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THE REPRESENTATION OF ENGLISH IN ELT COURSE BOOKS: A DISCOURSE-BASED ANALYSIS OF COURSE BOOKS FOR ADULT LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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THE REPRESENTATION OF ENGLISH IN ELT COURSE BOOKS: A DISCOURSE-BASED ANALYSIS OF COURSE BOOKS FOR ADULT LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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Yo te asusto:

te enseño mi lengua y digo: soy tu amo

y mi palabra corre por tus venas como un gusano cálido.

Demián Rabilero, (2013) *El Hombre Invisible*

How can we resist exploitation if we don't have the tools to understand exploitation?

Chimamanda N. Adichie, (2006) *Half of a Yellow Sun*

The British empire has given way to the empire of English.

Robert Phillipson, (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*

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I would like to thank all the people that have helped me in this (very) long process that started in June 2014 and finds its way in 2021, after falling in love, moving house, having a child, moving house again and going through a pandemic. Seven short years.

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Abstract

This study investigates the ways in which the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism as theorized by Phillipson (1992) is reproduced in ten English Language Teaching course books for adult learners of English in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires. With the purpose of proving the extent to which English is represented as a superior language in textbooks, two research instruments were used. The main one was van Dijk's (2003) and Fairclough's (2003) strategies for ideological discourse analysis, which were applied to a selection of 36 excerpts from books. The second research instrument consisted of two different self-completion questionnaires that were administered to students and teachers of English in order to establish their level of awareness in connection with the reproduction of the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in course books for adult students. The scrutiny of the text selection illustrate how the dominant discourse is reproduced and asserted, and the extent to which it is in agreement with Phillipson's (1992) tripartite definition of what English is, has and does. The results of the questionnaires to students and teachers of English show that most students and teachers are aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in textbooks. The results also seem to suggest that teachers may believe in such discourse and they might actively reproduce it as well. In conclusion, not only is the dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism traceable in the ten course books that were scrutinized, but it is also interwoven with the classroom practices of the agents involved in the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language.

Key words: textbooks; English; linguistic imperialism; teaching; discourse.

Resumen

Este estudio analiza las formas en las que el discurso hegemónico del imperialismo lingüístico según la teoría de Phillipson (1992) se reproduce en diez libros de texto de enseñanza del idioma inglés para estudiantes adultos en el Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires. Con el fin de comprobar hasta qué punto el inglés está representado como un idioma superior en los libros de texto, se utilizaron dos instrumentos de investigación. El método principal consistió en la aplicación de las estrategias para el análisis del discurso ideológico de van Dijk (2003) y Fairclough (2003) a una selección de 36 extractos de los libros. El segundo instrumento utilizado fue el uso de dos cuestionarios diferentes que se administraron a estudiantes y profesorxs de inglés con el fin de establecer su nivel de conciencia en relación con la reproducción del discurso del imperialismo lingüístico en los libros de texto para estudiantes adultos. El análisis de la selección de textos muestra cómo se reproduce y afirma el discurso dominante, y hasta qué punto concuerda con la definición tripartita de Phillipson (1992) sobre qué es, tiene y hace el idioma inglés. Los resultados de los cuestionarios a estudiantes y profesorxs de inglés muestran que la mayoría de les estudiantes y profesorxs son conscientes de la reproducción del discurso hegemónico del imperialismo lingüístico en los libros de texto de inglés. Los resultados también parecen sugerir que les profesorxs podrían suscribir a ese discurso y llegar a reproducirlo voluntariamente. En conclusión, el discurso dominante del imperialismo lingüístico inglés no es solamente rastreable en los diez libros de texto que fueron explorados, sino que también se advierte una profunda imbricación entre este discurso y las prácticas áulicas de les agentes involucradxs en la enseñanza del idioma inglés como lengua extranjera.

Palabras clave: textbooks; English; linguistic imperialism; teaching; discourse.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The rise and spread of English as an international language in the 20th century is believed to have been an attendant phenomenon to a complex process loosely termed “globalization”. The rationale informing this process was based on the naturalized assumption that globalization would bring competitiveness while at the same time open new doors and markets worldwide. To achieve this aim, the central exponents and advocates of capitalism such as Great Britain and the United States would have to be able to commerce and communicate globally with other nations and rising powers such as China, Japan, Germany and France. Therefore, the need for an international language arose, or rather was purposely created to serve the interests of those holding the centers of global power. According to Phillipson (1992) English has, in the twentieth century, become the international language *par excellence*. But the choice of verb is not an innocent one. By choosing the verb “has become” a reader would take for granted the fact that it simply developed. Phillipson further claims that it was in the Makerere Conference (Uganda, 1961) that the foundations were set for the spread of English: the conference played a key role in crystallizing the principles of English Language Teaching (ELT) and English was legitimated worldwide.

Corporations established in powerful countries started using English as a means to develop business and, as a result, the need for English was created. It is one of the main premises of marketing that if the population does not need a product, the need will have to be created. The English language had been a vehicle, but now it was developed into a product in itself. The demand for English was

thus elaborated and the business of English has been thriving and prosperous ever since.

Moreover, the spread of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) necessitated the dissemination of teachers around the world, the implantation of locally-based teacher training colleges and publishing houses -which would themselves become corporations- to cater for an increasing demand of EFL textbooks for teachers to choose from. Crystal (2003) states that, were this the case, “there will be an increase in the number and the quality of teachers able to teach the language. Books, tapes, computers, telecommunication systems and all kinds of teaching materials will be increasingly available” (p. 5).

It should be borne in mind that the worldwide expansion of English was developed considerably long before the rise of the internet. However, the creation and popularization of the World Wide Web and the internationalization of the music and film industries meant a quicker spread of the language “which has repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time” (Crystal 2003, p. 120).

As a result, around the world, national educational curriculums began adopting English in their syllabi. In Argentina, ministries of education and national education programs adopted English as the main foreign language to be taught at schools, and for which students and teachers would have to use course books sold by multinational publishing houses. In this way, “although dynamics of power and domination may be invisible, they permeate the fabric of classroom life” since “the classroom functions as a kind of microcosm of the broader social order” (Auerbach 1995, p.9). English was chosen over other languages which were left out, and this choice was political. Recognizing that one language is more important

than others and legitimating its status operates to the detriment of *Othered* Languages.

In the realm of ELT course books and textbooks, publishing houses such as Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Pearson Longman, Richmond and Macmillan have been responsible for the creation of mainstream materials used for the teaching of English. Course book writers and authors from core countries are in charge of creating, writing and putting together the books children, teenagers and adults use elsewhere, ie, in periphery countries, to learn English. It appears that the acceptance of English also implies the acceptance of the global economic order in which English is the international language (Pennycook 2001).

These considerations are much more evident in the context of private tuition, specifically in small, privately-owned EFL institutes of Greater Buenos Aires. Though much theory has been written in connection to the development and establishment of English as an international language and its attendant phenomena, it is my contention that the corpus of critical literature concerning English Language Teaching (ELT) course books and their contents has not yet expanded in equal proportions. Therefore, it is the purpose of the present study to explore the hegemonic representations of English in its privileged status as a foreign language within the context of EFL course books in use in private language institutes and schools of English for adult learners in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA) during the period 2007-2017. This study is informed by the following research questions:

(1) To what extent is English represented as a superior language in the ELT course books used in adult learner courses in private language institutions of Greater BA?

And, if so, (2) To what extent are adult students and teachers of English aware that ELT course books reproduce the discourse of English linguistic imperialism?

These questions in turn have led to the formulation of two hypotheses. The main hypothesis is that the English language may seem to be represented as a superior language in the ELT course books private Language Teaching Institutions use for the teaching of English to adults in different parts of AMBA, specifically in towns such as San Martin, Villa Ballester, Caseros, Palomar, Hurlingham and San Miguel. As a means to explore this hypothesis, a thorough and careful scrutiny of lexical choices in ELT course books will be undertaken informed by Fairclough's (2003) and van Dijk's (2003) strategies for ideological discourse analysis.

The second hypothesis is that adult students of English and teachers of English might not be aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books. In order to prove or disprove this hypothesis, two self-completion questionnaires were administered, one to 100 students aged 18 and over and another one to 60 teachers of English. The aim of these questionnaires was to explore to what extent they are aware of the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books.

The Literature Review Section provides a theoretical background to the research, and it consists of three parts. The first section of the literature delves into the concept and origin of linguistic imperialism, the plan to make English a hegemonic language, the concepts of core and periphery, and the role of ELT course books and publishing houses. The work of Kachru (1990), Phillipson (1992 / 2009), Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (2017) and Crystal (2003) was drawn upon to provide a historical as well as a conceptual overview. The second section explains key concepts related to linguistic imperialism: the concepts of power, ideology, hegemony, the Other, discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) , education and Critical Pedagogy (CP) are thoroughly explained and informed by the work of Althusser (1970), Foucault (1978 / 2003), Gramsci (1971), Said (1979), Giroux (1988 / 2011), Luke (1997), Fairclough (2001 / 2003) and van Dijk (2003). The selection of these concepts is based on their connection to the understanding of this research and they provide a sound foundation to this study. The third section explains the strategies for ideological analysis elaborated by van Dijk (2003) and Fairclough (2001 / 2003) that have been used to trace elements of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in the texts of ten ELT course books for adult learners used in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA).

The Results Section consists of two parts. The first one deals with the analyses of the examples and text selection taken from the course books. The concepts in the Literature Review Section are explored and connected to this analysis. The second section is devoted to the findings of the questionnaires administered to teachers and students of English.

Finally, the results of the text analyses and the questionnaires are dealt with in the Discussion section together with the Limitations to this Study. Conclusions are drawn upon, with some final considerations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

'This... stuff'? Oh. Okay. I see. You think this has nothing to do with you. You go to your closet and you select... I don't know... that lumpy blue sweater, for instance, because you're trying to tell the world that you take yourself too seriously to care about what you put on your back. But what you don't know is that that sweater is not just blue, it's not turquoise. It's not lapis. It's actually cerulean. And you're also blithely unaware of the fact that in 2002, Oscar de la Renta did a collection of cerulean gowns. And then I think it was Yves Saint Laurent... wasn't it? who showed cerulean military jackets? And then cerulean quickly showed up in the collections of eight different designers. And then it, uh, filtered down through the department stores and then trickled on down into some tragic Casual Corner where you, no doubt, fished it out of some clearance bin. However, that blue represents millions of dollars and countless jobs and it's sort of comical how you think that you've made a choice that exempts you from the fashion industry when, in fact, you're wearing the sweater that was selected for you by the people in this room from a pile of "stuff".' Miranda Priestly in The Devil Wears Prada, 2006

2.1 ENGLISH LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

2.1.1 Concept and Origins

Several scholars have investigated and written extensively on linguistic imperialism, such as Braj Kachru, Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Suresh Canagarajah, and so on. This section will focus mainly on Robert Phillipson's work, the concept of (English) linguistic imperialism, and how its profound influence has contributed to the definition and constitution of the present research.

To understand the concept of linguistic imperialism, one first needs to define the term *imperialism*, which derives from the Latin *imperium,* covering military and political control by a dominant power over subordinated peoples and territories (Phillipson 2013). It was in the nineteenth century that "imperialism embraced both an economic order and wider "civilizing" goals. (…) The imperialist powers ascribed to themselves a missionary role which was based on explicitly racist premisses" (Phillipson 1992, p. 44). It is now claimed that the imperialist powers are those countries that took part in World War I and II. Galtung's *imperialism theory* postulates "six interlocking types of imperialism: economic, political, military, communicative, cultural and social" (1980, p. 128 as cited in Phillipson 1992, p. 52). According to Robert Phillipson (1992), linguistic imperialism "permeates" all types of imperialism.

The study of Linguistic Imperialism, according to this scholar, focuses on how and why certain languages dominate internationally, the language policy empires choose, how languages from Europe were established in other continents during "colonialism", (generally at the expense of local languages) (Phillipson 2013); what type of impact dominant languages have on dominated languages today, nationally and globally, and whose interests the dominant language(s) is serving.

A definition of *English linguistic imperialism* is that "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson 1992, p. 47). English linguistic imperialism is one example of *linguicism*, which is defined as "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to

legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (1992, p.47). Therefore, English linguistic imperialism can also be defined in terms of discourse, hegemony and the Others.

Robert Phillipson (1992, 2009, 2013) claims that linguistic imperialism entails:

- An interlocking with *a structure of imperialism* in culture, education, the media, communication, the economy, politics, and military activities.
- In essence it is about *exploitation*, injustice, inequality, and hierarchy that privileges those able to use the dominant language.
- It is *structural*: more material resources and infrastructure are accorded to the dominant language than to others.
- It is *ideological*: Beliefs, attitudes, and imagery glorify the dominant language, stigmatize others, and rationalize the linguistic hierarchy.
- The dominance is *hegemonic*: It is internalized and naturalized as being "normal." This entails *unequal rights* for speakers of different languages.
- Language use is often *subtractive*, proficiency in the imperial language and in learning it in education involving its consolidation at the expense of other languages.
- It is a form of *linguicism*, a favoring of one language over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism, and class: *Linguicism* serves to privilege users of the standard forms of the dominant language, which represent convertible linguistic capital.

- Linguistic imperialism is invariably *contested and resisted*.

2.1.2 Core and Periphery

Robert Phillipson (1992) makes an interesting binary distinction in relation to the historical spread of English between *core English-speaking countries* and *periphery-English countries.* Core English-speaking countries are countries in which the population speak English exclusively (as their native language/mother tongue, L1), such as Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Braj Kachru (1990), however, in his Three Concentric Circles theory provides a different name for the first circle and "core": *the Inner Circle*. Suresh Canagarajah calls it the "*Centre*:" "the technologically advanced communities of the West which, at least in part, sustain their material dominance by keeping less developed communities in periphery status" (1999, p. 4).

On the other hand, there are two types of periphery-English countries: countries in which English is an international link language, such as Scandinavia and Japan, and countries where English was imposed in colonial times (Phillipson 1992), and still serves different purposes, such as India and Nigeria. Suresh Canagarajah (1999) prefers the label "periphery" to refer to both communities, just like the scholar Robert Phillipson. However, Kachru (1990) named the "periphery" differently: *The Outer Circle* and *The Expanding Circle*. The Outer Circle comprises countries such as Nigeria, India, Sri Lanka and Singapore where English is spoken as a Second Language (ESL), whereas the Expanding Circle speaks English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and includes countries such as

Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Japan and Israel. Argentina would fit into Kachru's Expanding Circle, and Phillipson's Periphery.

2.1.3 The plan

There were two strategic plans to position English in the world scene. The first one is connected to the British Council and the Drogheda Report, drafted in 1954. At the time, Britain considered English had strategic importance worldwide because of the ongoing Cold War. "From the mid-1950s the British Council expanded its work dramatically in the periphery-English countries and retrenched in Europe" (Phillipson 1992, p. 147). An Official Committee on the Teaching of English Overseas was set up in 1956. The Committee arrived to the conclusion that there should be a supply of teachers overseas, more teacher training, more university departments, and that BBC English by Radio should be expanded (Phillipson 1992). The report also states that "within a generation from now English could be a world language" (Phillipson 1992, p. 147) Material resources were also allocated to the research and study of English -rather than to other languages- in core and periphery-English countries. The dominant ideology of the preference of English is affirmed because "linguistic imperialism is asserted in the domains of teaching, teacher training and research" (Phillipson 1992, p. 123).

The second strategic plan was the report of the Commonwealth Conference of the Teaching of English as a Second Language, held at the University College of Makerere, Uganda in 1961. The conference was crucial to the establishment of the principles of English Language Teaching (ELT) (Phillipson 1992)

and it became a landmark of ELT growth and expansion. English was legitimated at Makerere in terms of two criteria or promises: material advance and efficiency. English was supposed to represent “a gateway to better communications, better education and so a higher standard of living and better understanding” (Makerere Report 1961, p. 47 as cited in Phillipson 1992, p. 68). From then on, English simply took off. Moreover, after 1945, “English had already become the dominant language of the United States’ international relations, trade, banking, scientific scholarship, and popular culture, not by chance but through American leadership” (Phillipson 2014).

2.1.4 Material resources: books and publishing houses

The allocation of resources from the Centre to the Periphery has been the norm since the inception of the plans to make English a world language. The structure is asymmetrical. “The eurocentricity of the approach can be seen in the fact that the Centre arrogated to itself the right to decide what “needs” the Periphery had and how they should be met” (Phillipson 1992, p. 178). Thus, publishing houses from the Centre saw the chance ahead and, “deeply imbued with anglocentricity” (1992, p. 178), decided to export books worldwide, to both the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. In Phillipson’s words, “the international division of labour means that the periphery supplies the raw materials, the Centre the finished products, whether manufactured goods, books or theories” (1992, p. 179). In this way, culturally speaking, the ELT books English teachers and students buy in Argentina are no different from those that were marketed ten, twenty,

or forty years ago. These books will “naturally” show anglocentric and hegemonic positions through their discourse, visuals and methodology as “professionalism could only be developed in the Centre and then exported” (Phillipson 1992, p. 178). Therefore, this entails that teachers and students alike would be consuming anglocentricity in all the materials they use to teach and learn English in periphery countries.

Today, “ELT seems to be marketable worldwide. There is a demand for material products and resources (books, jobs for English teachers, space on timetables) and for immaterial resources (ideas, teaching principles) (Phillipson 1992, p. 48). Because of the structural and cultural inequalities, more material resources are allocated to English than to other languages, and those that master English benefit from this allocation. The hegemonic ideas associated with ELT have economic foundations, and these in turn are the basis on which ELT activity rests (such as institutions, project funds, publishing houses) (Phillipson 1992). According to Robert Phillipson, the native speaker tenet (the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker) “reinforces the linguistic norms of the Centre, creating an ideological dependence” (1992, p. 199). This dependence is economic and structural as well because native speakers and books from the Centre are necessary to implement such tenet. Writers, authors and English teachers working abroad disseminate their ideas in books and other media internationally (Phillipson 1992), and those whose ideas are disseminated become powerful.

If confronted with a “local” publishing house in the Periphery, the Drogheda report (1954) “recommends that the Council officer’s first duty is to push British publishers’ “excellent textbooks”” (Phillipson 1992, p. 149) so that there is no

doubt what textbook to buy. Among the aspects that were promoted in the growth of English were training in Britain for key ELT people, coordination with British publishers and support for British books overseas. Promotion of these aspects was crucial “in order to provide professional and logistic backing for the effort to make English a world language, an undisputed “universal second language”” (Phillipson 1992, p. 151). What is more, American publishers established subsidiaries worldwide, and British books were subsidized for sale in “Third World” countries: this is called *literary colonialism* (Altbach 1975, as cited in Phillipson 1992). Many of the titles are culturally inappropriate in the Periphery, and the presence of the foreign book has economic as well as ideological consequences as it ensures the dissemination of Centre ideas, values and methods (Phillipson 1992).

