Black in the British: Analysing the visual representation of Black people in British Council Teaching Materials

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Black in the British: Analysing the visual representation of Black people in British Council Teaching Materials

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This dissertation results entirely from my own work and has not been offered previously for any other degree or diploma.

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Abstract

The British Council is committed to diversity and as a global provider of English as a foreign language, it is well placed to reinforce the positive portrayal of Black people in its teaching materials. However, previous research in the sector has not directly centred race and teaching materials in general, adopt a colour blind approach which centres Whiteness, leaving a knowledge gap on race and the presence of Black people in materials.

Adopting critical race theory to centre the voices of Black people and critical discourse analysis to evaluate visual representations of Black people, this research interrogates images of Black people in the British Council's own teaching materials, used to teach upper intermediate young learners in Spain. The research findings show that the images used by the British Council reinforce negative stereotypes of Black people. They also show that Black people are portrayed as passive and lacking in power when represented in images with White people. This report concludes by making a series of recommendations for the British Council to strengthen its commitment to diversity in teaching materials.

Contents

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List of abbreviations

BC	The British Council
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CRT	Critical Race Theory
EDI	Equality Diversity and Inclusion
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language

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Black in the British: Analysing the visual representation of Black people in British Council Teaching Materials

Amanda Jane Hawthorne

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

White teacher: “The magazine I’m teaching at the moment is a bit... white saviour in nature.”
Black teacher: “How do you mean?”
White teacher: “There are lots of images of Black people in need of water and the final project is to design a poster to help them.”

This conversation took place between myself and a colleague at the British Council. The topic arose whilst I was giving an induction session to new teachers on the British Council’s commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) and my White colleague saw it as an opportunity to voice his concerns. When talking about racial identity, the words White and Black will be capitalized to highlight that though they are social constructs (Leonardo, 2013; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Sijpenhof, 2018) they have practical racialized consequences.

I quote the above conversation because it was a key moment in choosing to undertake this research. It generated questions about the authenticity of commitment to EDI the British Council had, if its teaching materials could be perceived as underlining White supremacy. White supremacy is a concept that I will use throughout this study. I use it to refer to a systematic structure of social, political, cultural and economic privileges that formally and informally perpetuate White domination to the detriment of Black people (Doharty, 2019; Mills, 2015).

White supremacy is able to succeed in everyday life through an assured process of domination (Leonardo, 2004). Though this process of domination is not explicit in nature, Bonilla-Silva (2015) identifies five key factors in how White supremacy is maintained, the first of which he names as “the increasingly covert nature of racial discourse and practices” (Bonilla-Silva, 2015, p1362). The other four elements centre on the use of racialised mechanisms and practices to reproduce racial privilege whilst avoiding directly using racial terminology or referring to race (IBID). However, it is this placement of covert discourse as the first in the list, which gives prominence to a factor I have seen little discussion of in teaching materials or teacher training during my career as a teacher of English as a foreign language (EFL). This omission in EFL is problematic because it potentially allows for the continued process of racial domination outlined by Leonardo (2004) and the perpetuation of White supremacy.

As an anti-racist teacher and EDI Coordinator at the British Council, I would hope that the British Council teaching materials did not contribute to covert racist practices, however a detailed analysis is necessary to ascertain the extent of this practical racialized consequence within the organisation.

1.2 Research Question

This paper examines how Black people are portrayed in a selection of British Council (BC) teaching materials, using the main research question:

‘How are Black people visually represented in the British Council teaching materials for upper intermediate young learners?’

With a subsidiary question:
‘Does the visual representation of Black people change when juxtaposed in an image with White people?’

To answer these research questions it is necessary to talk about race, particularly the Black race. The definition of who is included as Black and who is White has changed throughout the years (Goodman et al., 2020; Ladson-BIllings, 1998), however the constant throughout each iteration has been that the latter is always superior to the former (Ladson- BIllings, 1998). Goodman et al., (2020) emphasise the arbitrary nature of racial identity, through an example of laws passed in the USA. From the seventeenth century onwards

laws differed in their definitions of Black from state to state. Meaning the same person could be legally Black in one state but cross a state border and no longer be legally Black (IBID). Modern day legal practices use self-identification to attribute race (IBID), unfortunately it is not feasible to contact each person represented in these materials to state their racial identity due to time restrictions. Therefore to attribute race I have implemented criteria that focuses only on physical racial identity markers of hair and skin colour, as these are historically salient identity markers used on and by Black people (Noah, 2016; Thompson, 2006). However, I recognise that race definitions run much deeper than skin level.

As well as clarifying what is meant by Black in the research question, I also take this opportunity to introduce the relevance of visual representation in relation to interpreting the research question. Visual images have become increasingly important in society (Kress & Leeuwen, 2005) and they have gained in importance in EFL teaching materials (Giaschi, 2000). Kress & Leeuwen (2005) assert that there is a lack of literacy taught for visual images although they have become just as important as linguistic forms. As this study focuses specifically on EFL it can be seen that EFL images have the potential to be a powerful discourse tool and as Van Dijk (1993) reminds us, discourses enable dominance to be exerted and maintained. I define discourse briefly here, to mean communication in general (Fairclough, 2010).

Taking into account that the text in all the magazines was too great for inclusion for this study, images supply an adequate and important selection of material to research.

In this introduction I have referenced several critical race theorists and critical discourse analysts because I will answer the research question using an approach based on critical race theory and complemented by critical discourse analysis, which I will elaborate in the following section.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

There is not a body of literature which studies Black visual representation in EFL however, there is a corpus of work which looks separately at race concepts, race in education and visual representation. This section will critically review the literature here as relating to the research question, to explore the interrelated significance of race, education and image to give context to the research. Starting with an explanation of critical race theory (CRT) and how it is at the core of this study, I highlight key principles of CRT that emphasise the importance of the Black focus in this research. Supplementing CRT will be critical discourse analysis (CDA), whose key elements will be explored in this section whilst reference to its practical use will be included in the methods section. The review will then explore literature pertaining to how Black people have been visually represented in ways that have at times become stereotyped. The area of Black students and education is vast but I stick here to using the concepts of colour blindness and the hidden curriculum to focus the conversation on race in education and highlight that although race is not spoken about it does not mean it's not present. Finally ending this section with a review of the specific educational context of EFL and its relation to race.

2.1 Critical Race Theory

This dissertation uses critical race theory (CRT) as a theoretical framework and methodological approach to conduct research. CRT as a methodology is

an approach growing in popularity, which I will examine in more detail in the following chapter. When referring to CRT there are several different tenets (DeCuir-Gunby, J., Chapman, T., & Schutz, P., 2018; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), not of all of which are agreed upon, some CRT theorists might subscribe to some tenets but not others (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) however, the common tenet to which all critical race theorists subscribe to is that racism is normal and omnipresent (Delgado et al., 2017; Howard & Navarro, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Parker et al., 2002; Rollock & GiIlborn, 2011). In this research I am using CRT and align myself to the tenet that racism is a normal occurrence, that is to say that racism is bound into all parts of society and institutions as a normal everyday occurrence. This means that I undertake this research believing that racism exists within the institution of education and within the institution of the British Council.

The significance of racism being omnipresent but not recognised as such makes it difficult to address (Delgado et al., 2017). For example, when I recently delivered a session on race to colleagues, one White colleague told me directly that the BC was not racist. I was showing a slide presentation with data which showed minority ethnic employees were underrepresented in senior level roles. The colleague did not see that the figures were related to the normalisation of racism. Thus his reaction was in turn helping the normalisation of racism by avoiding considering that institutional racism could be involved.

In 1978 Justice Blackmum said, “in order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race” (Delgado et al., 2017, p. ix) I use this quote because it sums up one of the issues of racism, a refusal or reluctance to discuss race. DiAngelo (2011) calls it white fragility, the situation of being uncomfortable when faced with race. The situation causes stress which prompts outward displays of emotions. For my colleague that refusal and outward display of emotion, came in the form of anger. Evidenced by my teacher colleague's reaction, race is known to be uncomfortable for many to look at (DiAngelo, 2011) and although it is a construction, it can cause very different life experiences.

Linked to the idea of the normality of racism is the idea of storytelling, which places importance on hearing the minority voice (Bell, 1995). The tenet of storytelling grew from a legal context where corroborated versions of truth are deemed fact at societal level (Ladson-Billings, 1998). However, as is pointed out in Delgado et al., (2017) at societal level, the power is dominated by a White perspective. Degaldo et al., (2017) go on to state the importance of the storytelling tenet lies in hearing voices not in power, that is to say there is great value in centering individual truths from Black or minority ethnic perspectives. There are various rules that can be ascribed to CRT but I name the one of storytelling to underscore that we all have different views and that those views are also racialized. Just as my White colleague saw a story of racial equality at the British Council, the figures on minority ethnic colleagues were telling a different story. Thus this paper is punctuated with my personal

experiences and observations because I present my perspective as a Black person in EFL, a sector that as Kubota (2006) states, is usually quiet on race.

There are those who disagree with the fundamental tenets of CRT, in particular that of storytelling (Bell, 1995; Delgado et al., 2017). Litowitz (1997) identifies the principle of storytelling as problematic because he sees the individual expression as being too personal and emotive thus, far removed from traditionally accepted research methods. What I understand Litowitz to be saying is that traditional doctrine is neutral and objective, however I believe the opposite. From a CRT standpoint we recognise that the neutral is already racially subjective and tainted with a White normalcy that is embedded by racism (Gillborn, 2007). Bell (1995) concisely states that the critics of these tenets are those “whose voices are deemed legitimate and authoritarian” (Bell, 1995, p907). It is similar to Litowitz saying that excluding the lived experiences of racially marginalised people allows for objectivity, but it does not, it simply allows for White supremacy of thought to be normalised in academia.

