

**THE IMPACT ON LANGUAGE LEARNING OF LEBANESE
STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLISH IN THE
CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND ANTI-
AMERICANISM**

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Abstract

Second language acquisition (SLA) is embedded in a complex network of influential variables, among which is the socio-political context. Indeed, researchers agree that attitudes and motivation are significant in determining linguistic proficiency and achievement (Gardner, 1985, 2001, 2004; Oxford and Shearin, 1994; Oxford, 1996; Dörnyei, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2003).

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether negative attitudes existed towards English as an international language in the context of globalization and anti-Americanism, and if so, whether they interfered with second language acquisition. Data was collected through qualitative research methods, namely individual and group interviews and in class writing assignments.

The students considered English indispensable for employment and career advancement (extrinsic motivation or instrumental motivation). This outweighed negative attitudes associated with the target language community (TLC) and the power of the target language (TL). The study signals a parallel duality where participants acknowledged the significance of the English language and wanted to learn it even though they were aware of political discrimination against Arabs and the linguistic power exerted by the dominant powers.

Even though attitudes towards the L₂ and the TLC impact language acquisition, it seems that in this sample, they did not have a direct effect on L₂ motivation as displayed in the willingness to use the language or to learn it.

Most importantly, my study identifies a desire to integrate, not to a specific TLC but to a global community and workplace to which the English language provided access. One reason fueling this integrative motivation is the conflict zone in which the participants live. The socio-political as well as economic context and its concomitant Arab identity inferiority complex encourage students to seek to escape from the limitations of the local workplace and context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A study investigating student attitudes and motivation to English must consider the socio-political and educational contexts. This section will therefore present a brief summary of important historical events that have made of Lebanon a conflict zone. This is followed by a discussion of anti-Americanism and relevant information on ELT in Lebanon.

1.1 The Context

Lebanon, a small strategically located multilingual, multicultural country in the Middle East, has seen much turmoil and mayhem throughout its history. After WW1 the League of Nations mandated Lebanon be placed under the control of France. The French mandate lasted from 1920 - 1943, when Lebanon's independence from France was declared. However, the post independence period was also turbulent. In 1958 Lebanon experienced a civil war which, fortunately, lasted less than six months owing to American intervention in support of the government. From 1975–1990 another civil war in which 150 0000 people were killed made a war zone of Lebanon yet again. In March 1978 Israel invaded Lebanon, occupied much of its territory, and gave control of south Lebanon to its Christian militia allies under the rule of Haddad. In 1982, Bashir Jemayel, president-elect, was assassinated a few days before taking office. One day later, West Beirut was occupied by Israeli forces. Also in 1982, Palestinian camps were attacked by Christian militias and Palestinians were massacred.

On October 23, 1983 the US marines and French paratroopers were attacked with 241 and 56 casualties respectively. In 1987, Prime Minister Rashid Karami was assassinated in a helicopter explosion and, with no agreement on who should follow him, in September 1988, Lebanon was divided into two governments, one predominantly Muslim in West Beirut and the other Christian in East Beirut. In 1989 Oun waged the *War of Liberation* against Syrians in Lebanon and, in October 1989 in Taif, Saudi-Arabia, an agreement was reached by the different factions through a Charter of National Reconciliation. Shortly afterwards, Muawwad, the President-elect, was assassinated.

Oun became president, but in 1990 the Syrian air force drove him out of Lebanon. With that the civil war ended but the Syrian presence remained.

In 1993 Israel launched a major attack on Lebanon, *Operation Accountability*, followed by *Operation Grapes of Wrath* in 1996 against Hezbollah in southern Lebanon, south Beirut, and Beqaa, followed by another attack on a UN base in Qana where 100 refugees seeking shelter from the attacks on the South were killed. Between 1993-2005, Lebanon experienced a period of relative peace in which major rebuilding took place.

A recent turn of events in the country's history in 2005 saw the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri in a horrific explosion resulting in at least 39 other deaths. With this assassination, both pressure for Syrian troop withdrawal from Lebanon and internal strife mounted. A demonstration of over a million calling for this withdrawal culminated in the resignation of the pro-Syrian government on February 28, 2005. And the pressure continued. This was concomitant with pressure for the implementation of UN Resolution 1559 calling for the dismantling and disarming of Hezbollah.

On March 7, a massive demonstration by March 14 supporters in Martyr's Square called for complete Syrian withdrawal. The next day, it was countered by an equally massive pro-Syrian demonstration which showcased Hezbollah's power. One week later and one month after the Hariri assassination over 1 million poured into Martyr's square again. Under mounting local and international pressure, the remaining Syrian troops withdrew from Lebanon in April 2005.