2.2 KEY CONCEPTS

2.2.1 POWER

2.2.1.1 Michel Foucault

According to Michel Foucault, power is not something which is imposed on another but a network or web of relations which circulates through society (Foucault 1978 as cited in Mills 2003, p. 30). When interpreting Gramsci, scholars conceptualize power as “an asymmetrical politico-economic operation that leads ineluctably to domination” (Howson/Smith 2008, p. 5 as cited in Böhm 2018). Thus, colonialism, for example, is achieved through violence and invasion, and also through the production of knowledge and information, “of a very fragile hold on another territory, constantly challenged and constantly needing to be asserted” (Guha 1994 as cited in Mills 2003, p. 30).

It is more fruitful to think of power not as an imposition of the will but “as a set of relations and strategies dispersed throughout a society and enacted at every moment of interaction” (Mills 2003, p. 30). Foucault’s work on discourse and power helps us to explore what we know and what “knowledge” we consider as true, how information is produced and under what circumstances, “whose interests it might serve; how it is possible to think differently in order to trace the way that information that we accept as ‘true’ is kept in that privileged position” (Mills 2003, p. 66).

2.2.1.2 Teun van Dijk

Teun van Dijk (2003) defines power in terms of the control one group has over another group, and ideologies work as the mental dimension of this form of control because they are at the core of dominant group members' practices. Ideologies “provide the principles by which these forms of power abuse may be justified, legitimized, condoned or accepted” (2003, p. 35).

Power and ideology are two interconnected notions because power is defined in terms of control of action. Discourse is also a form of action, therefore control may also be exercised over discourse. In turn, such discourse may influence the mind of the recipients, so it is very likely that powerful groups may control the minds of people (van Dijk 2003), persuading or manipulating them through the mass media, for instance. The same idea applies to the “microsites” of power circulation in individual institutions, in which case the discourse of those in power influences the minds of listeners / readers in a very surreptitious and powerful way.

van Dijk (2003) states that “power needs a 'power base', scarce social resources such as force, money, real estate, knowledge, information or status” (p. 36). Contemporary power is related to the access to public discourse. Therefore, whoever “controls public discourse, indirectly controls the minds (including the ideologies) of people” (2003, p. 36). From a critical perspective, this can be considered power abuse or dominance, and ideologies might be used to legitimate such dominance.

2.2.1.3 Relevance to this study

Understanding the concept of power is relevant to this study because powerful groups -in any sphere of society- are the ones that set the public agenda. Concentrated power groups use public discourse, mass media and social networks to persuade and influence public opinion. Education and the printing of books in publishing houses have also been consistently used as attendant agenda- setting strategies. In the twenty-first century, the printing of ELT books en masse by four corporations in power also means the spreading of *ideas* which have the power to reach all countries around the world. In this way, power is not an imposition but an interwoven web of connections that leads ineluctably to domination as teachers and students of English buy into such dominant discourses whenever they acquire those books. Knowing who is in power is the tool one holds to challenge it.

2.2.2 IDEOLOGY

Broadly speaking, the concept of ideology is understood as a system of ideas or beliefs shared by a social group or movement (van Dijk 2003). All people have or are part of an ideology, whether consciously or unconsciously.

2.2.2.1 Louis Althusser

Louis Althusser developed his theses on Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses in 1970. He makes a distinction between the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA), which contains the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts and the Prisons, and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs).

“Repressive” suggests that the State Apparatus functions by violence, whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses work predominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression (Althusser 1970).

The Ideological State Apparatuses comprise “distinct and specialized institutions”. The following is a list of the ISAs according to Louis Althusser (1970):

- the religious ISA (the system of the different churches),
- the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private schools),
- the family ISA,
- the legal ISA,
- the political ISA (the political system, including the different parties),
- the trade-union ISA,
- the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.),
- the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.).

What unifies the diversity of the ISAs is ideology, as long as this ideology is unified “beneath the ruling ideology, which is the ideology of the ruling class” (Althusser 1970). In this way, the reproduction of the relations of production is secured “behind a ‘shield’ provided by the repressive State apparatus. The role of the ruling ideology is heavily concentrated in the ideology of the ruling class, which holds State power (Althusser 1970). Althusser (1970) states that in a class society the relations of production are relations of exploitation, and therefore relations between antagonistic classes. The reproduction of the relations of production is the ultimate aim of the ruling class.

2.2.2.2 Teun van Dijk

According to Teun van Dijk, and in agreement with Althusser, for the reproduction of ideologies to take place, group organization and institutionalization are crucial. While Louis Althusser states that the most widely installed and dominant ISA is the educational ideological apparatus, ie, the School, van Dijk (2003) claims that “the most influential ideological institutions of modern society are the school and the mass media” (p. 34).

“Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (van Dijk 2003, p. 7). The group shares some general ideas about the world, and these in turn “guide their interpretation of events, and monitor their social practices” (2003, p. 6). Ideologies make sense of the world and group members base their social practices on their ideology, which “consists of socially shared beliefs that are associated with the characteristic properties of a group, such as their identity, their position in society, their interests and aims, their relations to other groups, their reproduction, and their natural environment” (van Dijk 2003, p. 12).

Since we are born, we acquire knowledge through language, interaction with people, the institutions of society, and different discourses. In this way, socially shared beliefs “form what may be called *social memory*, and that sociocultural knowledge is a central system of mental representations” (van Dijk 2003, p. 13). Thus, knowledge is what we think is true though others might say they are opinions or beliefs. Therefore, the concept of knowledge is relative, and it de-

pends on the beliefs of our group or culture (van Dijk 2003). In this way, “ideologies form the basic social representations of the beliefs shared by a group” (van Dijk 2003, p. 14), and they provide coherence to these beliefs.

Van Dijk (2003) goes on to argue that an ideology is, in a way, “a form of self- (and Other) representation” (p. 18) and some criteria for the identity of a group and the identification of its group members can be established, such as belonging, activities, aims, norms and values, position and resources. Ideologies, therefore, control the discourse of group members (van Dijk 2003) because, being essentially social, they are one of the basic forms of social cognition. The members of a group share social representations because ideologies are not “acquired and represented by individuals, but socially learned and collectively represented by a group of people, as is also the case for language” (van Dijk 2003, p. 30). Thus, ideologies are cognitive and social. Moreover, ideologies can be defined in terms of power and dominance: they legitimate dominance by the ruling class or elite organizations.

2.2.2.3 Fairclough

According to Norman Fairclough (2003), ideologies are “representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (p. 9). Texts have ideological effects: a causal effect of texts is that they inculcate, sustain or change ideologies (Eagleton et. al. 1991 as cited in Fairclough 2003), therefore, ideological representations can be identified in texts while contributing

to social relations of power and domination (2003). Ideologies are also stable and transcend text.

2.2.2.4 Relevance to this study

Ideologies are socially learned and represented by groups such as publishing house corporations. Ideologies can be defined in terms of power as they legitimate dominance by the ruling class or different organizations which claim to have true knowledge. Because texts have ideological effects, if anyone "consumes" books -over many years of studying English- which are said to have "true knowledge" and *a* representation of the world, then that information and representation will become internalized as one's own sooner or later. ELT textbooks can also become mental models of cognition.

2.2.3 HEGEMONY

Hegemony has to do with power. It could be described as a dominant set of ideas which are related to the concept of power. The dominant classes exert power over the dominated classes so that they are oppressed and do not challenge the status quo or existing world order. It can be said that a social group holds hegemony over subordinate groups.

2.2.3.1 Antonio Gramsci

The concept of hegemony is central to Antonio Gramsci's theories, written in his Prison Notebooks between 1929 and 1935, and translated into English in 1971. Gramsci applied the idea of hegemony lined with ideology to analyze how social classes come to dominate society without coercion (Böhm 2018). According to Norman Fairclough (2003), from a Gramscian perspective, "politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualizing power which amongst other things emphasizes how power depends upon achieving consent" (p. 45) rather than using force, and the importance of ideology in perpetuating relations of power. In this respect, he also states that the hegemonic struggle can be seen as "a contention over the claims of their particular visions and representations of the world to having a universal status" (Butler et al. 2000 as cited in Fairclough 2003, p. 45). Thus, achieving hegemony means being successful in projecting particulars as universals (Fairclough 2003). The process of "exerting domination through consent to promote the ruling class's interest in society implies convincing other classes of the universality of their interests, called *hegemonic process"* (Steans et al. 2010, p. 117 as cited in Böhm 2018).

Hegemony as a form of authority combines power and legitimacy, but authority that only consists of domination is never legitimate. The relationship between power and legitimacy implies that legitimate authority can only be established and maintained through coercion and consent (Böhm 2018). "The ruling class exerts power over the economy and a variety of state apparatuses, including education and the media" (Ashcroft et al. 2007, p. 106 as cited in Böhm 2018). In this way, the civil society has to be conquered through the creation of common sense. "The transformation of particular social class ideas into common sense

happens through the diffusion of ideology by organic intellectuals. A subaltern ideology, which can be considered counter-hegemonic serves as basis to challenge the existing order" (Böhm 2018, p. 35). Gramsci argues that predominance is obtained by consent, and cultural hegemony describes that power is exercised as much through cultural texts as through physical force (Gramsci 1971).

In Edward Said's interpretation of Gramsci (1979), he states that culture operates within civil society, where the influence of ideas, institutions, and of other persons works by consent in any society that is not totalitarian. Therefore, certain cultural forms and certain ideas predominate over and are more influential than others. This cultural leadership is what Gramsci has identified as hegemony, a key concept for any understanding of cultural life in the capitalist West. "Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation" (Gramsci 1971, p. 666) but has international scope as well. World hegemony is consolidated within a national setting.

2.2.3.2 Relevance to this study

The concept of hegemony is relevant to this research because it is precisely through publishing houses that cultural hegemony can be asserted. If a publishing house (an ISA) is successful, the vision and representation of the world of its owners, directors and chief editors will be projected onto their books and publications, mainly because their views will be taken in as universal and common-sensical. In turn, this "authorized information" will be circulated and diffused as genuine and ideology-free. In this way, ELT textbooks marketed in all

continents will show a particular view of the world as having universal, and international, status.

2.2.4 THE OTHER

2.2.4.1 Edward Said

The concept of the Other that Edward Said proposes in his 1979 study *Orientalism* is useful and accurate to analyze the European (he speaks especially of the British and French, and then the American) representation of the Others.

By arguing about the Orient and Orientalism, he analyses the recurrent idea of the Others and Otherness. Whenever the word *Orient* is mentioned it can easily be replaced by an Other, ie, anyone that is non-European or non-American. He claims that the Orient, and, therefore, Orientalism, is "almost a European invention" (1979, p. 1) and that what Westerners are told is a "European representation of the Orient and its contemporary fate" (ibid.). Said claims that the Orient is one of (Orientalism's or Europe's) "deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1979, pp. 1-2). He states that Orientalism can be analyzed as the corporate institution for making sense of the Orient "-making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1979, p. 3) or an Other. By employing Foucault's concept of a discourse, he contends that to un-

derstand the systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively (Said 1979), Orientalism should be regarded a discourse in itself.

Said clearly states that ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force or their configurations of power. Because of this, “the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (1979, p. 5). Investment in Orientalism (as a system of knowledge about the Orient) became a way of “filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness” (1979, p. 6). According to Said, “the Orient and Orientals (or the Others) are considered by Orientalism as an "object" of study, stamped with an otherness as all that is different” (1979, p. 97). This object of study is generally considered passive, endowed with a historical subjectivity, non-autonomous and non-sovereign with regard to itself. The scholar speaks about Western conceptions and treatments of the Other and he also addresses readers in the so-called Third World because his study proposes itself as an understanding of “the strength of Western cultural discourse, a strength too often mistaken as merely decorative or “superstructural”” (1979, p. 25) to illustrate the structure of cultural domination.

> It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength I have been speaking about so far. Orientalism is never far from what Denys Hay has called the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans as against all "those" non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that

> culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures. There is in addition the hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness. (Said 1979, pp. 6-7)

2.2.4.2 Teun van Dijk

van Dijk (2003) states a similar position when he describes the strategies for ideological analysis: he posits that one should ask some questions in connection with group identity and ideologies (which typically organize people and society in polarized terms) as much of this information is about Us vs. Them, ie the Others.

Group membership has to do with who belongs or does not belong to Us, and how we distinguish ourselves from others by our actions, aims and norms, and resources. “Socially fundamental is what position we have relative to the Others -- whether we are in a dominant or dominated position, or whether we are respected or marginalized” (van Dijk 2003, p. 43). He claims that underlying social beliefs have their expression in discourse. For example, in the overall strategy “Say positive things about Us” and “Say negative things about Them”. This is a form of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2003).

2.2.4.3 Relevance to this study

The concept of The Other is of relevance to this study for different reasons. Part of this research is connected to English and languages other than English,

and there is a certain positioning that contrasts English with Other languages, or rather, Othered languages. Secondly, those in control of hegemonic discourse will always assign negative characteristics to the Others, such as weak, dangerous, difficult, inferior or threatening, in order to ascertain superiority and self approval. Thirdly, by elucidating there is an Other, those that control discourse also speak about themselves. Thus, when an image of the Other is created and stereotyped, there will be an inherent projection of "ourselves" in that discourse and that Otherness.

2.2.5 DISCOURSE

It could be said that discourse is everything and (it) is everywhere. It can be found in everything that is said, written, drawn, designed, unsaid or omitted. The study of discourse is the study of text and (the) subtext (within text). Understanding discourse and how it operates will shed light on countless issues such as ideology, power, hegemony, globalization and the rise of English, at the same time that it mediates in our interpretation of reality.

2.2.5.1 Michel Foucault

According to Foucault, "'discourse' can be used to refer to all utterances and statements which have been made which have meaning and which have some effect" (Foucault as cited in Mills 2003, p. 53). These statements could form a discourse, such as the discourse of racism or feminism.

Foucault claims that we should “think of a discourse as existing because of a complex set of practices which try to keep them in circulation and other practices which try to fence them off from others and keep those other statements out of circulation” (as cited in Mills 2003, p. 54). What is key about Foucault’s concept of discourse is that discourse is (always) associated with relations of power (Mills 2003). Therefore, some statements and ideas will be authorised by institutions (Foucault 1978) and are expected to influence people’s ideas as

> Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (Foucault 1978, pp. 100–101, as cited in Mills 2003).

Another key term in relation to discourse in Foucault’s theory is that of “exclusion”. Among “exclusionary practices,” he mentions the division between true and false, which means that “those in positions of authority who are seen to be ‘experts’ are those who can speak the truth. Those who make statements who are not in positions of power will be considered not to be speaking the truth” (Mills 2003, p. 58). What is considered to be the truth is generally supported materially by different practices and institutions: universities, government departments, publishing houses, scientific bodies. All of these institutions exclude statements which they characterize as false and they decide to keep in circulation those statements they characterize as true (Mills 2003). Therefore, some statements will be more “authorised” than others, precisely because they are more closely

associated with those in positions of power or with institutions (Mills 2003). “Discourses, or discursive formations, are groups of statements which deal with the same topic and which seem to produce a similar effect. (…) They lead to the reproduction of other statements which are compatible with their underlying presuppositions" (Mills 2003, p. 64). This last concept about reproduction is key to understanding how discourses are reproduced and taken in as “common sense”. The more a discourse is circulated the more it will condition how individuals think and perceive reality.

Allan Luke (1997) states that according to Foucault and Derrida, language and discourse are not transparent or neutral means for analyzing the social and biological world. Rather they construct, regulate and control knowledge, social relations and institutions. Because of this, nothing is outside of or prior to its manifestation in discourse.

2.2.5.2 Teun van Dijk

According to the scholar Teun van Dijk (2003), “discourses are like icebergs of which only a small amount of meanings (propositions) are actually expressed, and of which most other information may be tacitly presupposed, and hence remain implicit” (p. 25). He states that generally, speakers and recipients often share the same “Common Ground” (p. 25). The study of discourse is part of the social, political and cultural world, and it is in this world that text, speech and communication have reached a scale of influence and power that directly signals the measure of dominance of those who own discourses, control them or

have access to them. Social, political and cultural structures can operate through discourse only through the minds of language users, not as individual speakers, but as members of groups or cultures. Therefore, by analyzing the mechanisms of the discourses of power that reproduce and legitimate the many forms of inequality we could contribute our share to the struggles of resistance and change (van Dijk 1991).

Much of our discourse expresses ideologically based opinions. “We learn most of our ideological ideas by reading and listening to other group members, beginning with our parents and peers. Later we 'learn' ideologies by watching television, reading textbooks at school, advertising, (…) everyday conversations with friends and colleagues” (van Dijk 2003, p. 9). In other words, it is discourse that expresses, reproduces and legitimates inequality, power and ideologies. In turn, ideologies are largely acquired as such through discourse (van Dijk 2003) and they will “manifest themselves in discourse” (van Dijk 2003, p. 42).

2.2.5.3 Norman Fairclough

According to Norman Fairclough (2001), discourse figures in three ways in social practices. First, it is part of the social activity within a practice. For example, in any job one uses language in a particular way; whether you are a banker or the president. Secondly, discourse figures in representations. Social actors within any practice produce representations of other practices, as well as

representations of their own practice, in the course of their activity within the practice. Representation is a process of social construction of practices. Third, discourse figures in ways of being, in the constitution of identities (Fairclough 2001).

He states that discourses are diverse representations of social life: differently positioned social actors see and represent social life in different ways and different discourses (Fairclough 2001). Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things could or should be. In connection to this topic, Fairclough (2001) argues that inculcation is a matter of people coming to own discourses, people position themselves inside or within discourses.

2.2.5.4 Relevance to this study

The concept of discourse is of great relevance for the purpose of this research because it will help to understand and interpret how the discourse of English operates in course books, why it has been in circulation for more than six decades, why publishing houses support it in their *authorised* textbooks, and how the discourse of English is constructed, reproduced and legitimated as an instrument of power and ideology.

2.2.6 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was born in order to analyze discourse and its distinct aspects critically. Some scholars say CDA is discourse analysis with a “cause” (van Dijk 1991) or with an “attitude” (van Dijk).

2.2.6.1 Teun van Dijk

According to Teun van Dijk (2015), Critical Discourse Analysis is research that critically analyses the relation between language and society. It studies the way identity, ideology, language, discourse and inequality are represented and reproduced through text and talk in social and political contexts. It is directed against all types of power abuse and dominance, and will also focus on the "ideological basis of dominance" (2003, p. 8). van Dijk (1991) suggests the term "analytical resistance": he proposes contributing our share to the struggles of resistance and change by analyzing the mechanisms of the discourses of power.