There is however one criticism of CRT that has been levied which I believe has countenance and that is of the centrality of racism being pessimistic (Gillborn, 2007). I too have contemplated the need for centering racism in CRT because of its negativity. Admitting to living in a society built of and reliant on racism is difficult to accept, particularly as a Black person. However, this centrality is essential to help understand the scale of racism. This focus

does not say that racism is insurmountable, but it does say it is extremely complex in how it is present in society.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this paper I do not debate the existence of racism, as this is inherent in my stance as a critical race theorist, however what is key to this paper is the way in which racial hegemony is maintained within society, that is to say not the 'if' but the 'how', which is in part where CDA is relevant. To start with a definition of discourse as it has many interpretations, throughout this study I will refer to discourse in its wider, more general sense referring to semiotic modes of communication in all forms including written, verbal and visual (Fairclough, 2010). These semiotic modes are used as a means for individuals to construct the world (Aleshire, 2014). The act of discourse analysis deconstructs in minute detail elements of semiosis to understand why it has been constructed in such a way (Shaver et al., 2010; Van Dijk, 1993).

Aleshire (2014) defines the use of discourse as imperative to domination in society thus through ensuring the legitimacy of your discourse, you are recognised as the most powerful. Fairclough (2010) sees discourse and power as two distinct elements but which flow into each other. I agree with both Aleshire (2014) and Fairclough (2010) in the sentiment that the two are undeniably entwined, discourse is an essential tool in establishing power in society. One such example present in my mind was the use of discourse as a tool during the British referendum on exiting EU membership in 2016.

Specifically how the poster campaign for leave featured issues of racial identity, conflated with the topic of migration and controlling borders (Bhopal, 2018; Koller et al., 2019). The visual representation of non-White people in a poster with the words 'breaking point', was much debated in the news in the days prior to the referendum *(Durheim et al., 2018).* Ultimately, the image formed part of a discourse which led to a redistribution of power from Europe to the UK. Van Dijk (1993) elaborates, when he says that critical discourse analysis is the pressing need of CDA researchers to interrogate the distribution of power, addressing social issues, with a clear aim to contribute to social justice. That is to say, not only deconstructing discourse but also critiquing within its wider social and political contexts.

As stated above discourse is more than the word on the page it includes varied semiotic modes including visual and it is visual images that Kress & Leeuwen (2005) warranted as needing more interrogation to understand their true importance. In their seminal book *Reading Images,* Kress & Leeuwen (2005) embrace the idea of analysing visuals to uncover hidden ideologies and give credence to the importance of images in representation rather than solely linguistic forms. Though areas such as art history, media and marketing have long seen the value of images, images in the context of discourse analysis and power is relatively recent (Machin, 2013). Nor are images new to education, what is commonly considered as the first modern textbook was in fact a picture-based book used to teach children language, with what is deemed a "heavily religious" (Shaver at al., 2010, p3) content.

When I refer to visual discourse during this study, I am referring to my analysis of still images and their power to communicate both hidden and visible messages, similar to how words give meaning, so too do images (Machin et al., 2012). Fairclough (1989) reminds us that not all images are equal, what can be conveyed in one image of a scene may not be conveyed in another image of the same scene. I understand the importance in this argument as emphasising perspective, because through selecting one image a choice is being made to highlight that perspective or that one voice, but at the same time the image selected can hide other voices. The words and images we choose to tell a story are not objective (Machin et al., 2012), they project the voice we want to be heard.

Van Dijk (1998) is a White critical discourse analyst who states that discourse has developed “the systematic foregrounding and emphasizing of our good actions and their bad ones” (p148). I use this quote because it places emphasis on the existence of subtle manipulation of thought, a subtlety that I will be researching in the visual representation of Black people. Van Dijk (2003) goes on to write about how discourse is abused in order to legitimate power. One example of this is the continued funding of academic research into the believed intellectual inferiority of Black people being seen as valid, whilst the idea of racism in discourse is ridiculed and not funded to the same extent (Van Dijk, 1999). In the following paragraphs we look at the lack of published research on race in EFL, which fits with the statement Van Dijk is making, that it is easier to continue an already established debate on the

intellect (or lack thereof) of Black people, particularly when it positions White people in a beneficial light.

I highlight here that my chosen definition of discourse does not explore what is left out, that which is not said. As critical discourse analysts we are reminded to look at who is being foregrounded and backgrounded but also who is being silenced and for what benefit (Fairclough, 2003 cited in Machin & Abousnnouga, 2013; Shaver, 2010). It is relevant to recognise that a selection process is always being enacted to decide what is included in discourse and what is not.

Though CDA has evolved into a "a substantial and diverse international field of teaching and research" (Fairclough, 2010, p4), the specific elements of CDA I will be using are looking at how seemingly subtle and natural forms of discourse are being legitimized to manipulate and control thought (Van Dijk, 1993). I chose CDA specifically because it starts with a base of critical analysis, similar to that of CRT, in which both are frameworks that centre voices and power (Staples, 2012). This critical framework allows me to research images that seem neutral, in teaching materials that teachers are obliged to teach. Teaching materials that have become an integral part of the socialization process for children (Shaver et al., 2010). Thus CDA provides methods of research and a transdisciplinary way of working (Fairclough, 2010), that allows me to focus on the Black voice in line with CRT.

2.3 Visual Representation of Black People and Stereotypes

In their work on *Visualizing Everyday Racism*, Perez and Solorzano (2015) highlight modern and historical references to images and how they have become integral to maintaining White supremacy. Though they cover Black and latinx representation, here I will focus on the visual representation of Black people as this is the focus of my study. Long before recent studies on visual representation in media, social or even critical discourse studies, W. E. B. Du Bois is considered to be one of the first visual race theorists (IBID). Du Bois demonstrates that the importance I am attributing to the visual representation of Black people and the connection with White supremacy is not new. In 1897 he wrote about the sensation of “always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others” (Du Bois, 1897, p. 1). I add this to emphasise that not only is the image of Black people constructed and given to White people, but it is also constructed and given to Black people, thus stereotypes are formed across racial identities. What Du Bois (1897) is asserting here, and Perez and Solorzano (2015) highlighting, is that the representation of Black people is constructed not by Black people but by White people with power, with the objective of maintaining that power.

I use the term stereotype to mean the expectations and shared social and political understanding of how a certain social group acts (Chang & Demyan, 2008; Clark & Pearson, 1982; Fedor, 2014), in this context the social group is Black people.

Studies show that for children between the ages of five and ten, their awareness of racial stereotypes increases and they begin to infer stereotypes (Nasir et Al., 2017). However, like racial categories have changed through the years, so too have stereotypes of Black people. In a study by Clark and Pearson (1982) examining stereotypes, it was seen that in 1933 the most popular adjective associated with Black people by White participants was lazy at 75%. Almost fifty years later, lazy was only popular with 18% of the White participants, but still selected with frequency from a list of 84 positive and negative adjectives. In 1982 the most popular adjective selected by White participants to describe Black participants was aggressive (Clark & Pearson, 1982). A more recent study found that twelve to fourteen year old children were aware of negative stereotypes of Black people in America (Nasir et Al., 2017). The negative stereotypes were that Black children were less intelligent and not good students compared to White children (IBID).

Though stereotypes are not real they do have a real impact (Nederveen Pierterse, 1992). In the Nasir et al., (2017) study, the impact is on the Black students' belief in their own academic ability, also known as stereotype threat (IBID). However, research shows that both students and teachers are prone to stereotyping within education (Chang & Demyan, 2008; Clark et al., 1982; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). There is also research that confirms the impact of stereotypes on teachers, who have their own racialized expectations or hear common negative stereotypes repeatedly used by their peers (Chang & Demyan, 2008; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020).

Before ending this section on stereotypes and visual representation of Black people, I refer to one more study conducted in the 1930s in which White children were shown a photo of a library and asked to describe what the Black person was doing, (Charles, 1997; Nederveen Pierterse, 1992). Though there was no black person in the photo of the library, the child participants' answers included that he was busy cleaning the floor or shelves, but at no time did a participant suggest that he was reading a book (Charles, 1997). The CRT discipline asks us to examine what is being said and how, but also what is being left out (Fairclough, 2010). In an image as seemingly innocuous as a library, a stereotype can still be reinforced through who is depicted as using the library and who is absent, it implies who is studious and who is not. These studies show that negative stereotypes have persisted and continue to persist through many years and they will continue to exist unless educators actively counter stereotypes (Nasir et Al., 2017).

2.4 Colour blindness

Goodman et al., (2019) assert that the historical definition of race being mainly concerned with skin colour, means significant repercussions on how people are categorized and treated on an individual rather than group level. What the authors are emphasising is that notions of talking about race (and its consequences) become meaningless because race is only skin deep, with little more basis. From here develops the notion of being racially colourblind, the idea that mentioning race is negative because it is only a skin colour. Martin Luther King dreamt that his children would not be “judged by the color

of their skin but by the content of their character" (Yale, 2008) in the past I interpreted this to mean that we should not recognise race, however as Ullucci and Battery (2011) point out, King was talking about judgement not recognition. The emphasis was on not being judged, rather than on not being seen as Black. Race blindness was the end goal and not the reality of the times we live in. That is to say that before getting to a future where race is not important it is first important to look at race, just as Justice Blackmum pointed out in 1978 first we need to look at race, before being able to combat racism (Delgado et al.,2017).

Ullucci et al., (2011) define the concept of colour blindness as being a combination of Whiteness, individualism and merit. Beginning with Whiteness, they use Leonardo's description of a "racial perspective" (Ullucci et al., 2011, p1199) that provides benefits to Whites through embedded practices. Meaning that through being identified as White, White people are afforded privileges such as those outlined by McIntosh (1989), for example, being taught materials that attest to the existence of their race. Gillborn (2007) further purports that Whiteness also means recognising the White group as normal and all other groups as just that, others. Other key components of Whiteness include downplaying White privilege and minimising the impact of racism (Ullucci et al., 2011). To clarify, Whiteness is not about being White (Gillborn, 2007), as we have seen above who is defined as White can change, rather, Whiteness is the concept of a dominant racialized identity that positions itself to be privileged (Bhopal, 2018; DiAngelo, 2011) without recognising that privilege nor its race. Although the idea of Whiteness and

White racial supremacy is interconnected with CRT, where CRT differs is that it makes a clear distinction in centreing Black and minority experiences (Bell, 1995).