In the meantime, in July 2006, Israel attacked Lebanon yet again. The 2006 war lasted 34 days during which much of the infrastructure was destroyed, and more than a thousand Lebanese civilians were killed of whom 30% were children less than 13 years old (UNICEF August 9, 2006) and about a million were displaced (Lebanon Higher Relief Council 2007).

Internally, political conflict was escalating. Lebanon was a country divided into two main camps: the opposition (*March 8*, supporters of Syria and Hezbollah) and the supporters of the government (*March 14*, a wide coalition of parties including arch enemies during the civil war of 1975- 1990). The government and its supporters were

accused of being the puppet of the USA while the opposition was accused of being the puppet of Syria and Iran. In November 2006 a power struggle erupted, and Shiite ministers from the opposition resigned. In December 2006 a major demonstration by the opposition called for the government's resignation. In March 2007, the opposition began a sit-in in the central district which continues to date.

On the fringes, terrorists infiltrated Nahr El Bared, a Palestinian camp, and attempted to destabilize and pressure the government with a battle between *Fateh al Islam*, an Islamist militant organization, and the Lebanese army from May – September 2007. Again the result was many civilian and soldier deaths and the displacement of many civilians. In 2007, fighting also broke out at the Beirut Arab University.

Assassinations have been common throughout Lebanese history but increasingly so over the last decade. There was an attempt on Marwan Hamadeh's life in 2004. 2005 evidenced the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri, and in June two anti-Syrian figures, Samir Kassir, a journalist and George Hawi, a leader in the Lebanese Communist Party, were assassinated, followed by Gibran Tueini, a member of parliament and a prominent journalist, in December 2005. The assassinations continued with Pierre Gemayel, a Christian minister. In 2007, Walid Eido and Antoine Ghanem were assassinated. In December 2007, General al-Hajj, the prospective army chief was assassinated as a message to the presidential candidate, Suleiman. The number of assassinations in the last three years is 30 (LBC News, January 17, 2008). In fact, I have had to update the list of assassinations several times while writing with the most recent addition on January 25, 2008 of a prominent internal security officer, Eid, responsible for the investigation into the assassinations and explosions, making the head-count for the last three years 31. All these assassinations were of members of the political coalition known as March 14 and supporters of the government (see above).

This brief history demonstrates that Lebanon, the site of my study, is an area of struggle where assassinations, Israeli incursions, civil wars, political conflict, and car bombs are the order of the day. This political uncertainty and violence has resulted in a negative social and economic impact on the lives of the Lebanese who have suffered much hardship, unremitting uncertainty and tension, and massive emigration resulting in brain

drain. In fact, the possibility that they might have to leave their country is very real and maybe desirable to many young Lebanese.

Amidst all this, the United States is perceived as a major player in the local and regional affairs, siding with Israel, and thus anti-Americanism is notable not only in Lebanon but also in the Middle East as a whole.

1.2 Anti-Americanism

In fact, the current political arena in the Arab world is dominated by a surge of anti-Americanism. Post September 11, 2001, Western counter-terrorism measures translated into what is perceived by many as repressive measures towards Arabs and the main religion they are affiliated with, Islam. In fact, Gottschalk & Greenberg (2007) explore how the media have villainized Islam and Muslims post 9/11 and how Islamophobia is indeed a reality in the West. In turn, many Arabs and Moslems came to regard the United States and England as hegemonic forces imposing changes and overturning regimes in the name of democratization and a new world order, using counter-terrorism as a pretext. The regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq were replaced with what is seen as pro-Western puppet regimes after a war expunging the Taliban and another overthrowing Hussein's regime, which was accused of involvement in September 11 and possession of weapons of mass destruction. Situations in both countries seemed like neo-imperialism with history not being on the side of the US. Suspicion over the real intent of Iraq's occupation received considerable coverage in the Arab and Western media alike.

Jordan's Prince Hassan bin Talal (2006), President of the Arab Thought Forum, questions

[h]ow much aggression in our region has been justified by the mantra that Western interests are under threat? The battle cries claim that all is at stake and every strike is a final defense of freedom and stability. But the premise behind this thinking has become all too obvious. Arabs and Muslims of whatever race or hue are not to be trusted. They are not to be dealt with fairly and the 'liberal values' that protect the rights of Israel or the United States are not for our defense or our protection. It seems that even the moderates in Arab societies lack the fiber that would grant them equality under international law. We are all as one, barbarians at the gate to be cowed and bullied into silent submission.