2.2.6.2 Wodak and Fairclough

Wodak (2001) states that Critical Discourse Analysis is fundamentally concerned with "structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (p. 2) because language is crucial in constructing and sustaining ideologies. Therefore, CDA focuses its enquiry on questions of power, ideology and hegemony "through a recursive exploration of text and context, since power relations are discursive" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 271-280). Norman Fairclough (2003) argues that texts have causal effects – i.e. they bring about changes. Texts can bring about changes in our knowledge, beliefs and actions, or they can have longer-term causal effects, like shaping people's identities as 'consumers', or start wars, or contribute to changes in education. Causal effects are mediated by meaning-making, which in turn "depends

upon not only what is explicit in a text but also what is implicit – what is assumed" (Fairclough 2003, p. 11). "What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed" (2003, p. 11). Critical Discourse Analysis should be used as the basis for the teaching of "critical language awareness" and "critical literacy" to students (Fairclough 1992a as cited in Luke 1997).

2.2.6.3 Allan Luke

Allan Luke (1997), in turn, claims that (a) all inquiry is by definition a form of discourse analysis; and (b) all research consists of a reading and rewriting of texts from a particular historical standpoint. According to him, critical discourse analysis begins from the assumption that systematic asymmetries of power and resources between speakers and listeners, readers and writers exist and they can be linked to their unequal access to linguistic and social resources. If discourse and language in everyday life function ideologically and they are used to shape and perpetuate asymmetrical relations of power, then critical discourse analysis must look at how texts construct representations of the world, social identities, and social relationships (Luke 1997). He goes on to claim that the task of CDA is both deconstructive and constructive: it aims to disrupt and render problematic the power relations of everyday talk and writing while aiming towards an expansion of students' capacities to critique and analyse discourse and social relations, so that there is a more equitable distribution of discourse resources (Fairclough 1992a as cited in Luke 1997).

2.2.6.4 Relevance to this study

The textbook samples that have been collected and the surveys that have been carried out will be explored and inspected through the use of strategies that were especially designed by Critical Discourse Analysis exponents with the aim of being critical about the discourse that is regarded hegemonic and commonsensical.

2.2.7 EDUCATION

The previous concepts are all linked to education since social institutions such as schools and universities are comprised by and through discourses (Luke 1997). It is relevant to mention that the words “education” and “school” will be applied in this dissertation to all the spheres where the acts of teaching and learning formally take place.

According to Louis Althusser (1970), the School is the most dominant Ideological State Apparatus in capitalist social formations because it contributes to the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. capitalist relations of exploitation. The School takes children from every social class since they are five years old, and then for years teaches them “‘know-how’ wrapped in the ideology of the ruling class:”

> At the age of sixteen, a huge mass of children are ejected ‘into production’: these are the workers or small peasants, technicians, white-collar workers, executives, the agents of exploitation (capitalists, managers), the agents of repression (soldiers, policemen, politicians, administrators) and the “professional ideologists” (priests). (…) Each mass ejected en route is practically provided with the ideology which suits the

> role it has to fulfill in class society: the role of the exploited (with a 'highly-developed' 'professional', 'ethical', 'civic', 'national' and a-political consciousness); the role of the agent of exploitation (ability to give the workers orders and speak to them: 'human relations'), of the agent of repression. (Louis Althusser 1970)

According to him, no other Ideological State Apparatus has the obligatory audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five days a week. The "universally reigning ideology of the School" represents the School as a neutral environment purged of ideology (Althusser 1970), a fact that is far from being objective.

Allan Luke (1997) claims that within these institutions (schools) human subjects are defined and constructed in categories such as "children" and "linguistic deficit". "These discourse constructions act both as institutional "technologies of power", implemented and enforced by official authorization, and they act as "technologies of the self"" (Foucault 1980 as cited in Luke 1997), internalized means for the self-discipline of action, practice and identity, thus shaping human lives.

> The safest method is to take the native in childhood, bring him into assiduous contact with us and subject him to our intellectual and moral habits for many years in succession, in a word to open schools for him where his mind can be shaped at our will. (Hardy 1917, quoted in Taleb Ibrahimi 1973, p. 12 as cited in Phillipson 1992)

Institutions like schools act as gatekeepers of mastery of discursive resources: the discourses, texts, genres, lexical and grammatical structures of eve-

ryday language use (Luke 1997). Students do not have access to the same educational equality and discursive resources. van Dijk (2003) also states that ideology shapes the “daily institutional organization of education in schools, in lessons, teaching, textbooks, curricula, and teacher-student interactions” (p. 35) . Ideologies are present in educational discourse and in the whole organization of school life, “in which also gender, age, ethnicity and class will play a role besides the professional ideologies of the teachers” (van Dijk 2003, p. 35).

If nothing can be studied outside of discourse, then “all educational institutions could be seen as complex sites constructed by and through discourses expressed in various texts: from policy statements and textbooks to face-to-face talk in classrooms” (Luke 1997).

2.2.7.1 Textbooks

Different types of interests will clash in texts and they will contend for power, therefore it is relevant to analyze critically how textbooks construct culture, cultural identity, knowledge, individuals, institutions, ideology and the hegemonic power of educational discourses (Luke 1997). Luke (1997) also claims that Foucault's work had begun to provide a framework for describing how educational texts construct children, teachers, students and human subjects in different relations of power and knowledge.

The analysis of textbooks in this dissertation is rooted in the deep belief that the principal unit of analysis for critical discourse analysis is the text (Luke

1997) since “texts have social, political, cognitive, moral and material consequences and effects, and it is vital to understand them if we are to raise moral and political questions about contemporary societies” (Fairclough 2003, p. 14). According to Kress (1989), written and spoken texts represent particular selective views of the world or "subject positions" and they set out social relations of “reading positions”. Therefore, texts can interpellate readers, situating them in relations of power and agency in relation to texts. Readers can “inhabit” a text and make it their own. The study of textbooks will shed light on ideologies, voices, representations and cultural assumptions. Critical discourse analysis thus can document how the world is portrayed, how “human, biological and political actions are represented, sanctioned and critiqued in the official texts of educational institutions” (Luke 1997). The general point is that “there are always particular motivations for choosing to ask certain questions about texts and not others” (Fairclough 2003, p. 14).

2.2.7.2 Critical Pedagogy

Critical Pedagogy (CP) is an approach, a movement and a philosophy of education. One of its main aims is to question the status quo so that teacher and learner become aware of inequalities, oppression, and their possibilities for resistance. It is regarded as a political act, and those that opt for a critical approach towards teaching and learning will be able to critique structures of power in the hope of liberating themselves and others.

2.2.7.2.1 Henry Giroux

Henry Giroux was the first to use the term Critical Pedagogy in his book *Theory and Resistance in Education*, 1983. In line with Paulo Freire, Giroux (2011) links the practice of schooling and pedagogy to democratic principles of society and to transformative social action in the interest of oppressed communities. He firmly claims that “no democratic society can survive without a formative culture shaped by pedagogical practices capable of creating the conditions for producing citizens who are critical, self-reflective, knowledgeable, willing to make moral judgements” (2011, p. 3) and act responsibly. Thus, Critical Pedagogy “provides tools to unsettle common sense assumptions” (Giroux 2011, p. 3).

Henry Giroux (1988) regards teachers as transformative intellectuals and as social educators who can make changes. He states that technocratic and instrumental rationalities are at work in the proliferation of “teacher-proof” curriculum packages, for example textbooks. “The underlying rationale in many of these packages reserves for teachers the role of simply carrying out predetermined content and instructional procedures, to legitimate “management pedagogies”” (1988, p. 124). Therefore, Giroux (1988) contends that teachers must take active responsibility for raising serious questions about what they teach, how they are to teach, and what goals they are striving for. Teachers should view schools “as economic, cultural and social sites that are inextricably tied to the issues of power and control, since schools are not neutral sites, and teachers cannot assume the posture of being neutral either” (1988, p. 127).

2.2.7.2.2 Suresh Canagarajah

According to Suresh Canagarajah (1999), CP has clear differences with respect to the pedagogy of the mainstream (MP). Critical pedagogy focuses on:

-learning as personal: the learner becomes involved in the learning process, and is shaped by it,

-learning as situated: the learner is conditioned and influenced by his/her social and political context,

-learning as cultural: learning and thinking "vary according to the social practices and cultural traditions of the communities" (1999, p. 15), and knowledge is socially constructed,

-knowledge as ideological: knowledge is value-laden,

-knowledge as negotiated: "knowledge results from constant negotiation between communities in terms of values, beliefs and prior knowledge" (1999, p. 16), knowledge as a changing construct,

-learning as political: schooling is implicated in the exercise of power and domination in society. For CP, "teachers have the ethical responsibility of negotiating the hidden values and interests behind knowledge" (1999, p. 17), and should help students to be critical about their own learning.

Canagarajah poses urgent and uncomfortable questions in connection to the dominant language around the world: Does English offer Third World countries a resource that will help them in their development, as Western governments and development agencies would claim? (1999, p. 3) What discourses do local

students and teachers confront in teaching materials produced by centre agencies? How do the agendas of the centre textbooks conflict with the personal agendas local students bring to the classroom? (1999, p. 6). In this respect, he goes on to argue that “language learning cannot be considered an entirely innocent activity, since it raises the possibility of ideological domination and social conflict” (1999, p. 14).

2.2.7.3 Relevance of these concepts to the study

The concepts of education, textbooks and Critical Pedagogy are deeply anchored in this study because it is from them that the investigation emanates. The theory of Critical Pedagogy is the lens through which the educational textbooks in this research were scrutinized, in the hope of contributing to a process of resistance and change.

2.3 STRATEGIES for CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: how to trace the dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism in course books

In the following section, the most salient strategies that were used for the analysis of thirty-five samples will be listed briefly. The purpose is to provide the reader with a more comprehensive outline for the understanding of the Results Section. The categories that were used are van Dijk's strategies for analyzing racism (2003) and Fairclough's strategies for analyzing globalization processes (2003). Both sets of strategies were applied to trace English linguistic imperialism features in the findings of this study.

2.3.1 VAN DIJK

Topics

Topics or themes represent the most important information of a discourse, and they can be concrete or abstract. They help to group discourse into categories, and they "are the information that is best recalled of a discourse" (2003, p. 45). Topics help to "topicalize" or "detopicalize" information for the purpose of emphasizing or de-emphasizing.

Implications and Presuppositions

There are many implied or presupposed meanings in discourse. This entails that part of a discourse is not explicitly mentioned but, when necessary, "missing information may thus be inferred by the recipients" (2003, p. 46) from shared knowledge and thus built as part of their mental models. Implications and

presuppositions are not ideologically neutral, as they tend to favour one thing over the other, and they project a certain image. “In ideological discourse analysis making explicit the meanings implied by a sentence or text fragment may be a powerful instrument of critical study” (2003, p. 47).

Synonymy & Paraphrase

These semantic properties of discourse have the power of expressing the same but differently. Words have lexical and stylistic variation, and they are dependent on context. Therefore, using one word or another has different ideological implications.

Contrast

Contrast is seen in discourse when there are conflicting interests and polarization as in the pronoun pair *US* and *THEM*. This semantic “strategy of ideological discourse is (used) to emphasize Our good things and Their bad things” (2003, p. 49). Thus, “attitudes and ideologies are represented in polarized terms, designating ingroups and outgroups” (2003, p. 49).

Disclaimers

A disclaimer is a semantic strategy which exposes negative characteristics about an Other, while also mentioning positive attributes about a member of our own group. Generally, there is an Apparent Negation which “denies adverse feelings against another group” (2003, p. 50) but the rest of the text can express very

negative feelings about the others (negative other-presentation). Apparent Negation serves as positive self-presentation, or face-keeping.

Evidentiality

Speakers and texts are accountable for what they say. “Thus, if they express a belief, they are often expected to provide some proof for their beliefs" (2003, p. 52) or some evidence that helps them account for their discourse.

Discourse forms

“Importance of information is related to importance of meaning which in turn is related to prominence of position (first, last, on top, etc.)” (2003, p. 55). This general principle might be interpreted as ideologically relevant since the position words occupy in a sentence is not random.

Comparison

It is an argumentative strategy used to compare characteristics between the in-group and the out-group, attributing positive features to *us*, and negative features to *them*.

Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals play an important role in argumentation “because they allow people to demonstrate absurd consequences when an alternative is being considered” (2003, p. 66) "What would happen, if...", is the standard formula that defines counterfactuals (2003).

Generalization

A generalization takes place when “concrete events or actions are generalized and possibly abstracted from, thus making the claim broader, while more generally applicable” (2003, p. 71). Examples become generalized in discourse and exceptionalities are not taken into account. There are standard expressions that are used for generalizations, such as most, all, always, everywhere. Moreover, “(over)generalization of negative acts or events are the basis of stereotyping and prejudice. Of course, the opposite may also be true as part of positive self-presentation” (2003, p. 72).

Lexicalization

Similar meanings can be expressed in different words depending on context. Generally, negative expressions are implemented at the level of lexicalization so as to use “the overall ideological strategy of negative other-presentation” (2003, p. 77). The same applies when opposite meaning is intended, that of positive self-presentation.

National self-glorification

(national) Self-glorification consists of praising or referring positively to the speaker’s own country, principles, history and traditions -or its language, in this study-. It is another instance of positive self-presentation.

Negative other-presentation

It is a semantic macro-strategy. It categorizes people, nations, languages, etc. in in-groups and out-groups, “and even the division between 'good' and 'bad' out-groups” (2003, p. 78). It applies positive, “neutral” or negative terms to refer to a group, and it is always ideologically laden. At many levels of analysis, the representation of the out-group “is influenced by the overall strategy of derogation or negative other-presentation” (van Dijk 2003, p. 78).

Positive self-presentation

As a counterpart of negative other-presentation, Positive Self-Presentation is deeply connected to in-group favoritism. Positive features of one’s own group are emphasized. “Positive self-presentation is essentially ideological, because it is based on the positive self-schema that defines the ideology of a group” (2003, p. 81).

Number game

It is a strategy that is very much used in argumentation because it “is oriented to enhancing credibility by moves that emphasize objectivity. Numbers and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity. They represent the "facts" against mere opinion and impression” (van Dijk 2003, p. 79).

Polarization, us-them categorization

It is a semantic strategy used in discourse about Others. It expresses polarized cognitions and divides people, nations, languages, etc. categorically. “Polarization may be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of *us* and *them* that are semantically each other's opposites” (2003, p. 80).

Reasonableness

It is an argumentative move used to show that the arguments in favour of or against somebody / something are sound, rational or reasonable.

Vagueness

Invariably, discourse contains vague expressions, ie, “expressions that do not have well-defined referents, such as few, a lot, very, thing" (2003, p. 84). This strategy is used when the discourse is biased and information is inaccurate.

2.3.2 FAIRCLOUGH

Assumptions

An assumption is a type of implicitness, which is defined as “a pervasive property of texts” (2003, p. 55). Texts assume things, and assumptions “reduce difference by assuming common ground” (2003, p. 41). “What is “said” in a text is “said” against a background of what is “unsaid”, but taken as given. As with intertextuality, assumptions connect one text to other texts” (2003, p. 40). In this way, the themes of the universal and the particular (Butler et. al. 2000 as cited in

Fairclough 2003) and ideology and hegemony are interwoven since assumed meanings have ideological significance. “Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance, and this is ideological work” (2003, p. 58).

Semantic relations

Semantic relations between sentences and clauses can be achieved through the use of linkers such as because, so, in order to, and, but, when, if, however, etc. These words and phrases help to establish relations of classification, categorization, equivalence and difference among sentences and clauses. This strategy is useful to look at how people, objects, organizations, etc are differentiated, equivalent to, or classified in texts.

Cohesive markers

They mark semantic relations between sentences. Cohesion is built through features such as articles and pronouns (which establish reference relations), “predictable patterns of co-occurrence between words” (2003, p. 94) (lexical relations), and conjunctions and connectors (conjunctive relations).

Promotional culture

The following concept is Wernick’s 1991 as cited in Fairclough 2003 pp. 112-113. Wernick defines contemporary culture as promotional culture. He claims that all sorts of texts -of many genres and with different purposes- are

nowadays simultaneously promoting. “A “promoting message” is one which represents, advocates and anticipates whatever it is to which it refers” (2003, p. 113).

Discourses and representations

Discourses represent aspects of the world, and “different discourses are different perspectives on the world” (Fairclough 2003, p. 124). In this way, discourses depend on social, personal, economic and political relations people have to the world. “Discourses may complement one another, compete with one another, dominate others, and so forth” (2003, p. 124). Discourses differ in how much of the world they include and in the representations they generate. One of the most distinguishing characteristics of discourse is vocabulary: “discourses “word” or “lexicalise” the world in particular ways” (2003, p. 129).

3. METHOD

3.1 APPLICATION OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO THE TEXT SELECTION

3.1.1. MATERIALS

A sample of ten (10) EFL course books were reviewed and scrutinized. The selected textbooks have been used or are currently being used in private language institutions of Greater BA for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) to adult learners aged 18 and over. These books range from level A1 to level A2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) as those are the levels that draw the broadest audience in private language institutes.

The selected textbooks were published between 2004 and 2014 by the following publishing houses: Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Pearson Longman and Richmond. Detailed textbook information is included in the Appendix Section. Thirty-five examples in which the words *English* (as a language), *language(s)*, and the explicit reference to other languages were selected for analysis.

The criteria for text selection is based on the extent to which English as a hegemonic language is represented, and how this representation influences the conception of other languages (in terms of positive - negative constructs). Moreover, Phillipson's arguments in linguistic imperialist discourse (1992, p. 271) have also been used as a criterion for text selection:

capacities: English-intrinsic arguments, what English is

resources: English-extrinsic arguments, what English has

uses: English-functional arguments, what English does.

3.1.2 PROCEDURE

van Dijk's (2003) ideology and discourse strategies and Fairclough's (2003) strategies for textual analysis for social research are the basis of this research. Qualitative research was carried through the method of content analysis, and quantitative methods were also implemented so as to complement the findings (See Appendix). Furthermore, the analytical categories in Phillipson's (1992) English linguistic imperialism were also applied to the selected texts. To structure the analysis clearly, the main themes are identified together with the particular perspective from which they are represented (Fairclough 2003).

As regards qualitative research, the data was analyzed in terms of:

a) to what extent English is portrayed as a hegemonic language, and

b) to what extent other languages are represented / misrepresented (in terms of superiority/inferiority constructs).

As regards quantitative research, the data was analyzed in terms of:

c) How frequently English (as a language) is mentioned in EFL books, and

d) What languages other than English appear, and how frequently.

3.2 QUESTIONNAIRES

3.2.1 MATERIALS

Two self-completion questionnaires were administered, one to adult students of English and the other one to English teachers to complement the findings of the qualitative analysis of textbooks. The purpose of these questionnaires was to explore to what extent students and teachers were aware of the reproduction of the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in the EFL course books they had used or they were using in their English classes since they may "ignore the social and ideological messages expressed in language learning situations" (Phillipson 1992, p. 14). Detailed information about the questionnaires, can be found in the Appendix Section.