The two other components of colour blindness, merit and individualism, are described as relating to personal ability and effort, regardless of outside circumstances (Ullucci et al., 2011). I agree when Ulluccii et al. (2011), state that merit and individualism work without taking context into account, they are emphasising the improbability of achievements being won in a vacuum. The idea of meritocracy is that only the talent and achievement of the individual is taken into account, not class or wealth (Nahai, 2013). The idea of making selections on hard work alone is seen as fair, however this does not take into account entrenched inequalities that form part of wider society (Nahai, 2013; Graham et., al, 2019). This notion of personal achievement disregards the impact of historical racism and cultural socialisation that takes place in the educational and home environment (socialisation and capital will be explored in the curriculum section).

Within the wider concept of colour blindness I refer to a report published by the Runnymede Trust which interviewed teachers in the UK on the topic of race and racism (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The term colour blind was supported by a quote from a White teacher who told her students not to refer to race and racism because we are all part of “one human race” (IBID, p9). This is a clear example of colour blind teaching, it negates the lived racist experiences of Black students but also serves to avoid confrontation and to

place the teacher in a more comfortable situation (DiAngelo, 2011; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Ullucci et al., 2011). Not talking about race has far reaching consequences, the tiering system in the UK means teachers have control over who is able to sit to achieve a higher grade level (Bhopal, 2018). Studies conducted by the University of Warwick and University of Bristol, assessing the tiering decisions made by teachers show that teachers' assessments repeatedly underestimate the ability of Black students (Burgess & Greeves, 2013). The data highlighted that regardless of socioeconomic background, Black students, who have a similar academic record to White students, are less likely to be selected to study for A - C grades (IBID), so they are effectively set to underachieve. Teachers may think their decisions are colour blind, based on merit and on being part of "one human race" (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020, p9), but research shows otherwise.

This final example is exemplified by the current global pandemic caused by Covid-19 in 2020. At the time of writing, the pandemic has brought fresh concerns to education as schools have closed early and teachers were asked to make final grade decisions based on teacher predictions. However, research has repeatedly shown that teacher stereotypes and low expectations negatively impact Black students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). There is a clear history of Black students receiving lower marks and being overly represented in school exclusions (Byrne et al., 2020; Gillborn et., al, 2017; Graham et al., 2019). In addition, the current changes caused by the pandemic means that Black students are even more susceptible to unequal

treatment because there is no opportunity to sit a final external exam that is truly blind marked by unknown graders.

As can be seen from the above, colour blindness means that race is disregarded, not just on a superficial level of the colour of one's skin but everything associated with it including historical racism and the privileges associated with Whiteness. Colour blindness is important to this study because it affects the visual representation of Black people in the teaching materials. Portraying Black people as Black to include a context on race, supports the opening of a dialogue on race (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020), which if followed will allow for recognition of how racism is present in society (Delgado et al., 2017). To put this into the perspective of education, it must be remembered that at a biological level race does not exist (Goodman et al., 2019) yet as Howard and Navarro (2016) state, there is a discrepancy in the experiences of Black and White students. I have heard teachers say that they do not see race and this is widely believed by many teachers (Kubota et al., 2009; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Ullucci et al., 2011) but shown above not to be evidenced by research.

2.4 Curricula: Hidden and Colonized but not Black

It is not only teachers who profess a colourblind attitude, it can be believed of teaching materials also, such as those that are compiled into a curriculum. In education two types of curriculum exist, the formal one that is set at the start of each academic year and the one that instills ways of learning but is not

formally announced, the latter is referred to as the hidden curriculum (Scott, 2014).

The hidden curriculum has many definitions, but what is commonly referred to throughout is the concept that we are learning more at school than what is formalised (Kentli, 2009). In 1925 Emile Durkheim ascertained that schools produce a socialization that is not stated in the curriculum (Margolis, 2001) and it is through this hidden curriculum that children learn their role in society, which results in legitimating the dominant power (Giroux, 2011; 2016). My interpretation adds to these, in that from a race perspective the hidden curriculum is used as a tool to maintain White racial supremacy through instilling racist ways of being through their structure and organisation (Scott, 2014). A recent example in an A-level sociology textbook, states that Black families “lack intellectual stimulation and enriching experiences” (White, 2020, paragraph 2). This example reinforces the subtlety of how students learn that Black people are less intelligent but also, how being intelligent is not associated with being Black. The stereotype related to intelligence will be examined in more detail in the stereotypes section below.

The role played by the hidden curriculum is part of a process of socialisation that provides its students with capital. When I refer to capital in this paper I am referencing Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1990) exploration of the concept of resources available to an individual that work as a form of currency in society (Rollock, 2007). This is a currency that is not solely economic but what is used to navigate life. Bourdieu’s concept of capital was developed with a view

to better understand the workings of social structures (Reay, 2004). However, it is important to remember that Bourdieu is White and a product of Whiteness, because in developing capital and defining status he awarded Black capital as being low in the scale (Yosso, 2005). Continuing with Yosso's (2005) critique of commonly held views of capital, to say that the capital of Black people is of low value is a perspective embedded in Whiteness. It would be more accurate to recognise that it is not of a lesser value than White normative capital but it is regarded as such in order to maintain a White power dominance.

The hidden curriculum refers to the socialization of students in education, whereas the colonized curriculum is generally considered to refer to a White Eurocentric focus on what is taught and what is considered valuable (Ferguson et al., 2019). Decolonizing the curriculum has been talked about for sometime but over the past ten years there has been an increased call to decolonize the curriculum (Charles: 2019; Sleeter, 2014; UCL, 2014). With an increase in attention, the meaning of decolonization can vary in interpretation. Here I refer to decolonization as confronting the legacy of colonialism, through considering multiple perspectives and the value placed on the White, male perspective (Ferguson et al., 2019; Rettovà, 2017). In 2014 students at UCL ran a campaign entitled 'Why is my curriculum so white?'. The campaign focused on the lack of diversity in materials and the lack of focus on discrimination (UCL, 2014). One Indian student said of British education that "they study empire from the perspective that it was like a benevolent Elizabethan NGO, that went everywhere to save the world." (UCL, 2014). This

student's belief is supported by a YouGov survey that found that 49% of British people surveyed, thought former British colonies were better off from being colonized, compared to 15% who thought they were worse off (Dahlgreen, 2014). McIntosh (2020) contradicts this widely held view with the example of India, that had a larger share in the world economy, 23%, than when the British left and it was 3%.

The UCL student quoted above is clearly highlighting an issue with teaching materials, that they are subjective yet put forward as objective. The student states an example of her experience of colonialism in materials, however there are many more examples such as the GCSE sociology textbook that stated Black Caribbean men were absent from family life (Badshah, 2018) or the image in a GCSE psychology textbook depicting Black people as cannibals eating White people, appendix one (Roberts, 2020). These are just a few recent examples that have made the news, it does not include everyday examples such as my current experience on a social justice course with reading lists largely composed of White authors, an omittance which could aptly fit with the '*Why is My Curriculum So White'* campaign (UCL, 2014).

If a race has no history, it has no worthwhile tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world and it stands in danger of being exterminated.

(Woodson, 1926)

As McIntosh (1989) highlighted, Whiteness is taught and reinforced in positive ways but being Black is not. Calls to include Black history and perspectives are currently intensifying in the UK (Arday, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020) but

as can be seen from the quote above, the importance of learning Black history goes back much further (Woodson, 1926). In the UK, an independent review into the treatment of Black migrants from the Caribbean, reported a need for greater understanding of British histories of empire, colonialism and migration to combat racism in British institutions (Williams, 2020). Recent reports in education call on three clear reforms: the centreing of anti-racism, training for teachers and obligatory continuous teaching of Black history (Arday, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; McIntosh et al., 2019). I highlight the hidden curriculum to show how Black history and perspectives have been decentered, however I highlight these three recommendations because they enable Black voices to be centred.

2.5 Race in EFL

The importance of English has grown throughout the centuries, once the benefits of a global English were understood by the English in the nineteenth century, using English to communicate became a global endeavour, quickly made into a highly valued commodity (Kedzierski, 2016;Pennycook, 2007). A commodity that is now believed to be spoken by two billion people worldwide (British Council, 2013). The global use of English makes teaching English and publishing teaching English materials a profitable business (British Council, 2019; Pennycook, 2017). The British Council has a wide reach in TEFL, at times with over 65 million people directly making contact in any one year (FCO, 2018). However, despite the global and profitable nature of EFL there is little research nor teaching materials on EFL and anti racism. There still

exists an argument that posits that the continued efforts of England to make its language the lingua franca is merely colonialism in another form (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999), which begs the question, are antiracist materials purposefully left out of teaching materials? In contrast, Pennycook (2017) makes the point that through learning English globally, it is possible that English becomes further removed from England and thus decolonized. However, Shaver (2010) highlights that publishers are known to have been slow in reflecting equality in textbooks. What is clear is that more research is needed and I will elaborate further below.

The majority of research on race in education is related to how teachers should teach Black students (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lander, 2011; Sleeter 2017; Yosso, 2005). When looking at research in EFL on race, the body of research is smaller yet still focuses on how teachers teach minority ethnic students (Lee, & Simon-Maeda, 2012; Ferreira, 2007; Madrid, 2011; Motha, 2006), but also comprises research on how it is to be an ethnic minority teacher to majority ethnic students (Amin, 2012; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Lee & Simon-Maeda, 2012). The studies include minority voices but none focus on centering the Black voice.