This *lack of fiber* and anti-Americanism is illustrated in four clips on Youtube which will be briefly discussed here. *The New Wonders of the World* (2007) specifically targets King Abdallah and Queen Rania of Jordan who in this clip wears a dress made of the

American and Israeli flag. The clip begins with American and Israeli political figures singing the Jordanian national anthem, signaling American support for this regime, followed by a very popular nationalistic Jordanian song singing the praise of King Abdallah as a real Hashemite. However, the visual image trivializes a king and queen dancing in a silly manner and meeting with American and Israeli politicians (Olmert and Bush). It also presents images of Palestinian suffering: an Israeli soldier pointing a rifle in a Palestinian's face, destruction, and misery. Other scenes show poverty and want with the king again shaking hands, which in the Arab world signals more than a mere salutation, with Israeli and American leaders. The bottom line message is dissatisfaction with the current regime and its compliance with American-Israeli prescriptions.

This exemplifies what Huntington, a prominent political scholar and Harvard professor, describes as the misalignment between leaders of what he calls torn countries and their populace (1993: 11). Such leaders of Westernizing countries are said to adopt a *bandwagoning strategy* in following the West despite their people's opposition. Historical, cultural and traditional inconsistencies, however, work against this Westernization. Nations that are misaligned with the people's desires and beliefs are indeed common in the Arab world. This results in Arabs' resentment of their leaders' alignment with the West and particularly the USA. Thus, Huntington (1993:6) notes that "in the Arab worldWestern democracy strengthens anti-Western political forces. This may be a passing phenomenon, but it surely complicates relations between Islamic countries and the West."

Another relevant clip is of a very popular Lebanese singer, Nancy Ajram (2007b). In this children's song, the singer is surrounded by children whom she asks, "He who listens to his mom's word, what do we tell him?" The children respond in chorus, "shater shater," [good boy/girl]. The version on Youtube replaces the singer's head with that of Condoliza Rice who is shown singing the song with patronizing non-verbal signals as the audience is no longer children but a display of numerous pro-American Arab leaders sitting like obedient children and submissively replying "shater shater." The creator of this clip speaks for many. What is implied in this clip is that all Arab leaders are puppets of America who controls the Arab world and dictates Arab national and international

strategies. Certainly a form of anti-Americanism that expresses resentment of Arab allegiance to the West and to the USA in particular.

Another version of this clip directly targets Lebanese Prime Minister Saniora who is presented as an American ally and collaborator. This directly refers to Lebanese politics and to the March 8 stance which accuses the current government of being an American pawn. One of the texts across the screen reads *Shater tali3 la immo condoliza* [good boy, takes after his mother Condoliza] (Ajram, 2007a).

Yet another example is popular singer Shams's song, *Ahlan Izzia* [*Welcome! How are you?*] also available on Youtube (2007). The caption on Youtube identifies it as a "Funny clip that pokes fun at the Bush administration (and plastic surgery)". It begins with Bush dancing at the podium in front of the White House and the American flag. Bush's face is interchanged throughout with faces of members of his administration and the skull from a comedy remake of the film *Scream*. The administration is presented as marionettes whose hand-movement is controlled by strings, again signaling an image of Bush as the despot. A few scenes in this clip are worthy of attention. One of the scenes takes place in the desert with big letters in the background spelling *Democracy* and soldiers, presumably American, and Arabs running around fighting. This is followed by Rambo shooting wildly and randomly. The ironic inclusion of trivial plastic surgery and hair-transplant scenes only serves to ridicule Bush and the Western culture. A boxing scene then presents Rice and Shams boxing. Again, we see the large letters in the background spelling *Guantanamo*, the American prison in Cuba which was the cause of much controversy. One of the most telling scenes is where Shams pushes Bush off-stage and onto desert sands. When Bush lands, he is crushed by one of the letters that later form the word *Liberty*, which is then in turn enclosed by prison-like bars. Two of the main refrains throughout are "I found you out. You can't fool me anymore." "I don't want to see your face again. I am bored." The message is that the Americans are using the pretext of democracy and liberty to promote war and hegemony. The underlying perception of America is of a tyrant and the hope is that the desert sands will be its end.

In Lebanon, the July 12, 2006 Israeli invasion of Lebanon to eradicate Hezbollah, backed by the United States, resulted in a fresh surge of anti-Americanism as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1: Lebanon July 2006



Figure 2: Attribution of Blame



This appropriation of blame to the USA through reference to the American New Middle East plan (beast) is also clearly evident in a video on Youtube “*The American*

Democracy' Israeli War Crimes in Lebanon” (2007). The video begins with the three frames (Figure 3) identifying the war as an American war executed by Israel.