3.2.1.1 Questionnaire for students

The questionnaire for students was the first to be administered. It contained a total of ten questions. The first and second questions asked after their age and how many years they had studied English. The third and fourth questions inquired into the specific areas in Buenos Aires where their language schools were located and what type of language institution they had attended. These two questions were aimed at delimiting the area of the research: whether they had studied in Greater BA and if they had attended private language institutes.

The fifth and sixth questions explored how frequently students were asked to use (and/or buy) an EFL course book, and the reasons why they would choose to use a textbook in the English class -if asked-. The purpose of the fifth question was to determine, from the information provided in students' responses, teachers'

preferences as regards the use of textbooks in their classes. The sixth question aimed at eliciting students' own preferences and if they regard textbooks as useful material for their studies.

The objective of the seventh and eighth questions was to determine students' perceptions of the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in EFL course books. The seventh question asked students to recognize, through actual examples, elements of linguistic imperialism in textbooks, while the eighth question explored the extent to which these books support arguments in favour of such discourse.

The last two questions (ninth and tenth) were related to students' awareness of ideology and teaching. The ninth question inquired into the extent to which students think the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological, and the tenth question, which was an open question, gave them the possibility to account for their answer.

3.2.1.2 Questionnaire for teachers

During the second phase of the research, the questionnaire for teachers was administered. It was a prerequisite for respondents to be qualified teachers. It contained a total of nine questions, and many of them were linked to the students' questionnaire so as to cross-reference data at the end of the process. The first and second questions asked teachers about the area where they worked and what ages they taught. These two questions were aimed at delimiting the area of

the research: whether they worked in Greater BA and if their students were eighteen or over.

The third, fourth and fifth questions explored how frequently teachers used an EFL course book in their classes, the reasons why they chose to use a textbook, and the publishing houses they opted for. The purpose of these questions was to determine teachers' preferences as regards the use of course books in the English class.

The objective of the sixth, seventh and eighth questions was to determine teachers' perceptions and awareness of the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in EFL course books. The sixth question asked teachers to recognize elements of linguistic imperialism in textbooks. The seventh question inquired into the extent to which they agreed with the arguments in favour of such discourse. Lastly, the eighth question explored the extent to which course books support the hegemony of English.

The last question (number nine) was an open question and it was related to teachers' awareness of teaching and ideology. It directly elicits a response from them as regards their ideological positioning to the teaching-learning of English in Argentina. They had to account for their answer.

3.2.2 PARTICIPANTS

3.2.2.1 Students

The target population can be defined as students of English whose age was predominantly twenty and / or over, and who had attended classes of English

for at least two years in a private language institute in AMBA. Before completing the questionnaire, the students were asked if these two conditions applied to their situation. After that, one hundred students completed it. The questionnaire was administered through Google Forms and it was closed at (100) a hundred participants so as to have a round figure.

3.2.2.2 Teachers

The target population can be defined as graduate teachers of English who teach English to adult students in private language institutes in AMBA and / or CABA and who use EFL course books for adult learners. Before completing the questionnaire, the teachers were asked if these conditions applied to their situation. After that, sixty teachers completed the questionnaire, which was administered through Google Forms and it was closed at (60) sixty participants.

3.2.3 PROCEDURE

3.2.3.1 Students

Many groups of students were contacted through WhatsApp, email and by telephone during COVID quarantine. They were first asked if they were twenty and / or over, if they had attended classes of English for at least two years in a private language institute in AMBA and if they were willing to complete a short questionnaire. Those that responded positively were sent a link to the questionnaire. One hundred students completed it in 24 hours.

3.2.3.2 Teachers

Many groups of teachers, mostly professional contacts, were contacted through WhatsApp, email and by telephone during COVID quarantine. They were first asked if they were graduate teachers of English, if they teach / used to teach English to adult students in private language institutes in AMBA and / or CABA, if they use / had used EFL course books for adult learners, and if they were willing to complete a short questionnaire. Those that responded positively were sent a link to the questionnaire. Sixty teachers completed it in 24 hours.

4. RESULTS

4.1 ANALYSES OF THE FINDINGS: Textbook Content Analysis

van Dijk (2010) claims that knowledge plays a key role in discourse genres such as textbooks and classroom dialogues because their explicit objective is to form new social knowledge. Textbooks are seen as an official source of knowledge for children, adolescents and adults, and they convey different sides to the social and political world. Because of this, “it became increasingly legitimate to ask questions about inequality, power and dominance in group relations and about the ways these are reproduced and legitimated by text and talk” (van Dijk 1991).

The findings from the scrutiny of EFL course books were analyzed by means of the categories in Phillipson’s (1992) tripartite concept of what *English is - has - does*, and van Dijk’s (2003) and Fairclough’s (2003) strategies for ideological analysis. The concepts in the Literature Review Section were put to work in this phase of the research work as well. The examples that have been gathered can be found in the Appendix together with detailed information about the books.

The findings were classified into four distinct but interconnected and salient themes in the analysis, an “individualizable” group of statements (Foucault 1972) which “represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally speaking” (van Dijk 2003, p. 45). These four topics became recurrent discourse in the findings, and topicalizing such information serves a clear purpose: if topics are the information that is best recalled

of a discourse (van Dijk 2003) then social and mental representations will be built on that basis. The emerging topic areas may be classified as follows:

- English has resources
- English is the international language
- English is the easiest language
- English brings about opportunities and progress

4.1.1 ENGLISH HAS RESOURCES: The *English has* argument

The theme *English has resources* coincides with the *English has* argument (Phillipson 1992) that is typically used to promote English. English extrinsic arguments refer to *textbooks* (my italics), dictionaries, a rich literature, trained teachers, etc. which in turn means English has resource power (Galtung 1980 as cited in Phillipson 1992). If textbooks are one of the many powerful resources English has worldwide, then the discourse found in those course books will inevitably be hegemonic, ideological and will try to account for English intrinsic and functional arguments (Phillipson 1992). Therefore, it is through the analysis of what English *has* that one can explore what English *is* and what English *does* in connection to English linguistic imperialism.

4.1.2 ENGLISH IS THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE *par excellence*

> People all over the world, in many walks of life, have come to depend on English for their economic and social well-being. The language has penetrated deeply into the international domains of political life, business, safety, communication, entertainment, the media and education. The convenience of having a lingua franca available to serve global human relations and needs has come to be appreciated by millions. (Crystal 2003, p. 29)

Crystal's statement may seem to be disrespectful to some people. He takes it as given that it is just natural that English should have become an international language. If the findings that apply to the Topic "*English is the international language*" are scrutinized, it could be interpreted that the discourse of the internationalization of English is constructed and perpetuated powerfully and/but inadvertently. Its validity could be challenged by analyzing the representations in language that contribute to the construction of such ideological discourse.

4.1.2.1 English can be taught, learnt or spoken anywhere

In this set of assumptions, there is recurrence as regards the fact that English can be learnt, taught or spoken anywhere in the world: Lybia, Japan, Brazil, Nicaragua, Buenos Aires (Argentina). A possible interpretation could be that the course books in which these examples appear are marketed in those countries. Publishing houses need to be able to reach these markets and sell books there. Therefore, for marketing reasons, these places are mentioned: so that those who

buy and use the books in the Periphery (Canagarajah 1999) feel part of the Centre, feel the distance has been bridged and boundaries erased. English narrows the gap.

Moreover, in all these examples it is implicitly assumed, recurrently, that English is taught, learnt and spoken anywhere in the world, in all continents. English becomes the noun that binds people together, which acts as a link among people and nations. At times, English is portrayed as an animate subject as if the language decided on its own, at some other times it becomes an inanimate subject, a communal thing that is shared in a world of private property and possessions. What is more, when different places are mentioned, there is no *us-them* polarization (van dijk 2003). Although they speak different languages, Lybia, Japan, Nicaragua, Brazil and Argentina are close to each other because they have English. The discourse shows nearness, proximity.

Furthermore, there is a strong presupposition (van Dijk 2003) in these examples that one can learn or teach English in any country of one's choice. This is strongly related to the concept of globalization, the blurring of boundaries and the internationalization of English (Crystal 2003). The examples about Lybia (*Duane is an English teacher. He teaches in a university in Lybia),* Nicaragua (*Where are you going? To Nicaragua. For a holiday? No, I'm going to do voluntary work. I'm going to teach English to young children…)* and Buenos Aires *(It's nine o'clock and here are tonight's headlines for English speakers in Buenos Aires…)* show the hegemonic position of English in periphery countries. There is a clear ideological assumption (Fairclough 2003) that English allows people to travel and

work in an international environment. Apart from this, the discourse in these examples could be said to show “missionaries of the English language” or Christianization, as if they were Jesuits -for instance- taking their language, culture and beliefs on a mission around the world, or as if they had the aim of “civilizing the savages”. The plan to make English an international language in the Makerere Conference becomes explicit when these examples are grouped.

On the other hand, the examples about Osaka, Japan and Sao Paulo, Brazil (See Appendix) show students who decide, consciously and individually, to learn and use English. The discourse of such examples implies that it is their choice and free will to study English, rather than exposing that they are part of a system that surreptitiously claims that if people do not study English, they will be expelled from the local and international community (Phillipson 1992). In this way, the discourse of English as a global language that empowers its users is asserted and uncontested.

4.1.2.2 Text: Where words come from

The examples can be found in the Appendix. Example #1 states that “*Today English is an international language.”* It presupposes that this is common ground to the readers, or common sense (Foucault 1978). van Dijk states that a presupposition by definition is true, but that “propositions may be conveyed whose truth value is taken for granted and unchallenged” (2003, p. 82). In this way, the validity of the claim is undisputed because it sounds reasonable.

There could be two interpretations for the writer's choice of "*English is an international language*" in the context of that text. First, they might be actually claiming that English is, in fact, an international or global language. Secondly, they could be stating that English today is an international language because it has and shares many words with other languages. The claim is vague as the connection between the words English shares with other languages does not make it an international language, just as one might not claim that Spanish is a global language because it shares many words with other tongues. In any case, it could be said that those words are linguistic borrowings from other languages. Therefore, it can be stated that there is no connection between claiming "English is an international language" and describing where some English words come from. Calling it international, glorifies English (Phillipson 1992).

The concept *international* encompasses -and connotes- another term: that of *lingua franca.* This concept is "frequently applied to dominant international languages which happen to be the former colonial languages" (Phillipson 1992, p. 41), that is to say, English. The same definition can be rightfully applied to the term *international* which conveys dominant hegemonic discourse on the part of the writer. Apart from this, example #1 resorts to vagueness and reasonableness, to prove that the assertion is sound and rational. This move is "especially relevant when the argument itself may seem to imply that the speaker is biased" (van Dijk 2003, p. 83). Therefore, it also has a function in the strategy of positive self-presentation as the claim helps to enlarge social representations readers may share about the English language. Being *international* means being anywhere in the world. English *is* international. Moreover, in the expressions *thousands of*

English words / hundreds of words the argumentative strategy of number game (van Dijk 2003) appears as they are propositions that serve a purpose: to persuade the reader that what the writer is saying is true and provides solid proof to the claim.

4.1.2.3 The languages that are not international, by implication

In the line "*if the world were one country, we would speak the same language*" there is a counterfactual, which is an argumentative strategy that allows people "to demonstrate absurd consequences when an alternative is being considered" (van Dijk 2003, p. 66). The reader is left to wonder which absurd language that would be. Suspiciously but evidently, it could be inferred that such language, or the answer to that proposition, would be English, even though the use of the hypothetical conditional renders itself to an open answer. English is the dominant world language in an imperialist world order, therefore, "the supremacy of English needs to be constantly reasserted in the hierarchical ordering of languages" (Phillipson 1992, p. 272).

Another recurrent example that has appeared extensively in the textbooks under study is that of "*I can speak two languages, English and French.*" In all cases and as a rule, English appears first. Generally, the second language that can be spoken is French. The implication here is that colonial hegemonic languages, in their contest for power and supremacy, have finally won their place in textbooks. What adult students learn from English course books' culture capsules is that when people speak two languages, they speak English and French. This

in turn translates into a mental representation (van Dijk 2003) which dictates that, to belong to the Eurocentric order of things, you must learn at least one of these two languages. In a quantitative analysis of textbooks carried out as part of this research, the word *English* (as a language) appeared 375 times in only ten course books. The second place is for *French* with 68 occurrences, and third place for *Spanish*, 38 times. Fourth, German with 17 occurrences. Fifth and sixth, Polish and Italian, respectively. What these results show is that hegemonic power in ELT textbooks is still in the hands of the European nations -and languages- that divided and kept a share of Africa after the Second “World” War.

4.1.2.4 The community

Within the umbrella term of “English is THE international language” there is a recurring theme that contributes to building the discourse of *the international community of English speakers*. The following lines, taken from the course books excerpts, refer to such concept:

“*I am an English student. I have two brothers. They are English students too. We all study English at school and in the evening we go to conversation classes.”*

“I like meeting new people and I like using English.”

“I love speaking English. I like watching English movies, too, and reading English books.”

“I study grammar and vocabulary at home with my son - he’s 14. He learns English at school. He is a good student. We talk to each other in English sometimes - just for fun!”

“Last year I went to Poland on holiday. It was great. I spoke a lot of English!”

“I use English a lot online. It’s really easy to make friends from all over the world!”

“Most students study English, but it depends.”

“You have to learn English now in most primary schools.”

“You have to pass an English exam before you go to university.”

“There is a general feeling among British people that “everyone speaks English nowadays so it’s not worth learning other languages.””

Discourses represent different aspects of the world, in the same way that “different discourses are different perspectives on the world” (Fairclough 2003, p. 124). In turn, a particular discourse can, so to speak, generate many specific representations. Through different lexicalization strategies, course book writers have been successful in developing ideas recursively, namely through the nouns “student”, “classes”, “English”, and the verbs “like”, “study”, “use”, “speak”, “love” and “learn”. What this shows is that through repetition as a rhetorical device, the choice of such nouns and verbs evokes a discourse of self-fulfillment, of an enjoyable practice through the learning of English. This in turn may translate into a sense of belonging to the community that studies and enjoys English because of

its many uses and applications. These lines contribute to building a social representation of English as the international language one needs to master in order to travel, meet people and enjoy life.

Phillipson (1992) claims that, just like nations, communities are first imagined, and only then can they be constructed. He states that those in favor of English "have successfully projected an idea of the community which English speakers make up" (1992, p. 272). In this way, the many lines in the course books that refer to this particular theme are successful in projecting comradeship and bliss among those able to speak English. This may not be so when other languages are involved, mentioned or omitted. According to Phillipson (1992), only English is equated with bounty, and this fact can be perceived in the discourse of ELT textbooks. "The promise of English is increasingly identified with a community of English users who are economically privileged, in a world of inequalities and exploitation. This privilege is due to the structural favoring of English, nationally and internationally" (Phillipson 1992, p. 273).

4.1.2.5 What you can do with English (or what English does)

Another area that serves the purpose of representing English as "the international language" in course books' discourse is that of showing and making reference to the many possible uses and applications English has. Though being international belongs to the *English is* argument (Phillipson 1992), it is precisely *because* it is international that one can do many things with English: what *English does* argument (Phillipson 1992).

Most of the examples in the findings show practical and real-world applications of the language. These include:

study: grammar, vocabulary, at university, at school

go to conversation classes

speak English: at work, at hotels, on holidays, for business

watch English clips on YouTube, English movies

talk to other English students on the computer, talk to each other in English

meet new people

read English books

learn English

do business (companies) (Central Europe)

go on holiday (Poland)

visit family (Australia)

use English online: chat and send photos and videos

make friends from all over the world

in bars: ask for something, chat

speak with tourists and visitors: on the street, ask for directions

for communication in multinational companies

for voluntary work

teach English

These elements emanate from a discourse that seeks to build a mental representation of English as a language of expansion, abundance and success in a globalized world. With English, anyone will be able to communicate, and

communication is everything in a world that knows no boundaries anymore. Though they appear to be different applications of the language, a relation of equivalence or synonymy (van Dijk 2003) is established among the elements so that the core narrative is tightly interwoven: English is an international language because it can be used for all purposes, and people should not think otherwise. van Dijk (2003) claims that ideologies are learnt, and they influence what we say and how we say it. Because of this, discourse and ideology are tightly linked to each other. “We acquire and change ideologies through reading and listening to large amounts of text and talk” (p. 88). If teachers and students of English consume the discourse of ELT course books for many years, their mental and social representations -and choices- may veer towards the discourse of English linguistic imperialism.

The examples listed above are reinforced by David Crystal’s *English as a Global Language* (1997 / 2003), as if there was evidentiality of each other, ie, textbooks provide “evidence” that supports Crystal’s theory, just like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Briefly speaking, Crystal’s book considers the present status and the future of the English language. It also claims that English is the leading international language. Though partially this may be so, a critique must be made in connection to the bias and the openness of the recurring examples in English course books, as the findings show.

On the other hand, left at the end of a text and bereft of prominence, backgrounded, a more realistic example was found:

“*Guido says: I don’t really use English much outside the classroom :(I hope to start a language exchange with someone who wants to learn Italian.”*

Guido's example appears at the end of a long text that mentions the modern uses and applications of English. This example can be regarded as an instance of face-keeping to mitigate the positive self-presentation strategy provided in the rest of the text. van Dijk (2003) defines it as a "collective form in which the speaker emphasizes the positive characteristics of the own group" (p. 81), in this case, of the foreign language. Guido, an Italian student whose words appear in a textbook, represents many more students who do not actually use English outside the classroom in periphery countries. "Calling English a 'world' language falsely implies that English is universally relevant" (Phillipson 1992, p. 281).

4.1.2.6 Text: The British are bad at languages

The following excerpts and examples belong to the 3rd edition of the book *New English File* published by Oxford University Press. This text was previously called "*Can you learn Polish in a month?*" in the 2nd edition of the book, but it was remastered and modernized so as to be replaced by *"The British are bad at languages"*.

Connected to positive self-presentation and (linguistic) glorification (van Dijk 2003), examples #11 and #12 (see Appendix) consider the apparent reputation -or genuine beliefs- of the British and the conception of English as a superior and/or international language. The following lines were taken from the texts "The British are bad at languages":

The British have a reputation for being bad at learning languages, but is it really true?

If I go (to Spain and Latin America), I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.

Why are the British so bad at learning languages?

The British are bad at speaking foreign languages. It's a fact.

They will stop making an effort the moment they discover the waiter knows a little English. I think laziness is possibly the key factor.

There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages."

Ten years ago, about 80% of children at secondary school studied a foreign language. Today, that number has gone down to 48%.