The study conducted by Taylor-Mendes was the only one found that researched images in EFL to analyse the conscious and unconscious messages being sent to EFL students and that centred race in its findings (Taylor-Mendes, 2003). Though Taylor-Mendes had not started the study expecting to focus on race, it became a recurring theme after analysing

qualitative data discussions from participants (Taylor-Mendes, 2009). I pause to highlight here what can be seen as an example of White supremacy, that Taylor-Mendes as a White woman did not consider that race would be so prominent in a critical look at images in EFL textbooks in Brazil. This to me seems an example of White dominant perspective that places Whiteness as normal. As Lee et., al. (2012) state, there is a lack of reference to how racialized identities impact on research in EFL, I agree with them in the need to place more intentional research with race addressed, if it is not addressed there is the continued danger of race being seen unexpectedly or not being seen at all, the latter of which continues to the normalization of Whiteness and the perpetuation of racism.

Schools in general are increasingly using images in their teaching materials (Kress & Leeuwen, 2005) and since the 70s, emphasis has been increasingly placed on the images in EFL textbooks (Giaschi, 2000). Giaschi (IBID) refers to the aesthetics of textbooks becoming increasingly important, not only the textual content. In her study Taylor-Mendes (2009) goes on to emphasise the importance placed on images in language acquisition. Whether directed to or not by teachers, students search for meaning in the images associated with the text and exercises. This highlights that images are serving a real purpose in aiding comprehension, but as Taylor-Mendes' (IBID) study indicates the comprehension is not only related to language but also an understanding of how the world is.

In the textbooks analysed by Abdollahzadeh et al., (2017) their findings displayed an absence of portrayal of the negative side of society aspects and instead content was seen to be trivialized, with cultural stereotypes being "significantly present in these English textbooks" (Abdollahzadeh et al., 2017, p13). The Abdollahzadeh et al., (2017) study referred to race but it did not centre it, instead it used terms such as hegemony, social power and superiority, all of which I view integral to maintaining racism. Both the Abdollahzadeh et al., (2017) study and the Taylor Mendes (2009) study end by calling for greater awareness on the part of textbook producers and teachers in doing more to create an equitable society. Both also call for more studies on the topic of EFL textbooks and equality. Moreover I align myself with EFL researchers who specifically name that there is an insufficient amount of discussion about race in EFL (Amin, 1997; Kubota et al., 2006; Lee & Simon-Maeda, 2006; Motha, 2006).

2.6 Literature Review Summary

In this chapter I have shown how CRT and CDA complement each other to provide a framework within which to answer the research questions. I also reviewed how both CDA and CRT critique existing power structures and fit with my reasons for undertaking this research. I included common criticisms of CRT and CDA but found the criticisms insufficient to warrant not using them. The literature review set how visual representation is important and how negative portrayals of Black people have and continue to exist. In this chapter I cited a number of recent references to how the hidden curriculum and colour

blindness continue to have a detrimental effect on Black students, whilst perpetuating White supremacy. To conclude the section I drew together the different areas of race, education and TEFL to illustrate current gaps in research on race in the TEFL industry. I also briefly looked at the role of the British Council in maintaining English as a lingua franca and how TEFL has grown into a global business, a context which I will elaborate on further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Method and Methodology

3.1 Methodology and CRT

> "A CRT methodology should in part be characterized by its ability to eschew the passive reproduction of established practices, knowledge and resources, that make up the way types of research have been traditionally carried out."
>
> (Hylton, 2012)

This section links both method, where I will detail the process of how I have gathered data, and the methodology, meaning the approach I have taken to processing my research. Simply put, the research tools used and the justification for the use of those tools. I state this as the two are commonly confused (Leonardo, 2013) but it is also to make clear my role as a CRT researcher. Though called a theory, CRT is also a theoretical framework and is still very much present in this section of the research. Using CRT means knowing that racism is embedded in society, which means in a practice regarded as commonplace such as stating a methodology, it is important to recognise how racism also occupies the space. Previously CRT researchers have acknowledged the racist roots of some methods and epistemologies (Hylton, 2012; Yosso, 2000) and I recognize that some dominant ideologies are viewed as problematic in their construction of knowledge and intention to see neutrality instead of racial dominance (Tyson, 2003). CRT tenets place race at the centre of all interrogation (DeCuir et al., 2018; Delgado et al., 2017; Ladson Billings, 1998; Sijpenhof, 2018). To this end I make clear my

use of CRT methodology, as a way to address race-related questions that traditional methodologies leave unanswered (Parker & Lynn, 2002).

Leonardo posits that conducting race research in the way I have done, within a racialized school environment, is “inherently hermeneutical” (Leonardo, 2013, p599). This is a broad statement but its application to my specific area of research on the image of the Black race within education, is wholly accurate because of the nature of interpreting an image. The nuances and possible limitations of my interpretations will be examined in detail below. At the same time that I am interpreting a reality from this research, I am also part of a critical paradigm which emphasises the influence of a power dynamic in which I am not dominant. My positionality as a researcher will also be detailed later in this chapter. Overall, my research methodology does not neatly lie within one appropriate category but crosses a realm of critical and constructivist approaches. Approaches that are tailored as necessary to centre the Black experience, challenge oppression and focus social justice, just three of the key factors important to consider in implementing a CRT methodology (Hylton, 2012).

3.2 CDA and CRT

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been selected as part of a transdisciplinary approach to answer this research question, because it incorporates methods used to look critically at how communication is utilized as a tool of power (Wodak, 2001) and specifically relating discourse to

dominance (Van Dijk, 1993). CDA has a focus on “social problems rather than scholarly paradigms” (Mullett, 2018, p117) allowing it to be used flexibly along the constructivist interpretivist continuum and further. Moreover, it’s important to emphasise that the critical element of CDA is that it analyses in the interests of those groups dominated by power in an effort to activate change for the better (Van Dijk, 2001) or address what Fairclough calls “social wrongs” (Fairclough, 2010, p11). CRT complements CDA in that CRT gives the focus on the Black representation and CDA provides a set of tools with which to analyse the visual representation of Black people. Both combining in their advocating for social change, through frameworks of critical research analysis.

Norman Fairclough, considered one of the architects of CDA, has been published widely over the course of forty years with different interpretations of his work and his own interpretations evolving over the decades, however he eludes giving a set of rules as to what CDA is or how it should be done (Fairclough, 2010). However he does identify three key aspects to enabling CDA focused transdisciplinary research, which I have summarized as: analysis of discourse alongside a social process, systemic analysis of discourse and righting injustices. During a pilot of this study, Mullet’s (2018) CDA analytical framework was used but later rejected in favour of a framework apt to answer the research question. I later used Giaschi’s (2000) analysis framework to focus specifically on image. Both frameworks meet all three of these aspects, meaning the research produced using the framework would be recognised as CDA. It also gives focus to ensure that my research

was being conducted in a structured way and simplifying the process should future analysts wish to replicate my research.

3.3 Discourse Selection and Context

The British Council is an institution with offices globally in more than 100 countries and territories (British Council, 2019). Its endorsement is sought after by other TEFL organisations, who apply for accreditation from it as a way of proving legitimacy for their English programmes (British Council & English UK, 2019). All these factors place the British Council in a position to potentially implement, far reaching change for the better. I conducted this research from where I am based, in the largest teaching centre in the BC in Spain. I made the decision to focus solely on the materials within the British Council rather than EFL textbooks in general, because the British Council publicly advocates an EDI commitment, it says equality, diversity and inclusion is in everything it does (British Council, 2020), thus creating the expectation that the visual representation of Black people in its materials will be equal, inclusive and diverse. I also focused on the BC because of my role within it, which allows for the possibility of effecting change, an important component of conducting critical research in CRT and CDA (Fairclough, 2015; Parker et al., 2002; Van Dijk, 2003).

In the academic year 2019 - 2020, the British Council Spain continued with its roll out of specially created teaching materials by implementing obligatory use of its magazines across all levels and age groups. The magazine-style

materials have now replaced traditional coursebooks in all young learner classes and the promotional guide for the materials say that they have been developed “in consultation with a team of experienced British Council course writers” (BC, 2019). This dissertation is focused on the six magazines studied throughout the academic year for young learner students under the age of 16, normally between the ages of eleven and fourteen years in Spain, at upper intermediate level. As a teacher I have access to the current upper intermediate magazines that have been selected.This level has been selected as this is the level that is commonly cited as when TEFL students plateau (Richards, 2008) and it is also the level in which the ‘White saviour’ magazine is found.

The decision was made to focus on images rather than text because race is not spoken about directly, in almost ten years of teaching English I have never seen a reference to race included in the curricula I was given to teach. As detailed above, a colourblind approach is common in teaching, however colour blindness in visual representations is harder to achieve because the visible identifier of skin colour makes race seen.

3.4 Image Analysis Framework

At the start of my research I elected to use Mullet’s (2018) Generic Analytical Framework for CDA which combines practices common to CDA, I chose this as it represented to me the core aspects of CDA whilst maintaining a flexibility to ensure that I was able to maintain centering the Black experience and CRT

principles. Before starting with the research in full, I conducted a pilot analysis with just one magazine, the first in the upper intermediate level, to check the feasibility of the research using Mullet's framework. The main aim of the pilot was to produce a data set using a method that was appropriate to answer the research question. As a result of the pilot study I made the decision not to use the general analytical framework (Mullet, 2018) as it proved too general for my purposes of specifically analysing images. In their research on gender in EFL both Giaischi (2000) and Taylor-Mendes (2003) used an image analysis framework which I deemed more appropriate to use in my research, because the focus on images needed more in depth analysis than Mullet's (2018) General Analytical Framework allowed for.