Figure 3: The Israeli Attacks



This is followed by a horrific presentation of corpses and coffins resulting from the Israeli attack. The American flag with *The American Democracy* printed on it is visible in the left hand corner. The audience sees the American and Israeli flags across the screen, with rubble in the background, during some scenes showing the cadavers after the bombing (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: Israeli –American Collaboration



Even though the site responsible for the video, *Islammedia*, is partial, there was agreement throughout Lebanon that the USA gave Israel the green light. Even though anti-Americanism is mostly articulated by the opposition, in my experience most Lebanese resent the American and Western intervention in local and regional politics, imposition of decisions, and exploitation. In fact, the common current belief is that Lebanon is the pseudo battle field between Iran and the West. From the Western perspective, involvement was terrorism prevention measures. However, from the Arab perspective, such interventions are widely believed to be self-interested and self-perpetuating as illustrated with the sarcasm in the banner in Figure 2 which mocks the new Middle East plan promoted by Bush and Rice.

Huntington posited the theory of the clash of civilization (1993). This theory clarifies the prevalent feelings in the region. Huntington argues that after the termination of the cold war, the conflict between nation-states was replaced by a clash between civilizations which will result in conflicts around what he identifies as a fault line dividing the world into antagonistic civilizations. Currently, he argues, it is “the West and the Rest” (1993:11). The USA’s undisputable status as the sole world power came with control over international economic organizations (i.e. the IMF, UN) and global political and security matters. Self-interested decisions are packaged as the wishes of the world community and imposed on the world at large. In fact,

[t]he West is using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests and promote Western political and economic values (Huntington 1993: 11).

This imposition of what the West desires, however, results in a clash particularly since it collides with the culture being imposed on. Even though the West believes that a universal Western culture and globalization make these impositions easier, Huntington (1993) contests the feasibility of such a universal culture on the grounds that cultural differences are basic and cannot be tempered. In fact the imposition of democracy and human rights in the Arab world has been a series of failed attempts, the most recent of which is Iraq.

Quoting the conclusion of the Pew Research Center’s survey that “anti-Americanism is deeper and broader now than at any time in modern history,” Graddol (2006:112) affirms an increase in countries where anti-Americanism is high. In this perspective, Lebanon seems to be the battlefield for this clash of civilization. In fact, Lebanon is allegedly divided between the Iranian-Syrian axis backed by Libya, Algiers, and Qatar as represented by March 8 and the American-European axis as represented by March 14. Recently, the media has been presenting the conflicts in Palestine, Iraq, and Lebanon as one group of similar conflicts. Indeed, they have become connected, signaling that this is indeed a situation that goes far beyond the borders of Lebanon.

In the midst of all this turmoil, the Lebanese youth live an unpredictable and inconsistent life, attempting to study with a consistently irregular academic year and unscheduled interruptions, not to mention irrational stress. The Winner of the World Press Photo Awards was a picture that captures this ambivalence in Lebanon (Figure 5). In fact,

Ghattas (2007 para. 14) notes that “Only in Lebanon can you find a Mini Cooper against a backdrop of bombed out buildings. Lebanese people are very hard to classify.”

Figure 5: Lebanese Inconsistencies



In the context of a paralyzed economy, massive unemployment, immigration, a turbulent socio-political scene, wars, assassinations, and car bombs, students strive to make something of themselves while teachers hope to get through the semester without disruptions.

1.3 ELT and Lebanon

Lebanon is a multilingual multisectarian country where Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Catholic Christians, Druze, and Sunni and Shiite Moslems live. Christian missionaries came to Lebanon in the middle of the 19th century and Arabic, which had hitherto been the language of instruction, had to share its role in education with French and English (Shaaban & Ghaith 2002).

The missionaries from France and England were among the many missionaries that introduced French and British/American schools and universities in Lebanon. Among them was the American University of Beirut (AUB), which was founded in 1866 (Shaaban & Ghaith 1999). During the French mandate (1920 – 1943), French was the main language in use in the government and schools and the influence of the French curricula and French medium schools spread. The French introduced a novel system of public education in Lebanon, and, in 1926, a new constitution established French as the medium of instruction for many content area subjects (i.e. the sciences), and introduced the French Baccalaureate (I and II) as official exams on par with the Lebanese Baccalaureate (BouJaoude & Ghaith 2006). The French mandate thus reinforced the French presence in Lebanon, particularly since French shared the status of official

language with Arabic and became a major language in schools (Shaaban & Ghaith 1999), even in English schools where it was a foreign language.