According to the writer, the British are bad at languages (because) b. English is an international language.

If Critical Discourse Analysis aims at deconstructing discourse then it will show that nothing appears inadvertently. The writers of English File may be ironically passing judgement on the British, but it could be another instance of face-keeping. They are actually stating that "*a typical Brit expects everyone else to speak English*" and that "t*here is a general feeling among British people that everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages."* It is precisely through the use of these examples that the superiority of the English language is asserted as well as the worthlessness of "Other" languages. A thorough selection of words can also be perceived to be contributing to such discourse, like the hyperbolic *everyone*.

> Deconstruction does not say there is no subject, there is no truth, there is no history. It simply questions the privileging of identity so that someone is believed to have the truth. It is not the exposure of error. It is constantly and persistently looking into how truths are produced. (Ania Loomba 1998, pp. 7-8)

The text also provides interesting argumentative moves such as disclaimers, evidentiality, number game, generalization, "linguistic" self glorification and openness (van Dijk 2003). On the one hand, though the British are categorized as lazy because they do not speak other languages, they are also justified by the text claiming that English is an international language and everyone else speaks it, thus implying that there is no need for them to learn other tongues. On the other hand, the statistics and percentages shown provide evidence for the claim(s) but they lack legitimacy and there is number game (van Dijk 2003). Moreover, there is "linguistic self-glorification": there are positive references to or praise for their own language. The text also contributes to the building of prejudice and stereotypes as it passes judgement on the British in a humorous way, but nonetheless they are implicitly defined as arrogant.

Example #12 repeats the assertion *The British are bad at languages (because) English is an international language.* It is one of the options in a multiple choice activity. First and foremost, there are two straight forward and explicit assumptions:

a. that the British are bad at languages, and
b. that English is an international language.

These two facts are not just taken for granted, but they are asserted. Secondly, the causal relation between the clauses needs attention, which could be paraphrased as follows: due to the fact that English is an international language, the British are bad at learning languages, that is to say, implicitly and in polarized terms, that the British do not need to be good at languages because theirs is a global language and it is the only one they need in this globalized world. To account for this, Crystal (2003) cites a British Council questionnaire about the future of English (1997) in which they state that “English will remain the world’s language for international communication for the next twenty-five years.” It seems all assertions can be justified.

4.1.3 ENGLISH IS THE EASIEST LANGUAGE

4.1.3.1 The representation of the others

> The notion that standards of English are bound to drop if other languages are used much is a variant which has been used to legitimate a continued British presence in former dependencies. The idea of keeping up standards is a leitmotiv in British planning for the post-colonial era. (Phillipson 1992, p. 212)

The representation of the Others was the beginning of this investigation while teaching English to adult learners in evening courses in the Western area of Metropolitan Buenos Aires. This subtopic is therefore the origin and genesis of this study and what led to inquire about how languages other than English were

represented and what type of mental and social representations they were targeting to build in the consumers of ELT course books. During the research, it became apparent that languages that had not been colonial languages —unlike English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese- were usually "*othered*" (Said, 1978) in English course books.

There is a semantic macro-strategy that is recurrently used to achieve this purpose in this type of examples (see Appendix B): that of negative other-presentation. van Dijk (2003) defines it as the categorization of people (or languages, my words) in in-groups and out-groups, which is not value-free, but filled with ideologically based applications of norms and values. Generally, out-groups are defined as a burden or a threat. In this particular case, languages other than English are represented as a threat to English, "the international language."

The list that follows shows some instances of negative other-presentation in the course books under study:

Chinese is one of the most difficult languages to learn.

I don't speak French very well.

French is the most important language in West Africa.

I would like to learn Russian but I can't find a teacher.

If I had more time, I would learn Chinese.

He can speak English but he can't speak German.

Do you speak Hungarian? I don't, but my father does. It's a very difficult language.

English is easier to learn than Chinese.

I can already speak French and Spanish quite well but Polish isn't a Latin-based language so I knew it would be completely different. (…) I thought I was good at languages before I started learning Polish, but now I'm not so sure. I found it incredibly difficult. The grammar was really complicated and the words were not like any other language I know so it was very hard to remember them.

I said to the taxi driver, in Polish, To the holiday Inn Hotel, please. The driver understood me. But then he started talking in perfect English. I felt a bit stupid.

I knew this test was going to be very hard. Numbers in Polish are incredibly difficult and I've always found telling the time is impossible.

So can you learn a language in a month? Not Polish, definitely!

French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.

But other things (talking about Spanish) were more difficult, for example the verbs in Spanish change for each person and that means you have to learn a lot of different endings. My biggest problem was the pronunciation. I found it very difficult to pronounce letters in Spanish, especially r and j.

Nick thinks that Americans are bad at learning languages because (option b:) they find learning languages too difficult.

Fairclough (2003) states that "the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of "common ground," (p. 55) thus making implicitness relevant to ideology. In this way, some assumptions can be made from the listed

examples. The adjectives that carry a negative connotation in a positive - negative spectrum (*difficult, impossible, complicated, hard, different*) are used to modify languages such as Chinese, Hungarian, Polish, Japanese and (one example of) Spanish. For Russian, there is, apparently, a lack of teachers. The choice of adverbs is telling as well: these languages are *the most (difficult), more (difficult) than, very (difficult), incredibly (difficult), too (difficult), very (hard), really (complicated).*

When it comes to describing English, French, Italian, German or Spanish (though the examples with Spanish tend to be ambiguous), however, adjectives or expressions that hold a positive or more neutral connotation appear. They are depicted as *important, the most important, perfect, easy, easier than.* People *do* or *can speak* them *quite well* or *very well.* The findings have also shown that to introduce -and later exercise- the topic of comparatives and superlatives, textbooks resort to comparing languages, in which case positive attributes are assigned to West European languages, and negative attributes are assigned to Asian or East European languages. This type of examples helps to perpetuate the hegemony of (former) colonial languages, or dominant languages.

Through these claims, ELT course books convey and imply the strategies of *polarization* and *us-them categorization* (van Dijk 2003) which accurately show the representation of languages in English textbooks. Thus, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian and Polish as languages are being *othered*, polarized and presented as lesser tongues by the choice of adjectives and adverbs that describe them. It can also be argued that, implicitly, there may be a message behind claiming *Do not try to learn them, go on learning English instead*. These languages are part

of a clear out-group (van Dijk 2003). In contrast, English, German, French and Italian, that is to say, West European languages —as opposed to Asian or East European languages such as Hungarian and Polish— belong to the in-group. They are openly represented as superior languages and this fact contributes to building mental and social representations serving the needs of the ruling ideology: the status quo has not changed. Not only are some languages *othered*, but also polarized in binary terms (easy-difficult / good-bad). It can be inferred that the West European languages mentioned are easy to learn and they represent *us* (therefore, if one starts studying English one starts to belong to the *community* of English), whereas the other languages are *too* difficult and they bear the burden of negative other-presentation. Why choose *them*? "The relationship between English and other languages is an unequal one, and this has important consequences in almost all spheres of life" (Phillipson 1992, p. 30).

In connection to difference, there are two binary oppositions that establish a hierarchical order in discourse: "difficult - easy" (explicit in the texts) and "East - West" (implicit in the texts: Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, Polish vs. English, French, Italian, German). "Eastern" languages are depicted and represented as difficult, while "Western" languages are assumed to be easy. The claim that one is easier than the other one is a misconception based on hegemonic discourse and power relations:

> There is always a sense that an opposition is not an innocent structural relation. Rather, it is a power relation, in which one of the oppositions dominates the other. In the case of binaries such as white/black or civilized/savage (or easy/difficult,

> my words), there are clear relations of power that ascribe privilege, priority and positive value to one term at the expense of the other (Edwards 2008, p. 19).

Two examples provide a clear illustration: the Polish example (#22) and the Spanish example (#25). Polish is emphatically described as *different* and *incredibly difficult.* Its grammar is *really complicated* and its vocabulary is *not like any other language I know* therefore *it was very hard to remember the words.* Asking the time is *very hard. Numbers in Polish are incredibly difficult* and *telling the time is impossible. So can you learn a language in a month? Not Polish, definitely!* In addition to that, Spanish verbs are depicted as *more difficult, for example the verbs in Spanish change for each person and that means you have to learn a lot of different endings,* or Spanish pronunciation can be a *problem* because it is *very difficult to pronounce letters in Spanish.* There are specific semantic strategies and argumentative moves that help build this "difficultness" in contrast to the implicit easiness of another language: English. Among the strategies being used, one can find polarization, negative other-presentation, downgrading, comparison, derogation and hyperbolic terms (van Dijk 2003). In addition to that, the phrase *But then he (the taxi driver) started talking in perfect English. I felt a bit stupid!* presupposes that in Poland even taxi drivers speak *perfect* English, so why would anyone learn a language other than English? By explicitly mentioning negative characteristics about other languages, positive features are implicitly ascribed to English.

4.1.3.2 French

Example #15 shows how colonial languages still have a hold on social representations. Example #15 (*I'm studying French at the moment. It's the most important language in West Africa, and I want to travel to Senegal and Mali next year)* states and presupposes, first and foremost, that French is the most important language in West Africa. A powerful weapon like discourse (Foucault 1978) can naturalise the assumption that French is the most widely spoken language in West Africa today. Example #15 assumes that:

a. French is spoken in West Africa

b. there are other languages in West Africa, implied by the use of the superlative

c. the other languages are purposefully omitted

d. most West African people speak French (generalization, van Dijk 2003)

e. French is the *first* language in West Africa

f. no other African language is as good as French

That African languages are not mentioned is not surprising. They are not regarded as important in hyperbolic terms like French, and they are often *othered* and omitted. "The dominance of European languages is still virtually complete. (…) African languages tend to be marginalized and lose out in the competition with European languages. Proficiency in the latter is essential for upward social mobility and privileged positions in society" (Phillipson 1992, pp. 27-28). Again

and again, a hierarchy of languages seems to be established in English course books for adult learners. That hierarchical structure is still conditioned by the ideas of East and West, globalization and linguistic imperialism.

4.1.3.3 Foreign and foreigners

Two other examples are recursive in another major idea: that of *foreign*. It appears that whatever is not English, is foreign. Example #17 reads *The sea Inside (…) won an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film* and Example #26 *the British are bad at languages (because) language teachers in British schools are not very good.* The first assertion assumes, undisputedly, that English is the language of Hollywood and the cinema industry (Crystal 2003), the in-group. Therefore, all other languages are regarded as *foreign* and are part of just one category at the Academy Awards: "Best Foreign Language Film", the out-group. The second example implies that the British as a people are bad at languages other than English because language teachers —who teach *foreign* languages- in British schools are bad. First, making such assertion about teachers is derogative. Secondly, there are two possible interpretations to the concept of "language teachers" in example #26: a. language teachers are foreign and they are bad teachers, b. language teachers who teach foreign languages are bad though they are British. Whichever the case, the blame is put on teachers, not on the British for not learning other languages. Thus, adding to the representation of *the others*.

As regards example #16 about Russian (*I would like to learn Russian but I can't find a teacher*), it could be said that the statement presupposes that there

is no demand for Russian, therefore, the speaker cannot find a teacher. One might infer that the reason for there being no teachers is the fact that Russian is not spoken worldwide because it is an *Other.* In this way, the example contributes to the worshipping of English. “Globally, what we are experiencing is that English is both *replacing* other languages, and *displacing* them” (Phillipson 1992, p. 27).

Examples #25 and #26 contribute to building mental representations about (the lack of importance of) languages other than English. The following lines exemplify some points:

The British have a reputation for being bad at learning languages, but is it really true?

If I go, I don’t want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.

Why are the British so bad at learning languages?

The British are bad at speaking foreign languages. It’s a fact.

They will stop making an effort the moment they discover the waiter knows a little English.

There is a general feeling among British people that “everyone speaks English nowadays so it’s not worth learning other languages.”

Nick thinks that Americans are bad at learning languages because a. they don’t want to learn languages, b. they find learning languages too difficult.

I said to the taxi driver, in Polish, To the holiday Inn Hotel, please. The driver understood me. But then he started talking in perfect English. I felt a bit stupid.

Firstly, these examples show that British and American people believe in the superiority of their language. The term *superior* in this case could be interpreted broadly as meaning *international, global, easier, dominant,* therefore: superior because *it is easier to learn and it is used internationally*. Two ideas that add to the capitalist ideology of the discourse of English.

If one language is regarded as superior, then by implication (van Dijk 2003) the Others are inferior, which in turn constitutes another binary opposition. It could be claimed that no-one would want to learn other languages if readers are constantly bombarded with messages like *everyone speaks English so it's not worth learning other languages* or *learning (other) languages is too difficult.* Users of course books are being told, recurrently, that it is not worth it, that other languages should not be given a chance. In this way, ideological discourse is built: by downgrading and *othering* (Said 1978) languages other than English.

The statistics and percentages mentioned in example #26 (*Ten years ago, about 80% of children at secondary school studied a foreign language. Today, that number has gone down to 48%.)* play on numbers to build the strategy of number game (van Dijk 2003), though it lacks legitimacy as there is no source being acknowledged. The implied meanings of this sentence can be interpreted as follows:

a. today (the year is not acknowledged) 48 % of children at secondary school study a foreign language

b. 32% of children at secondary school have dropped out of foreign language classes

c. the decrease in the number is outstanding

d. there will be 52% of young adults in Britain that only speak English

e. half the population of Britain speak English only

One possible assumption (Fairclough 2003) is that 50% of children in the UK will be illiterate in languages. Another possible implication is that they think the only language they (will) need is English. When representations are generalized or abstract, a close inspection should be taken of how ideas are being classified, so as to have an insight into the “classification schemes” which are drawn upon to impose a “di-vision”on the social —a division, a classification, which constitutes a particular “vision” (Bourdieu et. a. 1992, as cited in Fairclough 2003, p. 138). The *vision* students absorb every time they consume ELT course books is part of the hegemonic discourse that seeks to obliterate non-hegemonic or periphery languages so that the dominating languages of the West do not lose their grip on the process they call globalization.

4.1.4 ENGLISH BRINGS ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES AND PROGRESS

4.1.4.1 English as an investment for social and economic mobility

There are many implications and presuppositions (van Dijk 2003) in these examples. To start with, whether information is expressed or is left implicit is not ideologically neutral. Two of the recurring ideas that are implied in the following phrases are that of English as an investment and English for social and economic mobility. The following lines contain such examples:

I want to learn English for my job and to travel.

Every year thousands of students travel to different countries to study English.

I study English in my free time.

I need to read books in English at university.

I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work.

I want to learn to speak English. I want to work in an English-speaking country.

It isn't a bad job, and I learn to speak English at the same time.

I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.

These examples presuppose that students:

a) (can) travel,

b) can travel abroad,

c) have a job, and

d) will get better jobs.

A student therefore infers that English is used at work and is needed for the world of employment, and that to travel students need to speak English. These two ideas suggest that working and traveling in a globalized world imply mastery of English. In this way, if adult students speak and master English, they possess an added value which in turn translates into an easier way to climb the

socio-economic ladder. English appears to be the language of “the fittest”. The idea that English has a social stratification function (Phillipson 1992) is thus rendered clear.

The message implied throughout is that if students invest in learning English, they will get a better job, they will be promoted, they will travel, they will study at universities where the bibliography is read in English. The globalized concepts of free traveling and being able to work in the country of one’s choice are also encouraged constantly to show that English is a genuine investment. There is an example in this section that shows the purpose of learning English through the use of “so (that)”: *so I can get a better job.* English is not depicted as an expense but as a profitable investment for anyone’s future. English takes students places.

> The discourse accompanying and legitimating the export of English to the rest of the world has been so persuasive that English has been equated with progress and prosperity. (…) The arguments in favor of English are intuitively commonsensical, but only in the Gramscian sense of being based on beliefs which reflect the dominant ideology. (Phillipson 1992, p. 8)

Another relevant point is the recurrent use of the verbs “want” and “need”. The former implies volition, the latter necessity. If one adds the first person singular “I” then what is left are examples of mental and social representations that could make students believe that it is they themselves as individuals that want and need English, that the course book is not part of a discourse that purposefully wants and needs to show English as the language that opens doors and broad-

ens horizons, as some sort of “land of opportunity” that students choose for themselves by uttering “I want & I need.” Content and meaning express ideologies in discourse, and they exhibit social representations (van Dijk 2003). In this type of discourse, the assumption (Fairclough 2003) that everyone needs English, that *it just happened* is common sense: to listen to music, to watch films, to work, to go to university, to meet new people. Such discourse presupposes that English will take students closer to people around the world, while implying that English has become the key to the gates of this competitive system. If one has the key, then one is in. Oddly enough, “the wealth that English provides access to is very inequitably distributed. {Third World} countries have economies which are relatively weak in the international balance of power” (Phillipson 1992, p. 11).

4.1.4.2 English opens international doors

Example #36 is about Enrique Iglesias. It was taken from a listening comprehension activity (detailed information can be found in Appendix C). The example goes: *At first Enrique sang mainly in Spanish but later he began to sing more and more in English too. His fourth album, Escape in 2001, was his biggest commercial success and included the singles Escape and Hero, sung in English, which became hits all over the world, and made Enrique an international star.* To understand the semantic representations involved in this fragment, it needs to be deconstructed. The following lines propose deductions and inferences made from the excerpt:

a) At the beginning of his career, he sang in Spanish.

b) Later, he began to sing in English too.

c) He launched at least 4 albums.

d) The fourth one was called Escape and it was released in 2001. It was his biggest commercial success.

e) The fourth album included the singles Escape and Hero, sung in English. The clarification "*sung in English*" implies that the rest of the album was sung in Spanish.

f) The singles Escape and Hero, which were sung in English, became hits all over the world and made Enrique an international star.

Therefore, due to the fact that he sang *Escape* and *Hero* in English, Enrique became an international star. If he had not sung in English he would not have become famous all over the world. This in turn translates into the following statement:

The language that made Enrique an international star was English.

According to the course book, it is not the person or his charisma, it is neither his voice nor his music. What made Enrique Iglesias an international star is the language in which he recorded *two* songs: English. The discourse of English establishes the "true fact" that English opens the door of the world to people,

and Example #36 contributes to reinforce such promotional culture (Wernick 1991).

Moreover, in the example *Every year thousands of students travel to different countries to study English. Where do they go? Here are the top 5 countries…* there is a clear instance of generalization (van Dijk 2003). The choice of words generalizes the concept: *every year, thousands of students, different countries*. The actual year is not important because it happens *every* year, and in *different* countries, which could be interpreted as well as many. Generalizations may have a hyperbolic weight in discourse, thus contributing to assert that what they state is true as long as it is not challenged, and textbooks are not usually challenged, though sources are not acknowledged. Therefore, this type of hegemonic discourse helps build the mental and social representation that indeed every year, *thousands* of students travel to different countries to study English only. And that it is and should be the norm, "but as in many other periphery-English countries, only a minute proportion of the population actually speak (and travel to learn, my addition) English" (Phillipson 1992, p. 26).