This study continues the previous image analysis work in EFL conducted by Giaschi (2000) and Taylor-Mendes (2003), both of which are based on Fairclough's (1989) analysis technique involving three stages: description, interpretation and explanation (Giaschi, 2000). In his image analysis framework Giaschi (2000) posits seven questions to interrogate the role of images in EFL textbooks. Those questions are:

1. What is the activity of the image(s)?

2. Who is active (the "protagonist") in the image?

3. Who is passive (the "receiver") in the image(s)?

4. Who has status in the image(s)?

5. What does the body language communicate?

6. What does the clothing communicate?

7. Where are the eyes directed?

(Giaschi, 2000)

Though the questions were originally compiled with regard to gender, in this study I have applied them to race, with the objective of analysing race equality within images. The benefit of using this framework for analysis is that it was used specifically to analyse images and it recognises the interrelation of visual discourse in power relations (Giaschi, 2000), thus still aligning with key aspects of CDA and CRT.

The significance of question one is in identifying the context of the image, in particular in EFL, to indicate the balance of settings and range of human activity depicted (Giaschi, 2000). Questions two and three in the framework echo image analysis techniques of critical discourse analysts Kress and Leeuwen (2005). Thus to assess passive and active, I have used Kress and Leeuwen's (2005) interpretation of passive and active participants in which an active participant is the actor, whether they are alone in the picture or not, and the passive participant, the person who is reacting to or the goal of the actor. Vectors is the term used to describe where there is focus in the image and vectors help identify who is active and passive in an image (Kress et al., 2005) This analysis is useful in identifying within images where power can be seen. Those who are active have power and those who are passive have less power relatively (Kress, 1988).

3.5 Common Black portrayals and stereotypes

“ I bet you’re a good singer”. Anonymous, 2000.

In addition to the image analysis framework and in order to aid in identifying themes I compiled a guide to popular Black portrayals and stereotypes. The above quote was taken from a stranger, an unknown White male, though I’ve been assumed to be a good singer more than once it was this quote from a stranger to whom I had never spoken, that sticks in my mind. Just from looking at me he had assumed that I was musical, in particular that I was good at singing. The opening quote coincides with a popular portrayal of Black people as being musical. More than musical, we are projected as natural all round entertainers, with an ability so highly desired that the practice of blacking up, commonly known as Blackface, became a popular act in the USA and UK in the nineteenth century (Bratten, 1981; Lott, 2013). The entertainer trope is one of several popular portrayals of Black men and women which this analysis centred.

Over the years, published works have studied the prevalence of common stereotypes, studying what characteristics are attributed to which races (Chang et. al., 2008, Clark & Pearson, 1982; Nasir et al., 2017, Stangor et al., 1991; Todd et al., 2016). Others have commented on the use of the Black image (Charles, 1997; Green, 1998; Hall, 1997; hooks, 2010; Murji, 2006; Nederveen Pierterse, 1992; Thompson, 2006). Using these works in addition to a Spanish text on coloniality (Guerra & Zuniga, 2019), to ensure a local view, along with the CRT tradition of including my own experiences and observations (Delgado et al., 2017), I have developed a list of common

stereotypes of Black people in society. The list consists of nine common representations in education, media and society across Europe and the USA, they are:

1. Uncivilized: Living a way of life that is perceived as substandard
2. Uninteligent: Intellectually inferior; biologically less intelligent
3. Aggressive: Biologically more violent and prone to flare up
4. Athletic: Naturally more physical and combined with lack of intelligence, more suited to physical activity
5. Poor: Combined with lack of intelligence unable to manage finances
6. Exotic: A strange foreign thing, not from here
7. Hyper sexual: Exhibiting over sexualized characteristics (hooks, 2009)
8. Entertainer: More musical, more apt to play the fool and with a physicality making good dancers
9. Wetnurse: A caring Black female figure, such as that protagonized by award winning actress Hattie McDaniel as “mammy” in Gone With the Wind. (hooks, 2009, p96)

The purpose of compiling a list of common stereotypes was to give a clear reference as to what representations of Black people might be present in the photos and maintain a focus on race (Tyson, 2012). The list was not set to be comprehensive, so as to allow room for additional representations to be observed. I was aware of my own preconceived ideas of common stereotypes and did not want them to preclude what stereotypes might actually be present in the materials, hence my approach was a combination of deductive and

inductive (Cohen, 2017). Following the questions in the analysis framework as a guide, images of Black people were logged in a spreadsheet, allocated with a reference number and checked against the common portrayals framework. Where the photo did not coincide with the framework, a new category was added to the spreadsheet with a note on what characteristic was being portrayed.

3.6 Ethics

Ethical concerns are often considered on a binary of right and wrong (Cohen, 2017), however my intention throughout this study is to, as much as possible, align myself with researching to enact social change for the better. To do this I started by ensuring that my use of the research materials was sanctioned. Thus, permission was sought from the British Council's Director of Teaching in Spain, who gave his consent to the use of the magazines in the study. An ethical consent form was also completed, noting that no recruitment nor study of participants was required in the completion of this study. Through completing the ethical consent required by the university, my concerns were alleviated when I recognized that areas such as consent, anonymity, confidentiality and overall care of participants would be assured as my study did not include participants. However, only after a comment from my tutor did I begin to think about the care of myself, as a Black researcher and the impact of researching the representation of Black people in the place where I work. To combat this I tried to follow a deontological approach which I understand to essentially mean, do no harm (Cohen, 2017). Ultimately my interpretation is

that I have a moral duty to care for people and that includes putting care for myself, before possible positive changes brought about by conducting the research.

Two ethical concerns normally highlighted in the context of conducting qualitative research with participants, are also relevant to my research, those are positionality and being an insider researcher (Costley, C., et al., 2010; Cohen, 2017). I am not a detached observer on the outside of the organisation, as pointed out by Brown (2011), my positionality as a Black anti-racist, as well as my insider role as an employee place me in a position where I may need to defend my objectivity in conducting the research (Costley, C., et al., 2010). In answer to this I highlight my stance as a CRT researcher who believes that racism is already embedded in society, including at the British Council. Whether the findings of the research find or do not find negative representation of Black people in the materials, the research will still be useful. If a negative portrayal is highlighted in the research findings it will serve as a basis from which to focus attention on how to eliminate it. If a positive portrayal is found it will serve as an example for other TEFL organisations and publishers. Throughout the process constant reflection will be required to ensure that interpretation of the visual representations is balanced to reflect my unique role as an insider researcher and maintain objectivity (Cohen, 2017), whilst realizing that right and wrong are not really black and white.

3.7 Limitations with methodology and method

> "It is worth emphasizing that there is no single or 'correct' answer to the question, What does this image mean...since there is no one law which can guarantee, 'one, true meaning', or that meaning won't change over time, work in this area is bound to be interpretive" (Hall, 1997, p.9)

Here Hall sums up one of the main sticking points in visual image analysis, that the work is open to interpretation, meaning that if another researcher was to follow my exact research they might draw different conclusions. Though to counter this Hall (1997) goes on to say that the best way to prove an approach is through detailed justification. With this in mind I elaborate in the analysis section not only the what but also the 'how' of how I have reached my findings.

This study is not intended to be generalizable, it is limited to the British Council Spain and consists of BC teaching materials for one level in one year with the potential to be used in ten teaching centres across Spain. These same magazines are also used as standard across teaching centres in the EU and Asia regions but each country chooses from a range of eight magazines and decides on the order the magazines will be taught in, because their priorities and audiences are all different.

Though upper intermediate is one of the most requested levels at the British Council, in Spain these magazines are studied by 12 to 14 year olds, where

there is less demand. So although these magazines are studied, the students who use them are a minority rather than majority. However, the usefulness of this study is in the analysis of how a leading global educational organisation portrays Black people to the multiple classes of children it teaches at upper intermediate level in Spain.

Chapter 4 Findings and Discussion

On completion of the image analysis for all magazines, a total of twenty images were found to contain a representation of a Black person, that is 22% of all images in the magazine contained a Black person. Using Giaschi's (2000) original analysis I examine the findings by question below in the same order as originally posed.

4.1 Results using seven question framework

1. What is the image activity?

The significance of this first question is to set context, it also helps to give a broad picture of what is being focused on and what is absent (Giaschi, 2000). Excluding the four images in which there was no discernable activity (Images 6, 9, 17 and 20), there were four repeated activities portrayed which I've tabled alongside the frequency with which they are shown in table 1 below. The first activity was of a Black person working together in a group, this was the context in three (Images 4, 8 and 18) of the twenty images. The repeated depiction of this activity is encouraging as the context does not reflect common stereotypes of Black people. The activity infers that the participants are intelligent rather than lacking intelligence (Clark & Pearson, 1982;Nasir et Al., 2017). However, we'll examine the overall construction below in stereotypes. The second repeated activity was of a Black person touching hands with a White person, in the form of giving a high five, fist bump and

making a heart (Images 1, 2 and 5). Again the presence of this activity does not fit with negative stereotypes and can be perceived as positive. Also positive is the repeated activity of a Black person writing, which was depicted in two photos. However, in the final repeated activity the image was of a Black person drinking water from their hands (Images 11 and 13), this was repeated in two photos and there is a perceived negative stereotype of poverty. In the four photos where there was no discernable activity, the photo was a headshot. Of the remaining six photos there were no repeated activities, images depicted a range of contexts which were hiking, ironing, ordering food, stroking a dog, talking and lying in a hospital bed.

Activity	**Frequency**
Headshot	4
Working in a group	3
Touching hands with non-Black people	3
Drinking water from a fountain	2
Writing	2
Hiking	1
Ordering food	1
Stroking a dog	1
Ironing	1

Lying in a hospital bed	1
Talking	1

Table 4.1. Activity and frequency of representation in the magazines.

Giaschi (2000) also uses this first question to reflect on what activities are absent from the images. There are activities such as painting, filming, shopping and reading a book, present in the magazines but none of these images have Black visual representation. In line with CDA, researchers are asked to think about what is missing in the discourse (Machin & Abousnnouga, 2013; Shaver, 2010; Van Dijk, 1999) and to which I highlight the absence of an image of a Black person reading a book. There is at least one photo of a White child reading a book in these magazines, on the contrary, nearly one hundred years after a stereotype study asking children to imagine a Black person reading (Charles, 1997) in these materials Black people are still not represented reading a book.

