICE

1. Look at the shopping list. What else is Peter going to buy?
   Example
   He’s going to buy some cheese.

2. Peter said I’ll go to the baker and buy a loaf. What could he say if
   Anne said she wanted the things in the pictures? Which shops would
   Peter go to?
   Example
   Anne: Could you get some stamps?
   Peter: OK. I’ll go to the Post Office and buy some stamps.
   Anne wants these things.

Pairwork
It’s Christmas, and time to buy presents for everyone.

Student A You have already decided what you are going to buy for
everyone.

Student B You are looking for suggestions.

B What are you going to buy for
   Henry?
   A A record.
   B What shall I buy him? What does
      he like doing?
      A He likes reading.
      B Right. I’ll buy him a book.

Do the same for these people.

Anne – likes gardening
John – likes painting
James – likes cooking
Aunt Sally – likes making wine
Uncle Bob – likes model railways
Kate (aged 3) – likes playing with
dolls

Now do the same for the members of
your class!

Grammar questions
- Why does Peter say:
  I’m going to buy some (sugar); but
  I’ll go to the baker.
- What’s the difference between will
  and going to to express a future
  intention?
UNIT 9
Modal verbs of deduction

Sunday February 1st
There was a lot of shouting late last night.
The kitchen bin was knocked over and the back door
was moved. I wish my parents would be a
bit more thoughtful. I have been through an
emotional time and I need my sleep. Still, I don't
expect them to understand what it is like being
in love. They have been married for 14½ years.

Relationships

*Discussion point*

1. How do you think the people in
   the photograph are related?
   Which relative took the
   photograph?

2. Look at the texts. Where do you
   think they are from? A magazine?
   A book? A newspaper?
   Who wrote them? Why?
   What sort of relationship is being
described?

We've been married three
years but my husband's
thoughtlessness gets me
down. He never lets me
know when he's coming
home, and sometimes I'll
have dinner waiting and he
simply doesn't turn up. He
always says he met a
friend and they got talking
in the bar, or he had to
work late. We have endless
rows about it and I end up in tears. Most of the weekend
he's out with his hobbies and I get a bit lonely. I'm starting
to feel he's a complete stranger to me.

Mr and Mrs R. D. Howard

The engagement is announced between
Malcolm James, younger son of Captain
C.G.E. Tibburt-Smythc and the late Mrs.
Laura Tibburt-Smythc, of Ribadaw Hall,
Buntingford, Hertfordshire, and Penelope
Lesley, younger daughter of Major
H.C. Howard-Hempston, and the late
Mrs. Rosamund Howard-Hempston, of
Danvers the Nare Mill, Little Chalfont,
Buckinghamshire.