Furthermore, another category of ideological analysis can be found in these examples: number game (van Dijk 2003). By stating *thousands of students* and *the top 5 countries* the statement provides numbers and statistics to prove that the information is factual and genuine, therefore objective. What it fails to show is the source of the information, a fact which would render the claim invalid.

4.1.4.3 Opportunities and Progress

In Example #32 there is a picture of a 20-year-old girl and a text that reads *I really like working with children of all ages. I also cook and clean and look after the house. It isn't a bad job, and I learn to speak English at the same time.* In this example there is a disclaimer (van Dijk 2003), a semantic strategy which exposes negative characteristics about an Other, while also mentioning positive characteristics about a member of our "own" group. In this case, the Apparent Negation (van Dijk 2003) *it isn't a bad job* that refers to cooking, cleaning and looking after the house is offset by *and I learn to speak English at the same time*. The first clause "denies adverse feelings" (van Dijk 2003, p. 50) against the job she has to do while the second clause praises the fact that she is learning English. The speaker sounds ambiguous as there is clearly a positive part (that of learning English) and a negative one (having to cook and clean) but the speaker is willing to make the effort (volition, again) because she is learning English: positive presentation (van Dijk 2003). English appears as an opportunity. However, "while English opens doors to some, it is simultaneously a barrier to learning, development and employment for others" (Pennycook 2010, p. 117).

Example #34 is similar in that respect: *Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair, looking after children. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.* There is implicitness as regards being willing to take any job as long as they learn and / or improve English. What matters is English. The phrase "*a better job (when I go back home)*" signals the fact that working as an au pair or babysitter is neither

what she hopes for in the future nor what she would do “back home” in her own country. Her discourse appears to be ambivalent throughout but “an inevitable process which must be responded to in particular ways” (Fairclough 2003, p. 45). *I want to improve my English so I can get a better job when I go back home* can be considered a promoting message (Wernick 1991 in Fairclough 2003) that considers English as progress.

4.2 RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

4.2.1 Questionnaire for students

The following results show the most relevant findings.

All 100 participants were between 18 and 72 years old, but most of them were around 35-43 years old. 58 % studied English for more than 7 years, while 28 % studied for 3 - 7 years. Only 14 % of the participants had studied English for 1 - 3 years.

42% studied English in the Western area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), 25% in the Northern area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), and 30% in CABA (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires). Most students (82%) reported having studied English in Secondary School, though they also reported studying in Language Institutes (54%) and with a private teacher (52%).

In question #5, when asked about how often they used a course book in the English class, 50% of the respondents replied “always,” 35% answered “almost always” and 14% chose “sometimes”. Oddly, not one participant answered “never”. These facts may show that in general terms, adult students are asked to use and / or buy EFL textbooks in the English class, and in turn this fact encourages the sale of English resources. Thus, it can be inferred that publishing houses profit from these decisions to a great extent.

For the following question (#6) the participants could choose more than one option. Among the reasons why they would choose to use a textbook in the English class, the most salient choices were:

69 % - *I have grammar, vocabulary, texts, listening activities all in just one book.*

64% - *it helps with my learning and the organization of the class*

27% - *I like the type of topics they deal with and they are good for debating*

19% - *I don’t have to worry about taking a notebook, photocopies or download material from the internet.*

According to the percentages, it could be said that at least 65 % of students consider textbooks as useful material for their lessons.

Question #7 addressed linguistic imperialism directly. Students could choose more than one option, and they were asked to recognize which examples it is probable to find in ELT textbooks. There were six examples in all, two examples per theme. The most salient choices were:

43% - *Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.* (This example matches the theme "English brings about opportunities and progress")

40% - *I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work. I use it everyday, but I'm not a confident speaker.* (This example matches the theme "English brings about opportunities and progress")

27% - I've never seen these examples.

24% - *French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.* (This example matches the theme "English is the easiest language")

18% - *I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.* (This example matches the theme "English is the international language").

It may be inferred that the theme students most recognize in textbooks is that of "English brings about opportunities and progress".

When asked (question #8) to what extent the ELT course books they had used supported these messages (in favor of English linguistic imperialism), students' perceptions reported the following:

English opens doors and brings about opportunities

51% Absolutely

32% Partially

13% No way

4% No idea

English is the international language

48% Absolutely

37% Partially

8% No way

7% No idea

Other languages are more difficult than English

39% No way

38% Partially

14% Absolutely

9% No idea

The results show that almost 85% of adult students perceive the first two arguments in ELT textbooks, whereas the third one *Other languages are more difficult than English* is not so straight-forward in discourse as the findings show.

Question #9 asked students to what extent they agreed with the following statement: “Do you think the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological?” The results show the following: 40% “agree partially,” 37% “do not agree”, 23% “totally agree.” The tenth question, which was an open question, gave them the possibility to account for their answer. Only 21 out of 100 did so, although most of them had selected “totally agree” in question #9.

Among the answers they provided were:

“all teaching is ideological” (4%),

“if you don’t learn English there are fewer chances of growing professionally and at work” (4%),

“we are ruled by the ideology of dominant countries” (2%),

“they sell the image of Europe as something advanced, and English is its symbol” (1%),

“English is sold as the only second language worth learning, and it has a lot of advertising” (1%),

“English equals hegemony” (1%), and

“there’s no scientific argument that says English is more important than other languages” (1%).

One respondent (1%) who had chosen “partially agree" claimed that “the people who support English try to aim at something better.” Only four participants (4%) who had chosen “do not agree” argued that “English is not ideological” (2%) and that “English is a fundamental tool for development in this globalized world” (2%).

4.2.2 Questionnaire for teachers

The following results show the most relevant findings.

All 60 participants were teachers of English. 48.3% worked in the Northern area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), 25% in the Western area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), and 21.7% in CABA (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires). Most teachers reported teaching adolescents (75%), then adults (53.3%) and children (51.7%).

In question #3, when asked about how often they used a course book in class, 20% of the respondents replied “always,” 38.3% answered “usually”, 16.7% chose “sometimes”, 13.3% “hardly ever” and 11.7% replied “never”. These results contrast with students’ answers since 99% of students reported using text-books in their English classes, while teachers are close to 75%. However, both figures show that teachers -or institutions- encourage the purchase of EFL course books, which means a high rate of resources in class, and, in turn, a huge profit for publishing houses.

For the following question (#4) the participants could choose more than one option. Among the reasons why they use a course book in their classes, the most salient choices were:

50.9 % - *it helps with the organization of the class*

41.5% - *it provides a background / a frame to the class*

30.2% - *I like the type of topics they deal with and they are good for de-bating*

15.1 % - *I have all the grammar, vocabulary, texts, etc. there and I don’t have to worry about planning the class.*

9.4% - *I don’t use a course book in my classes.*

Eight respondents (13.3%) added as an extra option that they did not have a choice because the use of textbooks in their classes was compulsory, man-dated either by the heads or the institution where they work. Judging from the options they chose, it could be said that approximately 90 % of teachers consider textbooks as useful material for their classes. Moreover, when asked about which publishing houses they would choose, teachers’ choices were:

86.8% Oxford University Press

60.4% Cambridge

60.4% Pearson

45.3% Macmillan

Question #6 addressed linguistic imperialism directly. Teachers could choose more than one option, and they were asked to recognize, according to their experience, which examples they are more likely to find in an English course book. There were six examples in all, two examples per theme. The most salient choices were:

51.7% - *I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work. I use it everyday, but I'm not a confident speaker.* (This example matches the theme "English brings about opportunities and progress")

43.3% - *Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.* (This example matches the theme "English brings about opportunities and progress")

26.7% - *There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages." In multinational companies English is often the official language of communication within the company.* (This example matches the theme "English is the international language")

21.7% - I've never seen any of the previous examples.

16.7% - *As an experiment, they asked me to try and learn a completely new language for one month. I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.* (This example matches the theme "English is the international language")

11.7% - *I can already speak French and Spanish quite well but Polish isn't a Latin-based language so I knew it would be completely different. I thought I was good at languages before I started learning Polish, but now I'm not so sure. I found it incredibly difficult.* (This example matches the theme "English is the easiest language")

11.7% - *French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.* (This example matches the theme "English is the easiest language")

In a similar fashion to students' choices, it can be inferred that the examples teachers most recognize in textbooks are related to the theme of "English brings about opportunities and progress". In second place, they chose examples related to the theme of "English is the international language". Only 20% of teachers reported not having seen these examples. Only 12% recognized examples in course books that claim "Other languages are more difficult than English".

Question #7 asked teachers to what extent they agreed with some of the tenets of English linguistic imperialism. The results are compelling:

English brings about progress and opportunities

70% Completely agree

28.3% Agree partially

1.7% Disagree

English is the international language par excellence

68.3% Completely agree

28.3% Agree partially

3.3% Disagree

Other languages are more difficult than English

56.66% Completely agree

31.66% Agree partially

11.66% Disagree

As the findings show, teachers of English agree almost to a hundred percent with the linguicist discourse of English linguistic imperialism and the superiority of the English language as it is developed in Phillipson's (1992) arguments about what English is and what English does. These arguments are in turn asserted through the language of ELT/EFL course books. Therefore, the beliefs and mental representations (van Dijk 2003) of this specific group of English teachers may be influential with their students, thus creating similar mental representations in their students.

When asked (question #8) to what extent ELT course books get these messages across (in favor of English linguistic imperialism), teachers' perceptions reported the following:

English brings about progress and opportunities

58.33% Absolutely

36.66% Partially

5% No way

English is the international language par excellence

66.66% Absolutely

33.33% Partially

0% No way

Other languages are more difficult than English

46.66% Partially

30% Absolutely

23.33% No way

The results show that at least 95% of English teachers seem to be aware of the first two arguments in ELT textbooks, while the results concerning the third argument *Other languages are more difficult than English* were more balanced. However, 75% of the respondents agree, at least partially, that ELT course books support this argument. Therefore, it could be said that teachers' beliefs are consistent with the messages textbooks support.

Question #9 asked teachers if they think the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological. They had to account for their answer. The results show the following:

25 out of 60 teachers (41.66%) agree with the statement, whereas 24 teachers (40%) disagree. Both numbers are very similar and balanced. 9 teachers (15%) reported answers like "agree partially" or "it depends". Only 2 teachers (3.33%) answered "not sure" or "do not understand".

Some of the respondents who agree that the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological provided the following opinions:

“Every teaching act is ideological”,

“it is connected with linguistic imperialism in the Río de la Plata”,

“It is ideological and traditional because there is no intention of working on different cultures outside "American" and British English. It silences the accents and language cultures that are different from that binary vision of the language”,

“Yes, because all jobs ask for English”,

“English is perceived as the language of International communication. There is also an ungrounded belief that learning English allows people to make progress”,

“Nowadays most schools teach only English, and some time before other languages were taught”,

“In the past they sent warships, now they send teachers”,

“The inclusion of this language in the curriculum (and not others) is perpetuating the concept of English as the language of imperialism and not giving enough room for multiculturalism to arise”,

“People think this language will open more doors”,

“It points to the economic progress of the individual, the idea is installed that if you do not learn English you cannot make progress”,

“We can broaden the scope and include other "Englishes". We can give it a multicultural perspective, as explained in the Diseño Curricular de Lenguas Extranjeras”,

“President John F. Kennedy said of Churchill: “He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle.””

Those that disagree that the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological provided the following responses:

“I think it is taught because many jobs require it and it is useful to communicate everywhere”,

“It was ideological, but now there is a new wave of multiculturalism”,

“Learning a language has nothing to do with set beliefs or ideas other than English being a fabulous tool that opens doors”,

“in most of the cases it is free of ideology”,

“No. The teaching/learning of Spanish is.”,

“No. Unless the person teaching English turns the language into a tool of Linguistic Imperialism”,

“English is a global language and it has nothing to do with ideologies”,

“If it were ideological (ideological understood as being the Lingua Franca that enables opportunities abroad and grows a wider scope in students' future) state-run schools would offer more than 2 hours a week and have English departments inside every school”,

“We teach English in Argentina because it is a universal language, so it is taught as a chance for students to have more opportunities to improve their lives”,

“English is the international language. I believe the teaching of English is meant to offer students opportunities for a better future”,

“Learning languages opens minds, develops brains and helps to better understand other peoples and cultures. I do not see it as linguistic imperialism- as some would have in the 1970s”,

“It is useful and essential In certain fields. If we make a sociological analysis, we might come to the conclusion that it is the language of the “empire”, but personally, I don’t think students bear that in mind when deciding to take up a course.”

Though many of these teachers reported disagreeing with the ideological aspect, when they had to account for their yes/no answer their justifications might be judged as contradictory and including many of the ideological arguments of linguistic imperialism.

Nine participants (15%) reported agreeing partially with the statement. Some of their opinions were

“It depends on the teacher and the institution”,

“It is just a simple subject”,

“Nowadays most schools teach only English, and some time before other languages were taught. But now, English is seen as a tool for your life”,

“The teaching-learning of English brings more opportunities in the labour market but besides this, it could feel like the inclusion of this language in the curriculum (and not others) is perpetuating the concept of English as the language of imperialism and not giving enough room for multiculturalism to arise. Anyway, English may and should be taken as a tool to speak about many other communities and cultures around the world.”

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 THE HEGEMONIC DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM IN THE TEXT SELECTION

After analyzing the samples in this study, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism is reproduced to a great extent in the ten course books that were explored. Therefore, the main hypothesis that the English language seems to be represented as a superior language in the ELT course books used in private Language Teaching Institutions for the teaching of English to adults in different parts of Greater Buenos Aires (AMBA) may be confirmed. The text analyses have shown that there are many elements of the dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism in the textbooks (resources) under scrutiny. These elements always relate to the arguments that are used to promote English: what English is and what English does (Phillipson 1992).

The themes *English is the international language par excellence* (see 4.1.2) and *English is the easiest language* (see 4.1.3) can be said to belong to the *English is* argument (Phillipson 1992). Both themes account for what English is: rich, varied, noble, easy, interesting, well adapted for development and change, international, the world's first truly global language. These are the intrinsic features of English (Phillipson 1992) that emanate from the innate power (Gal-

tung 1980) and innate qualities of what English is. This in turn leads to the categorization of other languages as they are “explicitly or implicitly identified as not being endowed with equivalent qualities” (Phillipson 1992, p. 276).

The examples taken from the textbooks in this study quite straightforwardly state that English is an international language because it can be taught or spoken anywhere in the world, people enjoy studying and using it, in multinational companies they communicate in English and *everyone speaks English nowadays so it’s not worth learning other languages*. They also state that Chinese, Hungarian and Polish are very difficult languages, and that English is easier to learn than Chinese. This discourse narrates and explains the capacities of English and how international and easy it is, though it is ideological in nature since it conveys beliefs and attitudes that glorify the dominant language and stigmatize other languages. This practice operates to the detriment of *othered* languages that are generally underrepresented, downgraded and portrayed as very difficult, thus contributing to the rationalization of the linguistic hierarchy.

The hegemonic practices and ideas that claim English means power and the only language one needs to know are widely disseminated and incorporated into mental representations built through ideological discursive strategies like the ones presented in this study. Although there has been a sustained dissemination of Centre ideas for centuries, the dominance of English is hegemonic as its use is internalized and naturalized as “normal.” This entails unequal rights for speakers of different languages (Phillipson 2013).

The theme *English brings about opportunities and progress* (see 4.1.4) coincides with the *English does* -or can do- argument (Phillipson 1992) that is also typically used to promote English. English provides "real or potential access to modernization, science, technology, the capacity to unite people within a country and across nations, or with the furthering of international understanding" (Phillipson 1992, p. 272). These are the functional features of English (Phillipson 1992) that emanate from the structural power (Galtung 1980) English has and English gives access to. Along with the resources that English *has*, "underdeveloped countries also need what English *gives access to"* (Phillipson 1992, p. 280): better communications, better education, better jobs, and a higher standard of living. This image tends to be present in most ELT textbooks though in reality only a minute proportion of the population has access to English and what English allegedly gives access to.

The ten course books in this study portray English as the language that brings about opportunities, progress and prosperity. This is shown through discourse that claims English opens doors and helps people climb the socio-economic ladder because of the many uses that can be attributed to this language. Examples show that in London one can look for a job and improve one's English too *to get a better job when one goes back home*, or do jobs people do not like for the sake of learning English, or sing in English -as opposed to Spanish- to become an international star. This discourse exposes the uses of English and how important it is to have *better* opportunities in life. However, such discourse in essence is about "injustice, inequality, and hierarchy that privileges those able

to use the dominant language" (Phillipson 2013) only, thus possessing convertible linguistic capital. Moreover, it is linguicist because it favors one language over others, and that parallels "societal structuring through racism, sexism, and class" (Phillipson 2013).

This discourse will influence mental models and the way people perceive the world. Students and teachers of English are constantly exposed to messages that worship, position and show English as the language that brings about personal opportunities, economic growth and professional development. This is achieved mainly through the recurrent, constant and surreptitious representation of English as a superior language in ELT textbooks. "A dominant language is projected as (…) the language of progress, modernity, and national unity (English in much postcolonial discourse). Other languages are explicitly or implicitly deprived of such functions and qualities" (Phillipson 2013).

If Critical Pedagogy questions the status quo, then it is through this pedagogy that teachers and students of English could use tools to unsettle common sense assumptions (Giroux 2011) informed by ELT course books. Educational discourses bear hegemonic power and they represent particular views of the world. In contrast, learning is personal, political and influenced by context (Canagarajah 1999). Therefore, transformative social action should be encouraged because more awareness is needed to deconstruct such discourses and help build a more egalitarian society.

English linguistic imperialism spreads its ideas through the dense machinery of ELT / EFL. Adult students of English and teachers buy EFL course books

every year. These ELT textbooks seem to portray English as the only possible language for academic, economic and personal growth. Moreover, these ideas are reinforced by the dominant ideology represented through key British corporations such as Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Macmillan Publishers, Richmond and Pearson Longman. Through the use of varied strategies such as exemplification, the random reference to other languages other than English and Eurocentric culture capsules, the hegemony and perpetuation of English asserts itself in ELT A1 / A2 textbooks.

Thus, a major finding of this study shows that the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in EFL course books reinforces itself through Phillipson's (1992) arguments in linguistic imperialist discourse. The resources (textbooks: *English has* argument) show the capacities (*English is* argument) and the uses (*English does* argument) English gives access to. In turn, these last two arguments are interdependent and feed off one another in discourse and eventually encourage the use and acquisition of more resources like textbooks from a higher level which ensure the continuation of English classes.