2. Who is active in the image?

This and the following two questions require a binary answer when using the image analysis framework, originally that would be male or female but in this context of race I have updated it to Black or non-Black to answer the research question and keep the focus on Black people in accordance with CRT tenets. In total the Black person is portrayed as active in 91% of the photos. In Figure

4.1 below I illustrate how Black people are represented as active when alone, when with other Black people and when with non-Black people in an image.

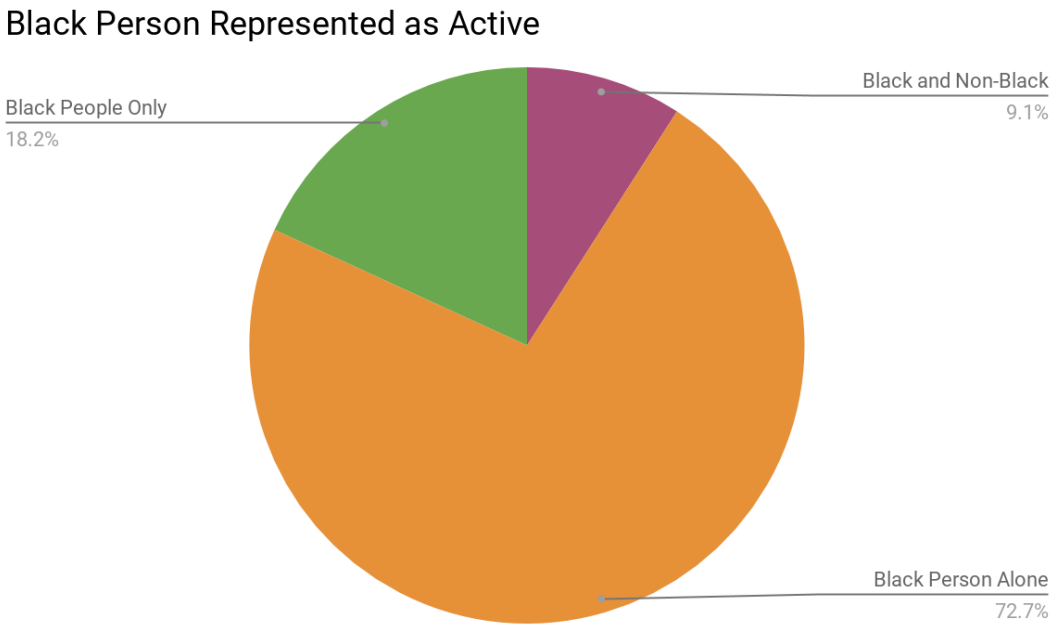

Figure 4.1. Percentage of times a Black person is represented as active in an image when alone, when with other Black people and when with non-Black people

However, the representation in Figure 1 does not fully emphasise the disproportionate amount of power attributed to White people when they are also represented in the image with Black people. Out of the twenty images with representations of Black people, ten of them also contain non-Black people in the images. In the images where there were both Black and non-

Black people represented, only one of the images (Image 16) represented Black people as active. This means that where Black and non-Black people were present, the Black person was represented as active and not dominated by White people in 10% of the images. Overall, where there are both Black and White people, Black people are not shown as active. In the remaining ten images, Black people were represented alone in eight of the images and with another Black person in two photos, hence the Black person would be considered active (Kress et al., 2005). In two photos where there were both Black and non-Black people present, there were not active or passive roles but an equality in emanation of activity, making the participants interactors (Kress et al., 2005).

3. Who is passive in the image?

As seen above Black people are depicted as passive in the majority of images where there is also a non-Black person, specifically a White person, in total seven out of ten times. Kress (1988) attributes power to those who are active in images and those who are passive have less power, meaning that in the images where there are only Black people present, Black people can be perceived as powerful. However, when looking only at the images of Black people and White people together (Figure 4.2), Black people are shown as passive the majority of the time. Thus White people are seen to hold power and White supremacy is perceived to be maintained in these images.

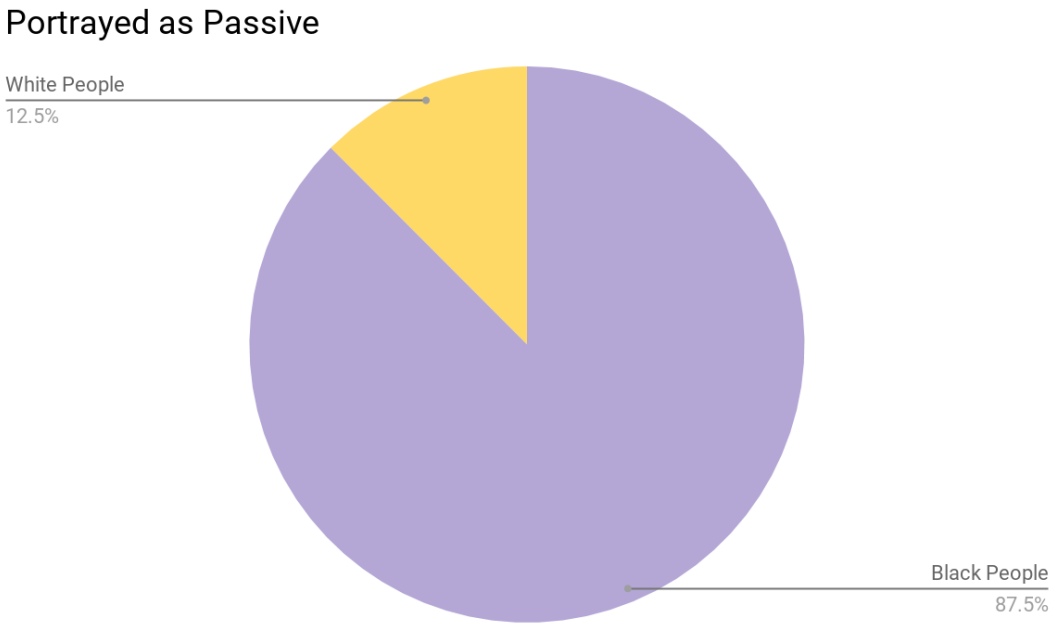

Figure 4.2. Percentage of times a Black person is represented as passive in an image with White people.

4. Who has status in the image?

In his study Giaschi (2000) conferred status in four ways, physicality, clothing, the portrayal of the photographer and via the extent to which others are facilitating the person. In Taylor-Mendes' (2002) study she interpreted status as "who has power?" (IBID, p45). Using all these measures combined, status was conferred to the visual representations of Black people in nine of the photos. Both Giaschi (2000) and Taylor-Mendes (2002) interrogate their analysis to contrast majority with minority status. Thus when Black and White people are visually represented in the same image, Black people are shown as having status in three of the ten photos. In one (Image 1) of the three photos this status is projected through the eyes of the photographer who angles the shot giving more priority to the Black person, in the second image

(Image 7) power is conveyed by clothing and setting, and in the third image (Image 16) by the vectors emanating from a Black active participant focused on a White passive participant who is portrayed as confused (Kress et al., 2005). In the majority of photos where there are both Black and White people, White people are represented as having status 70% of the time. In the three images (Images 4, 8 and 18) where the activity depicted is working in a group, the Black person is positioned on the edge of the photo or at the back of the group. Their positioning connotes low status, they are fixed on a centre who is White and they are on the margins, which Kress & Leeuwen (2005) state as becoming “subservient” (IBID p196) to a nucleus from where information is sent. In Table 2 below I summarise the appearance of status in photos with both White and Black people and Black people only. Unlike in the analysis of question two, which conveys active position to the only person in the photo, status is not automatically conferred to the only person in the photo. In images 11, 13 and 14 the images only have one person in them but they are not seen to have status because of their clothing and the way they are portrayed.

	Only Black people in the image	**Black and Non-Black People in the image**
Black People Have Status	Image 3, Image 6, Image 9, Image 10, Image 17, Image 19, Image 20	Image 1 Image 7 Image 16

White People Have Status	N/A	Image 2 Image 4 Image 5 Image 8 Image 12 Image 15 Image 18

Table 4. 2. A comparison of when Black people have status in an image when they are alone, compared with when there are also White people.

5. What does the body language communicate?

Giaschi (2000) asks for a certain amount of subjectivity in the answering of the final three questions, as it is needed in order to deconstruct what is on the surface a neutral image. In two of the images (Images 2 and 7) the Black person is represented as peaceful and calm, neither in the two photos or the associated text is there a portrayal of a negative stereotype. In the three images where the activity is working with a group, in two of the images all participants are smiling, however in the third image (Image 18) the Black person has a confused look on her face (Fig. 4.3). The other people in this image are all white, while three look focused and two are shown smiling, the

only person with a confused expression is Black. Deconstruction of the image reveals the Black person is passive and not shown to have any power. The stereotype is that of unintelligent, she is shown to be part of a group working together but she is the only one portrayed as not understanding what is happening, it is an image that reinforces the negative stereotype of Black people. In twelve of the twenty images the Black person is represented smiling, in eleven of those images they are smiling broadly with teeth showing. Smiling is the equivalent of a visual invitation (Kress et al., 2005) and its relation to Black stereotypes will be explored separately below as an emerging theme.

Figure 4.3. Black person working in a group represented as confused.

6. What does the clothing communicate?

This question again refers to power and status (Taylor-Mendes, 2002), through assessing who is dressed formally and the range of clothing styles seen in the images. The twenty images reveal little variation in clothing, all people represented are in casual clothing and there is no representation of

formal or power dressing by Black or non-Black people. There is only one exception to casual clothing and this is the photo in the hospital (Image 12), where the White doctor wears a white medical coat, further inferring low status to the Black person lying in the bed in the hospital gown.