5.2 STUDENTS' AND TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

5.2.1 Students' perceptions

The second - and secondary - hypothesis is that adult students of English (and teachers of English) might not be fully aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books. Most

students (85%) reported using textbooks in their English classes and 65% informed considering them useful. When asked to choose examples they might find in the course books, almost half the students chose the examples that correlate with the hegemonic theme *English brings about progress and opportunities*, while a quarter of the respondents replied never seeing those examples. These results seem to suggest that only 43 students out of 100 may be aware that books present this type of example.

However, 83% of students consider that books support the theme *English brings about progress and opportunities,* while 85% recognize the message *English is the international language* in course books to a large extent. The third theme related to English linguistic imperialism *Other languages are more difficult than English* was not as widely perceived since 40% of respondents replied books do not hold this message, and only 38% reported books hold it partially. 37% of students do not think the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological, while 63% think it is.

The results of two of the questions seem to suggest that at least 83% of adult students perceive that books convey some messages connected to English linguistic imperialism and that such discourse is reproduced in textbooks. Thus, it could be inferred that students have some level of awareness of the ways in which English linguistic imperialism is represented in textbooks. Therefore, it is not possible to confirm, in any conclusive way, the hypothesis that students might not be aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books.

5.2.2 Teachers' perceptions

In the same light, the second - and secondary - hypothesis is that teachers of English (and adult students of English) might not be aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books. Though almost 75% of teachers reported using textbooks in their English classes, approximately 90 % consider that textbooks are useful material for their classes. These findings seem to indicate that teachers depend on course books to a great extent and that they consider textbooks to be a main resource in the English class.

When asked to recognize examples they might find in the course books, more than half the teachers chose the examples that correlate with the hegemonic theme *English brings about progress and opportunities*, while more than a quarter of the respondents (27%) chose an example that correlates with a second hegemonic theme: *English is the international language*. Only 1/5 (one in five) replied never seeing those examples. These results seem to suggest that 31 teachers out of 60 may be aware that books present these types of examples. What remains uncertain is how they treat this discourse when it appears in class.

Teachers were then asked to what extent they agreed with some of the tenets of English linguistic imperialism. Almost all teachers (59/60) agree with the themes *English brings about progress and opportunities* and *English is the international language par excellence* (58/60), while *Other languages are more difficult than English* was agreed with by 88% of the teachers. These findings seem

to point to some deeply ingrained hegemonic beliefs in the mindset of the teachers. It also shows that they believe in the postulates of English linguistic imperialism, and that there is great likelihood of teachers reproducing that discourse. Speakers take to such discourse and shape it into social cognition which in time develops into the structures of their own discourse. It is in this way that discourses become deeply embedded in cultures. Moreover, teachers agree almost to a hundred percent that ELT course books get these messages across: *English brings about progress and opportunities* and *English is the international language par excellence*. In comparison, only 75% of the respondents agree that course books support the argument that *Other languages are more difficult than English.* When asked if the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological, the results were balanced (40% - 40%) and not conclusive.

These results seem to suggest that teachers are not only aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books, but they also believe in such discourse and they might reproduce it as well, as the answers have shown. “The educated in the Periphery are internalizing Centre values and ways of thought to the point where the physical presence of Centre inter-state actors is no longer necessary and computers (or EFL course books, my parenthesis) will ensure the Centre’s control over the Periphery” (Phillipson 1992, p. 242). Therefore, the initial hypothesis that teachers might not be aware of the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English linguistic imperialism in ELT course books cannot be confirmed.

5.3 Limitations of this study

The results in this study are limited in scope since the research was done in ten course books only, published by four different publishing houses. Because this study began in 2014, some of the books might be out of circulation by now as they were published between 2004 and 2014. The textbooks that were scrutinized have many more examples than the ones published in the Appendix section, but they have been excluded for the purpose of clarity and concreteness. The most salient examples are part of this study because of their relevance. The selection is limited to thirty-six examples which seem to reproduce the dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism, but this is no basis to produce any generalizations. Larger-scale research is required in order to confirm or disconfirm the main hypothesis.

The questionnaires to students and teachers of English provided inconclusive results as some questions could have been adjusted, such as wording or scope of the interview, to suit the target population more effectively and produce more reliable results. Scheduled interviews to two material design authors were going to be conducted to complement the findings, but none of them appeared in the scheduled meetings, probably because they did not want to be interviewed in connection to the discourse of English linguistic imperialism in their own books.

6. CONCLUSION

The dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism may appear to reassert itself in the ten EFL course books for adult learners of English levels A1/A2 that were explored in this research work. These resources in turn may serve as tools for the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse of English in education. van Dijk's (2003) and Fairclough's (2003) strategies for ideological analysis have been used to deconstruct such discourse and shed light on the excerpts. The analysis proposed in this study is not conclusive in any way and further research should be encouraged in a macro-level study carried out on EFL books, publishing houses and material design authors in order to prove if the hypothesis that is confirmed in this study also holds true on a wider scale.

The results of the questionnaires have shown that most adult students and teachers of English are aware of the hegemonic discourse of English in the textbooks they used / use. Moreover, most of the teachers who were surveyed seem to believe in such discourse and they might reproduce it in their classroom practices deliberately. If this is the case, the resources of English (textbooks) are used by the agents involved in the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language as tools for the constant reproduction of the dominant discourse of English linguistic imperialism.

However, more adult students and teachers of English should be surveyed so as to complement the findings and demonstrate their level of awareness more

accurately. Interviews to material design authors are deeply encouraged and should be part of any further research in order to determine their degree of responsibility in what they write in EFL books.

It cannot be ascertained if the dominant discourse in these course books has an impact on education and on the adult students that consume these texts because further evidence is needed. In connection to this, further research should be encouraged on EFL / ELT textbooks for children and teenagers to explore if the discourse of English linguistic imperialism also permeates those books, and if this be the case, to what extent that hegemonic discourse has an impact on children and teenagers.

To conclude, and from a Critical Pedagogy lens, some questions emanate: when a discourse becomes so powerful, does it allow room for competing discourses? Can this hegemonic discourse be resisted?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ELT textbooks used in this study

BOOK #1:

Oxenden, C., Latham-Koenig, C. & Seligson P. (2004). *New English File Elementary*. Oxford University Press.

BOOK #2:

Redston, C. & Cunningham, G. (2005). *face2face Elementary*. Cambridge University Press.

BOOK #3:

Hancock, M. & McDonald, A. (2008). *English Result Pre-intermediate.* Oxford University Press.

BOOK #4:

Harris, M., Mower, D. & Sikorzyńska, A. (2006). *New opportunities: Education for Life Elementary (2nd ed.).* Pearson Longman.

BOOK #5:

Goldstein, B. & Jones, C. (2011). *The Big Picture Elementary.* Richmond.

BOOK #6:

Gairns, R. & Redman, S. (2005). *natural English Pre-intermediate*. Oxford University Press.

BOOK #7:

Eales, F. & Oakes, S. (2012). *speakout Starter*. Pearson.

BOOK #8:

Oxenden, C., Latham-Koenig, C. & Seligson P. (2005). *New English File Pre-intermediate*. Oxford University Press.

BOOK #9:

Harris, M., Mower, D. & Sikorzyńska, A. (2008). *New opportunities: Education for Life Pre-intermediate (2nd ed.).* Pearson Longman.

BOOK #10:

Latham-Koenig, C., Oxenden, C. & Seligson P. (2013). *English File Pre-intermediate (3rd ed.)*. Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX 2: Examples grouped under the heading ENGLISH IS THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE *PAR EXCELLENCE*

Example #1. Page 15. *Where are English words from? Many basic English words come from Old English. Other English words come from Latin. Some English words come from French. Today English is an international language. Thousands of English words come from other languages, e.g., siesta (Spanish), judo (Japanese). Every year hundreds of words come into English from new technology.* **BOOK #1: New English File Elementary. Oxford University Press.**

Example #2. Page 125. *If the world were one country, we would speak the same language.* **Book #3: English Result Pre-Intermediate. Oxford University Press.**

Example #3. Page 136. *Duane is an English teacher. He teaches in a university in Lybia. He works from 10 to 4.* **Book #3.**

Example #4. Page 18. *I can speak English and French.* + Page 24. *I speak English and French.* **Book #4: New Opportunities Elementary. Pearson.**

Example #5. Page 80*. Hotel ad. English and French spoken (the hotel is in Manchester). Question: which of these people is the hotel not good for? Why? Answer: A non-English speaking Japanese businessman.* **Book #4.**

Example #6. Page 37. A: *Hello. My name is Yukio. I live in Osaka, in Japan. I am an English student. I have two brothers. They are English students too. We all study English at school and in the evening we go to conversation classes. We do*

a lot of speaking in class. - speaking English is/isn't difficult. At home I watch English clips on YouTube and sometimes I talk to other English students on the computer. I like meeting new people and I like using English. It is difficult but it is lots of fun! B: Hi, nice to meet you. My name's Fernando. I live in Sao Paulo and I work in a hotel. I speak English every day with the people in the hotel. I love speaking English. I like watching English movies, too, and reading English books. I study grammar and vocabulary at home with my son - he's 14. He learns English at school. He is a good student. We talk to each other in English sometimes - just for fun! But I think Portuguese is more beautiful! **Book #5: The Big Picture Elementary. Richmond.**

Example #7. Page 165.(listening script) *Latest news on the hour every hour. It's nine o'clock and here are tonight's headlines for English speakers in Buenos Aires. Fears about the new flu pandemic are increasing. (…) Hospitals are on the alert in major cities such as Cordoba, Mendoza and Rosario. Disaster at this year's Rock in the Park as storms hit the coast of Mar del Plata. (…). Yes, amazing but true. They did it… Lanus won the league last night for the first time in their history, when they beat Velez Sarsfield, 2-0.* **Book #5.**

Example #8. Page 139. *Do you use English outside the classroom? Javi says: My company does a lot of business with companies in Central Europe. We always communicate in English. Sometimes it's really difficult. Lin says: Last year I went to Poland on holiday. It was great. I spoke a lot of English! Elena says: I've never been to an English-speaking country, but this year I'm going to visit my brother in Australia. I really need to improve my English before I go. Montse says: I use*

English a lot online. It's really easy to make friends from all over the world! We chat about stuff and send photos and videos. Jordi says: I work in a bar. Sometimes people come in and ask for something in English. Sometimes we chat about where they come from and what they're doing in town. Marisa says: There are a lot of tourists and visitors in my town in the summer. I sometimes speak to them on the street. They ask me for directions. Guido says: I don't really use English much outside the classroom :(I hope to start a language exchange with someone who wants to learn Italian. **Book #5.**

Example #9. Page 49. *Most students study English, but it depends.* **Book #6: natural English. Oxford University Press.**

Example #10. *Page* 52. *"Education in my country" (write answers for your country) Examples: You have to learn English now in most primary schools. You can't study more than two foreign languages at school. You have to pass an English exam before you go to university.* **Book #6.**

Example #11. Pages 56/57. ***Text: Are British people good at learning your language?*** *Read about Max, a British journalist who did an intensive Spanish course. I will survive (in Spanish)… or will I? The British have a reputation for being bad at learning languages, but is it really true? (…) As an experiment, they asked me to try and learn a completely new language for one month. (…) I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English. (…) But other things were more difficult, for example the verbs in*

Spanish change for each person and that means you have to learn a lot of different endings. My biggest problem was the pronunciation. I found it very difficult to pronounce letters in Spanish, especially r and j. Listening: … So how much can you learn in a month? Well, of course you can't learn Spanish in a month, but you can learn enough to survive if you are on holiday or on a trip. Now I want to go back to England and try and learn some more. Adiós! **Book #10: English File (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.**

Example #12. Page 67. **Text: *Why are the British so bad at learning languages?*** *The British are bad at speaking foreign languages. It's a fact. (…) They will stop making an effort the moment they discover the waiter knows a little English. (…) I think laziness is possibly the key factor. There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages." In multinational companies English is often the official language of communication within the company. (…) Ten years ago, about 80% of children at secondary school studied a foreign language. Today, that number has gone down to 48%. According to the writer, the British are bad at languages (because) b. English is an international language, e. Language teachers in British schools are not very good.* **Book #10.**

Example #13. Page 119. *Where are you going? To Nicaragua. For a holiday? No, I'm going to do voluntary work. I'm going to teach English to young children. (…) Are you feeling nervous at all? A bit, because I don't speak much Spanish. But they are going to give us a 40-hour language course when we arrive, so I hope that's enough to start with.* **Book #10.**

APPENDIX 3: Examples grouped under the heading ENGLISH IS THE EASIEST LANGUAGE

Example #14. Page 137. *"Chinese is one of the most difficult languages to learn." (this was the example for the activity "Complete with a superlative"). "Her German is perfect." I speak English very well. My English is worse than yours. Would you like to learn another language? I don't speak French very well.* **BOOK #1: New English File Elementary. Oxford University Press.**

Example #15. Page 14. *What language is Cleo studying? I'm studying French at the moment. It's the most important language in West Africa, and I want to travel to Senegal and Mali next year. (…) Why is Cleo studying this language?* **Book #3: English Result Pre-Intermediate. Oxford University Press.**

Example #16. Page 35. *I would like to learn Russian but I can't find a teacher.* **Book #3.**

Example #17. Page 112. *The sea Inside was directed by Alejandro Amenábar and it won an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film.* **Book #3.**

Example #18. Page 123. *If I had more time, I would learn Chinese.* **Book #3.**

Example #19. Page 138. *He can speak English but he can't speak German.* **Book #3.**

Example #20. Page 123. *Do you speak Hungarian? I don't, but my father does. It's a very difficult language. I'm planning to learn Hungarian next year. How did your father learn? He's worked as a diplomat so he speaks six languages. Six languages! I can't speak one properly.* **Book #4: New Opportunities Elementary. Pearson.**

Example #21. Page 149. *English is easier to learn than Chinese.* **Book #5: The Big Picture Elementary. Richmond.**

Example #22. Page 57. *Do you think people from your country are good at learning languages? Why (not)? Read about Anna, a British journalist who did an intensive Polish course: "As an experiment, they asked me to learn a completely new language for one month. (…) I can already speak French and Spanish quite well but Polish isn't a Latin-based language so I knew it would be completely different. (…) I thought I was good at languages before I started learning Polish, but now I'm not so sure. I found it incredibly difficult. The grammar was really complicated and the words were not like any other language I know so it was very hard to remember them. Listening: I said to the taxi driver, in Polish, To the holiday Inn Hotel, please. The driver understood me. But then he started talking in perfect English. I felt a bit stupid. (…) Finally, test five: asking the time. I knew this test was going to be very hard. Numbers in Polish are incredibly difficult and I've always found telling the time is impossible. (…) How well did I do in the tests? Well, Kasia gave me five out of ten for language and eight for imagination. So*

can you learn a language in a month? Not Polish, definitely! **Book #8: New English File Pre-Intermediate. Oxford University Press.**

Example #23. Page 8. *I cannot understand German. I can understand English.* **Book #9: New Opportunities Pre Intermediate. Pearson.**

Example #24. Page 32. *French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.* **Book #9.**

Example #25. Pages 56/57. *Text: Are British people good at learning your language? Read about Max, a British journalist who did an intensive Spanish course. I will survive (in Spanish)… or will I? The British have a reputation for being bad at learning languages, but is it really true? (…) As an experiment, they asked me to try and learn a completely new language for one month. (…) I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English. (…) But other things were more difficult, for example the verbs in Spanish change for each person and that means you have to learn a lot of different endings. My biggest problem was the pronunciation. I found it very difficult to pronounce letters in Spanish, especially r and j. Listening: … So how much can you learn in a month? Well, of course you can't learn Spanish in a month, but you can learn enough to survive if you are on holiday or on a trip. Now I want to go back to England and try and learn some more. Adiós!* **Book #10: English File (3rd edition). Oxford University Press.**

Example #26. Page 67. Text: *Why are the British so bad at learning languages? The British are bad at speaking foreign languages. It's a fact. (…) They will stop making an effort the moment they discover the waiter knows a little English. (…) I think laziness is possibly the key factor. There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages." In multinational companies English is often the official language of communication within the company. (…) Ten years ago, about 80% of children at secondary school studied a foreign language. Today, that number has gone down to 48%. According to the writer, the British are bad at languages (because) b. English is an international language, e. Language teachers in British schools are not very good. Nick thinks that Americans are bad at learning languages because a. they don't want to learn languages, b. they find learning languages too difficult, c. they aren't interested in traveling abroad.* **Book #10.**

APPENDIX 4: Examples grouped under the heading ENGLISH BRINGS ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES AND PROGRESS

Example #27. Page 8. *"Every year thousands of students travel to different countries to study English. Where do they go?…" Here are the top 5 countries… Australia, Britain, Canada, Ireland, the USA. Mario goes to Ireland to study English.* **BOOK #1: New English File Elementary. Oxford University Press.**

Example #28. Page 25. *To practice your English you can write to a pen friend in another country… "I study English in my free time. I speak Spanish and a little English. I want to learn English for my job and to travel." What languages do you speak? Why do you want to learn English?* **BOOK #1.**

Example #29. Page 14. *Here are some points about learning English. Do they answer the question "Why do you study? or How do you study?": 1. I want to visit Canada, 2. I listen to CDs in English on the bus, 3. I watch DVDs in English, 4. I need English in my work, 5. I need to read books in English at university, 6. I meet English speakers in a pub in my town, 7. I learn the words of songs in English. Why are you learning English?* **Book #3: English Result Pre-Intermediate. Oxford University Press.**

Example #30. Page 150. *(Listening script) I'm learning English because um, I want to go um… to visit Canada um… I've got an uncle in Canada, and so, and I want to go there maybe for a year and work… Well, I have two English lessons a*

week and so I have English lessons, and homework, I do homework, and I practisssse speaking, yes. And there's an Irish pub in my town, and I've got a lot of friends there, and they speak English, and there's English television too. **Book #3.**

Example #31. Page 23. *Read Alberto's student profile from the English to Go website: Hi, readers, let me introduce myself. I'm Alberto Costa. I come from Rio de Janeiro and I'm 42. I'm not married, but I have a girlfriend, Renata, and she has two kids. Here's a photo of Renata in Rio, on the famous Copacabana beach. You can see it's a beautiful place. Here's another photo of me and my English teacher, Ray. We're in a bar where we have conversation classes. I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work. I use it everyday, but I'm not a confident speaker. I want to practise my English and learn about other English students around the world. I want to learn about other cultures because I think this is very interesting. Why is English important to him? …….. Join the two sentences using but or and: I write in my blog everyday and I get a lot of messages from other English students. I want to learn to speak English. I want to work in an English-speaking country. I study hard. My English isn't very good.* **Book #5: The Big Picture Elementary. Richmond.**

Example #32. Page 57. *My name's Martina. I'm a childminder. I really like working with children of all ages. I also cook and clean and look after the house. It isn't a bad job, and I learn to speak English at the same time.* **Book #5.**