7. Where are the eyes directed?

Kress et al., (2005) explore the meaning behind eye direction when they raise the dilemma of returning a gaze, the two options being: returning the gaze with the intent of the gaze being construed as sexual attraction if held for too long or the alternative of looking down, which can be understood as being timid. Assessing how long a look is being held for is hard to ascertain in a still image, however it is something that is reflected in society (IBID) and that I have experienced in real life. Though this dilemma is used in the male female binary context (Giaschi, 2000;Taylor-Mendes, 2002), it can equally be seen in the context of race and used to analyse power. In one image (Image 16) there is a portrayal of a Black person as active, they are looking at the White person but the White person is looking down. We can interpret this image as the Black person having power and controlling the discussion, the eye direction means the Black person is seen as dominant (Giaschi, 2000; Kress et al, 2005; Taylor-Mendes, 2002). In total, Black people are represented as looking down in ten of the images (Table 3), downward looks represent timidness and an avoidance of entering into a relationship with the viewer (Kress et al., 2005). There are eight images where there is a Black and White

representation together where the eyes are visible, in seven of these images the Black person is looking down or has their head inclined up to the White person who is the focus of the image. We see when juxtaposed with White people the eye direction of Black people demonstrates power in 12.5% of the images, whereas White people are shown to demonstrate power in 87.5% of the images where they are shown with Black people.

	Only Black people in the image	**Black and Non-black people in the image**
Eyes directed at a White person who is represented with power	N/A	Image 8 Image 12
Eyes directed down	Image 9 Image 10 Image 11 Image 13 Image 14	Image 2 Image 4 Image 5 Image 15 Image 18
Looking at the viewer with disdain		
Looking at the viewer with a smile	Image 6 Image 17 Image 20	

Table 4.3. Direction of eyes of Black representations in magazines.

In Table 4.3 above I include a summary of eye direction analysis. Looking directly at the viewer in image analysis is attributed as demanding an interaction (Kress et al., 2005; Machin, 2014). The nature of the interaction is determined by the expression on the face of the person represented, if the expression is of “disdain” (Kress et al., 2005, p118) the viewer is being asked to enter into a relation of inferiority. However, if the person is smiling, the invitation is to enter into a favourable relationship. In the ten representations where there are only Black people portrayed, three of the images have their eyes directed to the camera (Table 3), giving a sense of intimacy that allows us to view the person as a friendly presence (Kress et al., 2005). In no image is the Black person asking the viewer to enter into an inferior relation. It is refreshing to see these images as there are no representations of the popular negative stereotype of aggression portrayed through the eyes or body language, however on further interrogation, analysis shows the impact of how Black people have become neutralized, which I’ll explore more in the summary.

4.2 Negative and New Stereotypes

In their study of the impact of stereotypes on teachers, Chang and Demyan (2007) ask us not only to consider the stereotype but whether it is considered a favourable characteristic. Below I focus on two stereotypes that are listed in

the methodology section and also on a new emerging stereotype and interrogate if it really is considered favourable for Black people.

4.2.1 Poverty

The first repeated stereotype we find in the third magazine titled, *The Price of Wate*r. There are a total of three photos of Black people in the magazine and all three projected a stereotypical image of poverty. Image 11 is a small image on the cover of the magazine and shows a smiling young Black girl, cupping water to her hands to drink from an outside tap. Image 13 is similar but is of a young Black boy and he is not smiling but he is also drinking from an outside tap, cupping water in his hands. Image 12 is of a young Black boy lying in a hospital bed smiling and looking up to a White male doctor. All three are young children under the age of twelve, so younger than the intended audience. They are all in need of something essential to help them survive, in images 11 and 13 that is water and in image 12 it is medical assistance. These three photos support the idea of racial coding, in which poverty becomes racialized and disproportionately represented by Black people in images (Clawson, 2002). I refer back to the idea of colour blind teaching, which in this situation would not recognize the negative Black representation only the White normalcy (Howard & Navarro, 2016, Sjpenhof, 2018).

There is a magazine devoted to the topic of money called *Money Matters* magazine four, in which there is one photo (Image 14) of a Black person. The activity shown in the photo is ironing being done by a Black woman, analysis

of the image alone does not convey status to this woman, the assumption is that she is a domestic worker. Only when looking at the associated text does it explain that she has to do chores around the house to earn money from her parents. Analysing the image alone, it fits with the stereotype of wetnurse, a Black woman completing domestic duties for a White family (Green, 2018). I highlight this image because it is the only one with a Black representation in a magazine about money. The representation is of a Black woman doing domestic duties. In none of the other photos in this magazine are White people represented as doing domestic duties but they are shown saving money and shopping. I draw attention to this magazine because it could counter the previous images of Black poverty found in magazine three, by representing Black people saving money or even shopping but it does not. CDA asks what is absent, here we see the absence of visual representations of Black people with money (Machin & Abousnnouga, 2013; Shaver, 2010; Van Dijk, 1999).

In the theme of poverty so far, I have investigated how Black people are represented as poor but are largely absent from the budgeting discourse and the final point I will now examine is that of classification (Kress et al., 2005). The final point that I identified in the theme of poverty is the use of pronouns to underline a racial division (Machin et al., 2012). When using Taylor-Mendes' (2002) analysis, which includes analysis of the associated text with image, further analysis of image 13 shows the classification of Black people as subordinates (Kress, 2005). The text below the image reads "we must take action to solve the problem. No one should have to live without water" (Price

of Water, magazine 3, p11). In the use of “we” (IBID) a distinction is made in order to align the reader to the ideas in the text while making it clear that if there is a we, there is also a you, more commonly referred to as them and us. The BC in Spain has a largely White student population, though race data is not collected in Spain (Farkas, 2017), the discourse here can be interpreted as White Spanish students have the power to help others, the others being visually represented as a Black person. The theme of poverty is not only constructing an idea of Black people as poor but also a preferred ideology of giving to the poor (Machin et al., 2012) specifically White people being benefactors with power over Black people. This ideology reinforces White supremacy, where White people are portrayed in a position of power and Black people are dominated (Gillborn, 2007; Ullucci & Battery, 2011).

4.2.2 Athleticism

The stereotype of Black people as athletes is not explicitly represented in any of the twenty images however, there are two photos of Black people that when analysed with the text associated portray a stereotype of an athlete. Image 9 is a very small image of a Black person looking thoughtfully down and away from the viewer, they are not inviting us into a friendship but there is implied submission (Kress et al., 2005). The associated text with Image 9 is part of a reading exercise that explains that the Black person is Kamal, who found it difficult to make friends after moving house during the summer (Reach for the Sky, magazine 2). He was eventually able to make friends through joining the local football team. The text does not state that he enjoys

playing football, but the studying advice tells students to infer meaning to be able to correctly answer the question, who enjoys playing football (Reach for the Sky, magazine 2).

Inference is used in the magazine as a tool to help the student complete the task, however in CDA it is recognised as limiting because it relies on the convention of what has happened before (Kress et al., 2005). Inference limits in image 9 as the reader is asked to imagine Kamal, a Black person, as someone who enjoys football, fitting with a popular stereotype. Similarly in image 10 the associated text tells us that the person is called Pavel and he is a boxer. Though the image is of a young Black boy with headphones on, looking down pensively at his writing pad, the associated text explains that he is writing a competition entry about his experience fighting and winning two boxing matches (Reach for the Sky, magazine 2). I've chosen to focus on these two photos that are linked to sport, although there are also photos of White people doing sport, in line with CRT focusing of Black people. I am focusing on Black representation but also keeping at the fore the context in which society is not equal and racism is omnipresent. In photos that at first appear uncomplicated, there is a White supremacist discourse being projected. In isolation, being perceived as a good athlete is not problematic however, athleticism is attributed to the Black race as a natural biological concept in the same way that intelligence is not (Curtis, 1998; Hoberman, 1997; Sailes, 1993). Thus being athletic is not an isolated stereotype, athletic is portrayed as being unintelligent (Hoberman, 1997).

4.2.3 Smiling - A Negative Stereotype

Black people stereotyped as poor and athletic have a long history (Charles, 1997; Green, 1998; Hall, 1997; Hoberman, 1997) which is in part why I included them as stereotypes in the methodology section, however I was surprised to see that in 72% of the images where the face was visible, Black people were portrayed as smiling. On further analysis the idea of a smiling Black person is a common stereotype commonly referred to as Sambo (Green, 1998). The very nature of this stereotype is based on the idea of a "happy slave" (Green, 1998, paragraph four), someone who cannot lead but is able to work when directed (IBID). The Sambo stereotype can be applied to the representations in the group contexts in images 4, 8 and 18 where all three are placed on the outside of the group, are passive and without status. Two of the portrayals are of smiling faces showing teeth and the third looking confused. I highlight the importance of smiling with teeth because it is comparable to a grin, where grinning is cited as being a visual representation of the Sambo stereotype (Green, 1998). Through critical discourse analysis, images are interrogated to reveal buried ideology beneath the superficial appearance (Machin et al., 2012). While on the surface grinning seems innocuous, for Black representation in images it also contains a hidden meaning, viewed as a "happy darkey" (Mellinger, 1992, paragraph 1) or having a "watermelon smile" (Johnson cited in White, 2019) which are associated with being simple and lacking intelligence (Green, 1998; Mellinger 1992; White, 2019). My approach of combining induction and deduction

allowed for this additional stereotype to be observed however, on reflection, I believe I avoided the inclusion of the Sambo stereotype because it is such an emotive stereotype for me that I did not want to find it within the study.

4.3 Summary of Analysis

It was encouraging to find twenty images where Black people were present, particularly that they were represented wearing clothing that was similar and fitting with the visual representations of non-Black people. It is encouraging because it shows that Black people are present in all the topics studied, reflecting how equal society could be and moving to counter the idea that some areas have prohibited entry for Black people (Yosso, 2000). There are images of Black people in all magazines and they are not all negatively portrayed, however neither are they shown regularly portrayed as active, with power or leading. Instead there are multiple images of Black people who are neutralized, without power and inviting friendship with our body language and submission with our downward glances (Kress et al., 2005).