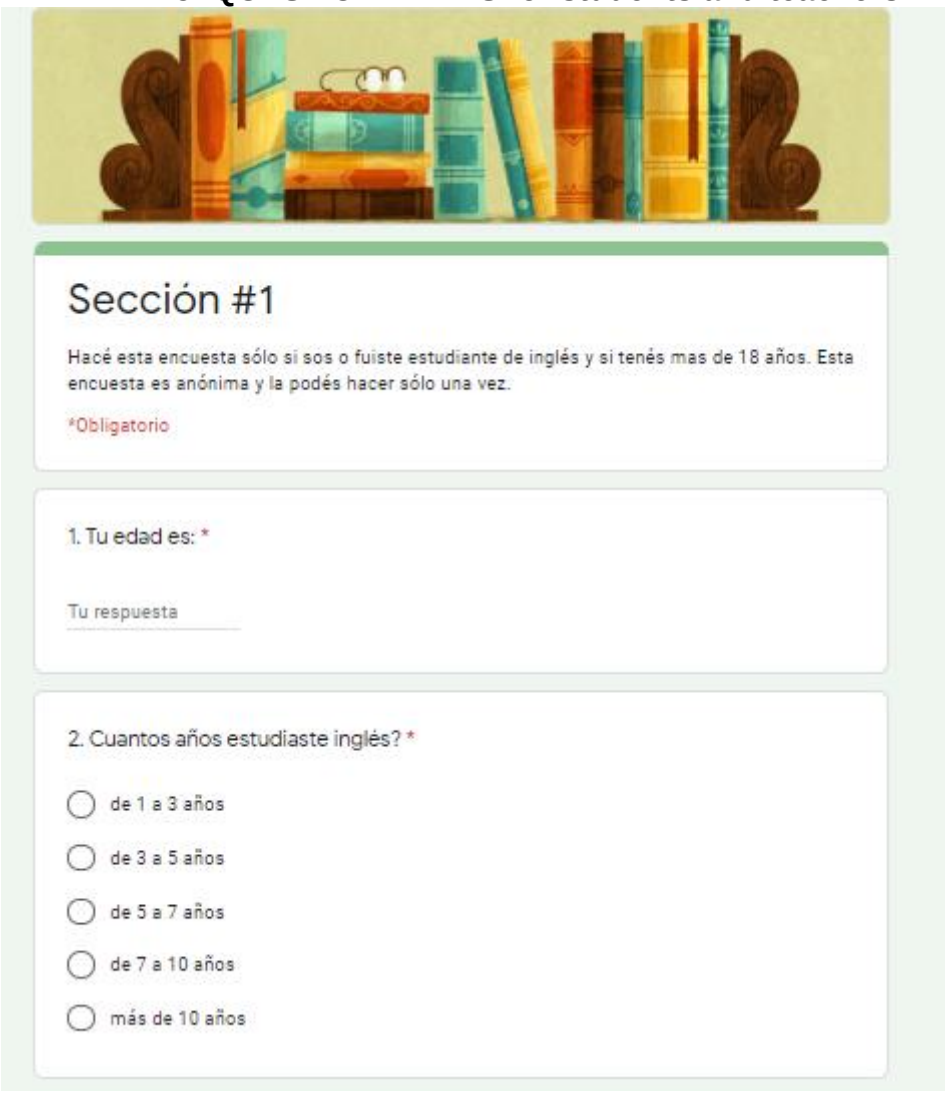
Example #33. Page 15. *Is English important for you? yes. I speak German and English in my job.* **Book #7: Speakout. Pearson.**

Example #34. Page 28. *Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair, looking after children. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.* **Book #8: New English File Pre-Intermediate. Oxford University Press.**

Example #35. Page 54. *We asked readers from all over the world to tell us what makes them feel good: Reading books or magazines in English - I'm Hungarian, and I still find it hard to believe that I can enjoy reading without using a dictionary in a language that once was a complete mystery.* **Book #8.**

Example #36. Page 124. (Listening script) *At first Enrique (Iglesias) sang mainly in Spanish but later he began to sing more and more in English too. His fourth album, Escape in 2001, was his biggest commercial success and included the singles Escape and Hero, sung in English, which became hits all over the world, and made Enrique an international star.* **Book #10: English File (3rd edition). Oxford University Press.**

APPENDIX 5: QUESTIONNAIRES for students and teachers



Sección #1

Hacé esta encuesta sólo si sos o fuiste estudiante de inglés y si tenés mas de 18 años. Esta encuesta es anónima y la podés hacer sólo una vez.

*Obligatorio

1. Tu edad es: *

Tu respuesta

2. Cuantos años estudiaste inglés? *

- ◯ de 1 a 3 años
- ◯ de 3 a 5 años
- ◯ de 5 a 7 años
- ◯ de 7 a 10 años
- ◯ más de 10 años

3. Tildá la zona en la que estudiás / estudiabas inglés: *

- [ ] CABA
- [ ] Zona norte del Gran Buenos Aires
- [ ] Zona oeste del Gran Buenos Aires
- [ ] Zona sur del Gran Buenos Aires
- [ ] Otros: _____

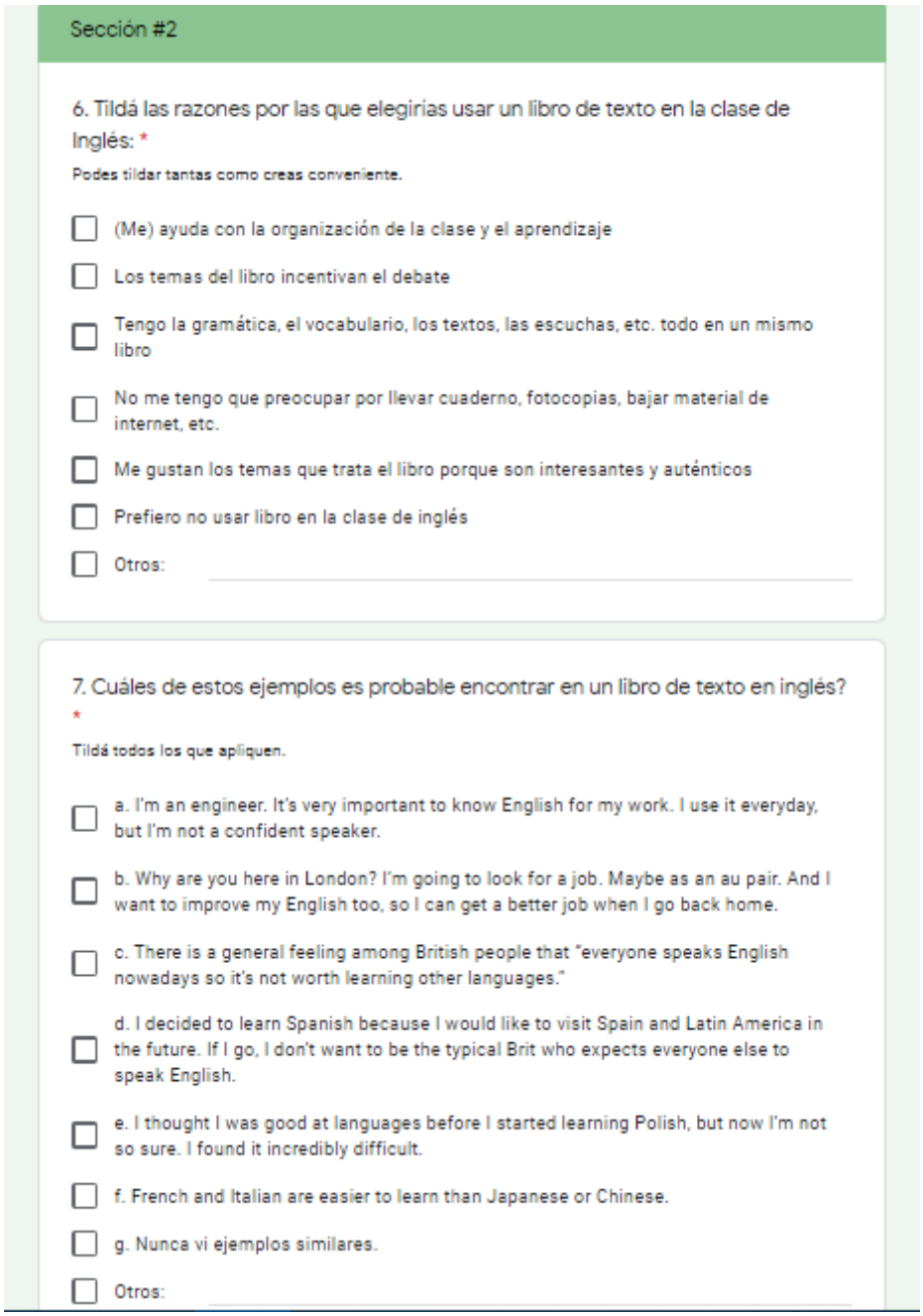
4. Marcá la(s) institución(es) en la(s) que estudiás o estudiaste Inglés: *

- [ ] Escuela primaria
- [ ] Escuela secundaria
- [ ] Instituto de Inglés
- [ ] Universidad
- [ ] Clases en empresa
- [ ] Clases particulates con un/a profesor/a
- [ ] Otros: _____

5. Con cuanta frecuencia usas o usabas un libro de texto en la clase de ingles? *

- ◯ Siempre
- ◯ Casi siempre
- ◯ A veces
- ◯ Casi nunca
- ◯ Nunca

Siguiente



Sección #2

6. Tildá las razones por las que elegirías usar un libro de texto en la clase de Inglés: *

Podes tildar tantas como creas conveniente.

- [ ] (Me) ayuda con la organización de la clase y el aprendizaje
- [ ] Los temas del libro incentivan el debate
- [ ] Tengo la gramática, el vocabulario, los textos, las escuchas, etc. todo en un mismo libro
- [ ] No me tengo que preocupar por llevar cuaderno, fotocopias, bajar material de internet, etc.
- [ ] Me gustan los temas que trata el libro porque son interesantes y auténticos
- [ ] Prefiero no usar libro en la clase de inglés
- [ ] Otros:

7. Cuáles de estos ejemplos es probable encontrar en un libro de texto en inglés? *

Tildá todos los que apliquen.

- [ ] a. I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work. I use it everyday, but I'm not a confident speaker.
- [ ] b. Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.
- [ ] c. There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages."
- [ ] d. I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.
- [ ] e. I thought I was good at languages before I started learning Polish, but now I'm not so sure. I found it incredibly difficult.
- [ ] f. French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.
- [ ] g. Nunca vi ejemplos similares.
- [ ] Otros:

8. En qué medida los libros de texto que usaste en las clases de Inglés sostienen estos mensajes? *

	Sostienen este mensaje completamente	Sostienen este mensaje parcialmente	No sostienen este mensaje	No tengo idea
El inglés abre puertas y da oportunidades.	◯	◯	◯	◯
El inglés es el idioma internacional.	◯	◯	◯	◯
Los otros idiomas son más difíciles que el inglés	◯	◯	◯	◯

9. En qué medida estás de acuerdo con la siguiente oración: "el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje del inglés en Argentina es ideológico"? *

- ◯ Totalmente de acuerdo
- ◯ Parcialmente de acuerdo
- ◯ No estoy de acuerdo

10. Si querés, podés fundamentar brevemente tu respuesta a la pregunta # 9. Sino, clickeá "submit".

Tu respuesta

Atrás Enviar

Survey: Teachers of English

This survey is anonymous and it will take you less than 5 minutes. Answer this survey only if you're a graduate and you teach English.

*Obligatorio

1. Where do you work? (areas) *

- [ ] CABA
- [ ] Northern GBA
- [ ] Western GBA
- [ ] Southern GBA
- [ ] Otros: _____

2. What ages do you teach? *

- [ ] Children
- [ ] Teens
- [ ] Adults

3. How often do you use English course books in your classes? *

- ◯ always
- ◯ usually
- ◯ sometimes
- ◯ hardly ever
- ◯ never

Siguiente

Section #2

4. Tick the reasons why you use a course book in your classes. *

(You can tick as many as you agree with)

- [ ] it helps with the organization of the class
- [ ] it provides a background / a frame to the class
- [ ] I like the type of topics they deal with and they are good for debating
- [ ] I have all the grammar, vocabulary, texts, etc there and I don't have to worry about planning the class
- [ ] the texts and the examples course books provide are interesting and genuine
- [ ] I don't use a course book in my classes
- [ ] Otros: _____

5. Tick the publishing houses you would choose. *

- [ ] Oxford University Press
- [ ] Cambridge
- [ ] Pearson
- [ ] Macmillan
- [ ] Richmond
- [ ] Otros: _____

Atrás Siguiente

Section #3

6. According to your experience, which of these examples are you more likely to find in an English course book? *

(You can tick as many as you wish)

- [ ] a. I'm an engineer. It's very important to know English for my work. I use it everyday, but I'm not a confident speaker. I want to practise my English and learn about other English students around the world. I want to learn about other cultures because I think this is very interesting.
- [ ] b. Why are you here in London? I'm going to look for a job. Maybe as an au pair, looking after children. And I want to improve my English too, so I can get a better job when I go back home.
- [ ] c. There is a general feeling among British people that "everyone speaks English nowadays so it's not worth learning other languages." In multinational companies English is often the official language of communication within the company.
- [ ] d. As an experiment, they asked me to try and learn a completely new language for one month. I decided to learn Spanish because I would like to visit Spain and Latin America in the future. If I go, I don't want to be the typical Brit who expects everyone else to speak English.
- [ ] e. I can already speak French and Spanish quite well but Polish isn't a Latin-based language so I knew it would be completely different. I thought I was good at languages before I started learning Polish, but now I'm not so sure. I found it incredibly difficult.
- [ ] f. French and Italian are easier to learn than Japanese or Chinese.
- [ ] g. I've never seen any of the previous examples.

7. To what extent do you agree with these statements? *

	Completely agree	Agree partially	Disagree
English brings about progress and opportunities	◯	◯	◯
English is the international language par excellence	◯	◯	◯
Other languages are more difficult than English	◯	◯	◯

Atrás Siguiente

Section #4 (and last!)

8. To what extent do English course books get these messages across? *

	Absolutely	Partially	No way
English brings about progress and opportunities.	◯	◯	◯
English is the international language par excellence	◯	◯	◯
Other languages are more difficult than English	◯	◯	◯

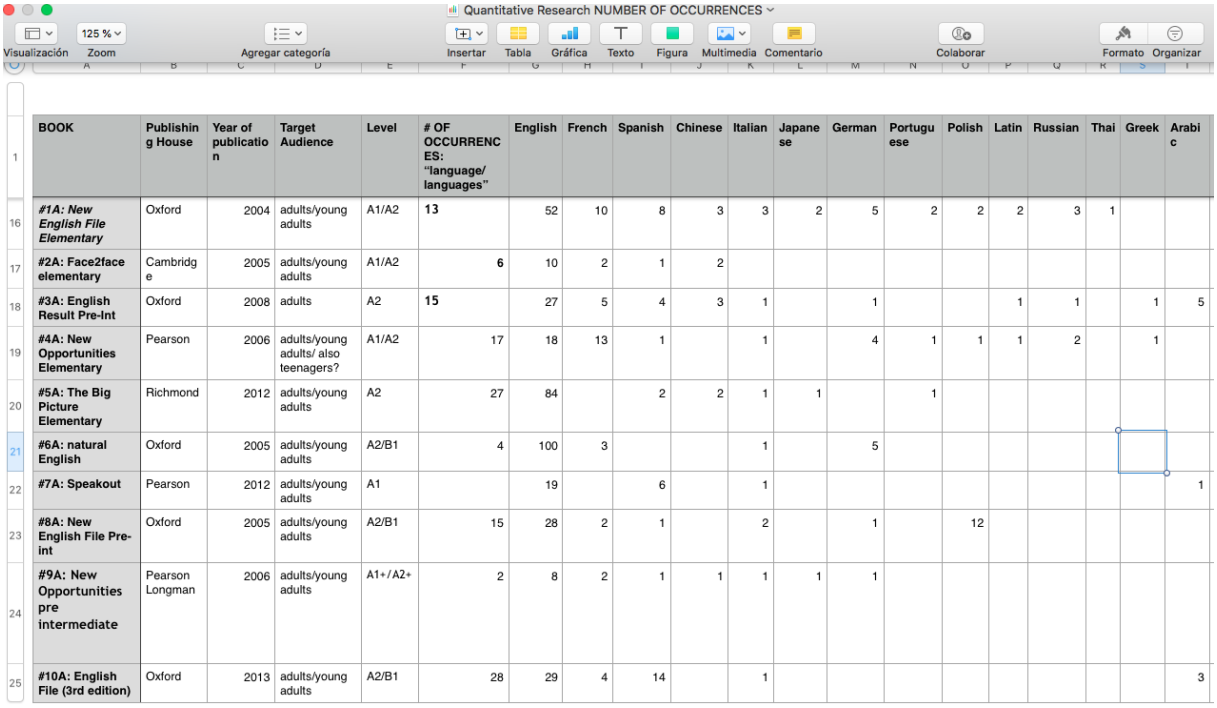
9. Do you think the teaching-learning of English in Argentina is ideological? Yes / No: Please account for your answer. *

(this is the last question!)

Tu respuesta

Atrás Enviar

APPENDIX 6: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS of ELT textbooks



BOOK	Publishing House	Year of publication	Target Audience	Level	# OF OCCURRENCES: "language/ languages"	English	French	Spanish	Chinese	Italian	Japanese	German	Portuguese	Polish	Latin	Russian	Thai	Greek	Arabic
#1A: New English File Elementary	Oxford	2004	adults/young adults	A1/A2	**13**	52	10	8	3	3	2	5	2	2	2	3	1		
#2A: Face2face elementary	Cambridge	2005	adults/young adults	A1/A2	**6**	10	2	1	2										
#3A: English Result Pre-Int	Oxford	2008	adults	A2	**15**	27	5	4	3	1		1			1	1		1	5
#4A: New Opportunities Elementary	Pearson	2006	adults/young adults/ also teenagers?	A1/A2	17	18	13	1		1		4	1	1	1	2		1	
#5A: The Big Picture Elementary	Richmond	2012	adults/young adults	A2	27	84		2	2	1	1		1						
#6A: natural English	Oxford	2005	adults/young adults	A2/B1	4	100	3			1		5							
#7A: Speakout	Pearson	2012	adults/young adults	A1		19		6		1									1
#8A: New English File Pre-int	Oxford	2005	adults/young adults	A2/B1	15	28	2	1		2		1		12					
#9A: New Opportunities pre intermediate	Pearson Longman	2006	adults/young adults	A1+/A2+	2	8	2	1	1	1	1	1							
#10A: English File (3rd edition)	Oxford	2013	adults/young adults	A2/B1	28	29	4	14		1									3