Deeper analysis has shown that the context of Black presence and how Black people are represented in some photos, is in line with White supremacy. In particular, when looking at the disparity in how Black people are represented in images alone and when Black people are represented alongside White people. Elements such as power and status are conveyed onto Black people only when there are no White people present in the image. When Black people are together with White people they are not seen to have power (only

in 10% of the images) or status (only in 30% of the images). These findings suggest that a colour blind method has been used in the selection of the images, using “subtle discourses of exclusion or subordination” (Sijpenhof, 2018, p330). If the images had been chosen with a clear understanding of equality, diversity and inclusion, I would imagine there to be an equal distribution of power in images with Black and White people present. Unfortunately, the findings show that Black people are represented as inferior to White people, as White people are represented holding the majority of power when visually present in an image with a Black person.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

A main objective of this study was to answer the research question: 'How are Black people visually represented in the British Council teaching materials for upper intermediate young learners?' I set out to do this through using a CRT framework complemented by CDA. Using these frameworks meant the centering of Black people and working towards positive social change, two objectives that are essential to me as a researcher. On finding little research on race in EFL and no research at all on the visual representation of Black people in EFL, I elected to use an image analysis framework that was originally used to analyse gender because the questions were equally apt for race as for gender. The analysis showed that Black people are represented as active but when we consider the subsidiary question "Does the representation change when juxtaposed with White people?" we see that Black people are seen as passive and without power.

Most critically the research found that two common stereotypes are supported by the visual representation of Black people in these magazines those are: Black people being poor and Black people being athletic. In addition, the findings analysis found the recurring and very nuanced stereotype of Sambo, supporting the idea of Black people being passive. I have highlighted above the limits of CDA and the element of interpretation in image analysis which can draw criticism onto findings. However, I have clearly outlined the process I have conducted in order to mitigate these limits and I emphasize my role as

a Black insider researcher, sharing a voice and interpretation on materials that has not previously been heard.

CRT places emphasis on the importance of centering Black voices and storytelling in anti-racist work, yet neither are found in the visual representations of Black people in the magazines. Instead the findings point to stories being shared by the dominant race to further spread preconceived ideas of race amongst themselves (Yosso, 2000). There is no visual evidence of a counter story being told of the rich plentiful lives being lived by Black people, there is however a focus on deficiencies and needs. As Machin (2013) affirms, the visual image takes shape in other modes whether that be verbal conversations or written text, they become part of society and its domination process, if continued to be left unchecked (Kubota et al., 2009; Yosso, 2000).

At the core of CRT and CDA is affecting social change (Fairclough, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Van Dijk, 2003) and I list below a number of suggestions to increase social justice in teaching at the British Council in Spain but which can be extended to the TEFL industry in general. The first two recommendations are explicitly for teachers and students, the rest of the recommendations are related to the design of teaching materials.

Recommendations for teachers:

1. Mandatory training for teaching staff on how to talk about race and racism to students, thus should they come across a visual representation of a Black person that is negative, they are able to offer an informed correction. This recommendation joins with others in highlighting the importance of racial literacy for teachers (Arday, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020).

Recommendations related to students:

2. Mandatory teaching of visual literacy for students to include how race is commonly depicted visually. In this study I have referred to the increased importance of images in EFL and the lack of teaching on visual literacy (Kress et al., 2005) and this recommendation is in order to combat it.

Recommendations for teaching material designers, writers and publishers:

3. Inclusion of images of Black people in positions of power when in a group with non-Black people.
4. Mandatory training for materials writers and designers on the importance of positive portrayal of Black people. Wodak (2006) argues that it is not just a superficial change that is needed but also a deeper understanding of how power dominates, hence what is needed is more than a superficial addition of more Black people in images, what is also needed is a profound training on power, race and representation.

5. Inclusion of a magazine that directly references the topic of race, how it is a social construction and the legacy of its construction through a hidden curriculum.
6. Insertion of study topics that tell stories of Black people and their experiences, told by Black people.
7. I recommend a review of all visual representations of Black people in all teaching materials to assess if Black people are negatively portrayed at multiple levels.
8. Regular reviews of teaching materials to check their appropriateness in centering race and portraying Black people. We have seen that teaching materials have been slow to reflect change (Shaver, 2010) thus constant reviews are needed to ensure continued equality rather than it being seen as a one-off event.

Due to the Coronovirus pandemic this research followed a path that involved minimum involvement of personal interaction with participants, however to continue with development of the arguments brought about in this study, a series of interviews with students and their perceptions of images, similar to that conducted by Taylor-Mendes (2003), would be a valuable next step to my analysis as an EFL teacher and anti-racist researcher.

We have seen in the past that whilst attitudes in society have changed, teaching materials have been slow to reflect the change (Shaver, 2010), however, now is the perfect opportunity for the British Council to effect change. With an increase in calls for decolonization and the wide reach of the

British Council, now seems an apt time for the British Council to centre Black voices in its visual representations in teaching materials and reflect that Black lives do matter.

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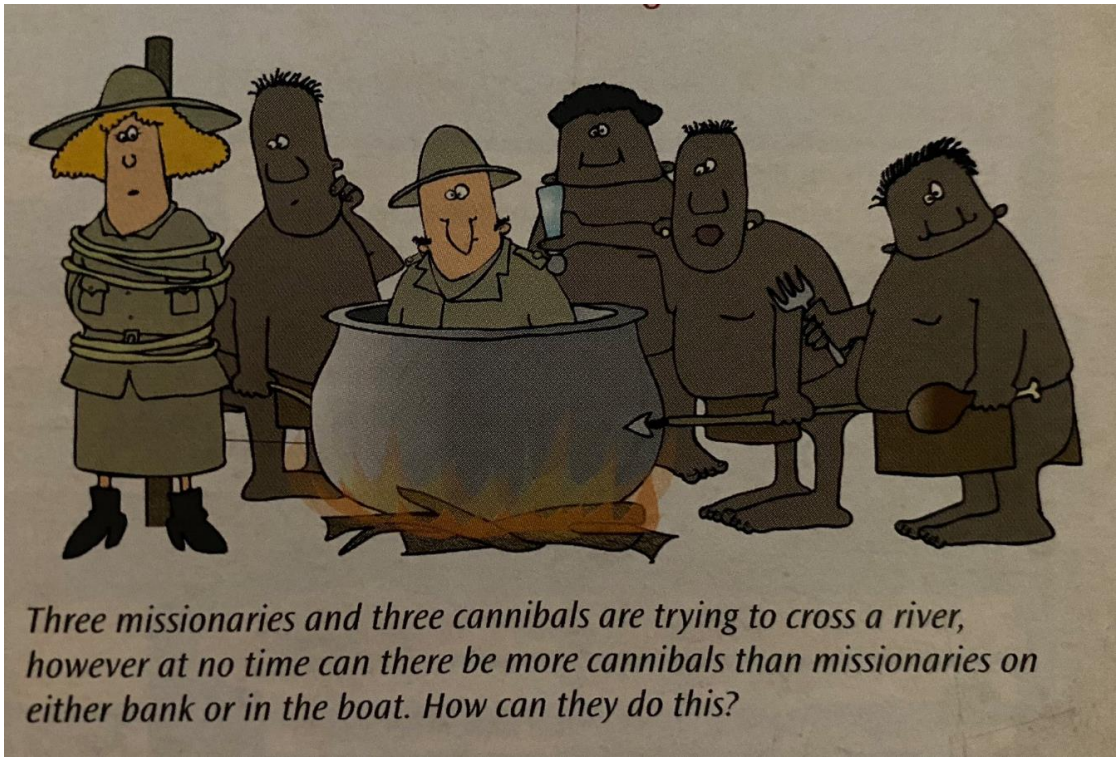
7. Appendices

Appendices, while not included in the word count, should be used to illustrate, rather than provide full details, and these should be limited to ten pages. The appendices should be numbered sequentially and every page should be numbered.

7.1 Image found in AQA approved psychology textbook.

Approved in 2017.



7.2 Visual representations of Black people found in BC upper intermediate magazines for 12 - 14 year olds.

Image 1: A heart shaped formed of two hands joining together, one White hand and one Black hand. The Black hand is angled slightly higher than the white hand.

Image 2: In the foreground two hands are making fists to fistbump each other, the Black hand comes into frame from the right, whilst the White hand takes up most of the space on the left and in the centre. In the background is a Black person smiling, hers are the only eyes visible and she is looking down at the hands.

Image 3: A black boy is sat at a desk wearing a grey jumper and with a pencil in his hand. He is looking up at smiling another Black person who has his back to us.

Image 4: A black girl is sitting at a table working in a group with White children. She is smiling and looking down.

Image 5: A black person is looking down while giving a high five to a White person who is taller than him.

Image 6: A profile shot of a Black person smiling and looking directly at the camera.

Image 7: A Black person is standing on a cliff with three other people, they all have their backs to the camera.

Image 8: A Black person is sitting, working as part of a group. She is smiling and her eyes are focused on another member of the group who is White.

Image 9: A profile shot of a Black person who is looking down and away from the camera.

Image 10: A Black person is looking down at the notepad he is holding with his pencil to his lips.

Image 11: Black person is drinking water from their hands as it comes out of an outside tap. They are smiling.

Image 12: A black child is in a hospital gown, lying in bed looking up and smiling at a White doctor.

Image 13: A Black child drinks water from his hands that are cupped under a tap. He looks down at his hands.

Image 14: A black person is standing up ironing clothes. She is smiling looking down at the iron.

Image 15: A black person is standing in the background of the shot. He has his back to us and his head is angled down.

Image 16: A Black person is represented looking directly at a White person who is looking down. They are both seated at a table with menus.

Image 17: A Black man is pictured holding a Black child. They are both smiling and looking at the camera.

Image 18: A black person is picture working in a group with White people. Some are standing up and some are sitting down. The Black person is positioned behind others and has a confused look on her face.

Image 19: A Black person is pictured sitting down crossed legged stroking a dog.

Image 20: A black girl is represented smiling looking directly at the camera.