With independence in 1943, Arabic was pronounced the official language while French, formerly the medium of instruction, became the second language of instruction, and the language of instruction of math and sciences as of seventh grade, with the option of teaching these subjects in English (Shaaban 2005: 104). In 1946, English was introduced into the curriculum as the third language. This “newfound status of English and the fact that it was dissociated from Lebanon’s colonial heritage made it an attractive option, especially for Muslims” (Shaaban 2005: 104) who had felt a certain degree of resentment towards the French educational system, which favored the Maronites and Catholics (Shaaban & Ghaith 1999).

Nonetheless, French remained the dominant language of education till the 1960s when many English medium schools were introduced to meet the increasing demand for English proficiency in the regional and global workplace. In fact, Shaaban and Ghaith (1997: 201), coordinators of the National Center for Educational Research and Development (NCERD), founded to upgrade the EFL curricula, recognize three major areas EFL needed to address, namely “using English as a means of instruction in content areas; using English for communication in social settings; and using correct and appropriate English academically, socially, and culturally.” This draws attention to the increasing awareness of the fundamental, dominant role of English in Lebanon and the world at large.

Implementing these, among other changes, however, was difficult during the 15 year civil war which ended with the Taif accord (1989) and the birth of a new constitution which reflected a vision for the resolution of the conflicts that originally instigated the war. The educational system was to instill the qualities and citizenship to support the agreement. In 1994, the government introduced a new Plan for Educational Reform whose objectives were based on the Taif accord (Shaaban & Ghaith 1999). Interestingly, while encouraging identification with an Arab identity and nation, the new plan simultaneously promoted openness to the West (BouJaoude & Ghaith 2006).

Currently, students in Lebanon have a choice between public (i.e. state), free private and fee paying private education and between French and English medium schools and universities. The total number of schools in Lebanon as reported by NCERD is 911314 of which 331912 is English medium while 579402 are French medium. (See Table 1.)

Table 1: Student Distribution in Public, Free Private, and Paid Private Schools

Medium of Instruction	Public schools	Free Private Schools	Paid Private Schools
English	100412	43819	187681
French	224329	71435	283728
Total	324651	115254	471409

(Adapted from NCERD 2005- 2006)

Even though the number of Francophone schools outstrips the Anglophone schools except for South Lebanon, the Anglophone schools have seen a marked increase according to a study on the results of the Brevet exams (9th grade) reported by *The Monthly* (Anon 2007). 63.6% of the Lebanese students registered in French medium schools for the academic year 2005 – 2006, whereas 36.4 % were in English medium schools, reflecting a 5.9% increase from the academic year 1996 – 1997 where the percentages were 69.5 % and 30.4% respectively (November 2007: 3). The study also reflects a larger number of students studying in English in private schools as compared to public schools (Table 2).

Table 2: Medium of Instruction and Schools

Medium of Instruction	Public Schools	Paid Private Schools	Free Private Schools
English	31%	40%	38%
French	69%	60%	62%

(Adapted from *The Monthly*, November 2007)

Interestingly, the percentages were also dependent on region:

Table 3: Medium of Instruction and Region

Medium of Instruction	English	French
Beirut	41.7%	58.3%
Mount Lebanon	42.2%	57.6%
Northern Lebanon	6%	94%
Beqa'a	43.6%	56.4%
The South and Nabatieh	55.5%	44.5%

(Adapted from *The Monthly*, November 2007)

Notably, Northern Lebanon was predominantly francophone: 88% of the students studied in French as opposed to a less significant percentage (12 – 16.5%) for the other areas. Surprisingly, English is the language of instruction for 11% more students than French (Anon 2007: 4). The study, however, also documents an increase in the proportion of low passing grades for all languages, including Arabic, which according to the study signals a drop in the quality of the Lebanese educational system.

In Lebanon, however, the linguistic medium of education is dependent on multiple, disparate variables, among which is religious membership, as noted by Shaaban & Ghaith (1996). Because French missionaries opened schools mainly in Maronite and Catholic areas, the latter pursued education in French, whereas the American missionaries established schools in the Greek Orthodox, Druze, and Muslim areas.

Irrespective of this choice, however, Arabic, English, and French are seen to play different roles in the life of the Lebanese. In a study on the ethnolinguistic vitality of English, French and Arabic in Lebanon, Shaaban & Ghaith (2002) note that Arabic is regarded as the language for daily personal and social communication, national and personal identity, religious affiliation etc. English was the language of science and technology, education, business and medicine, while French was mostly used in the domains of school education and cultural interests. More interestingly, their participants perceived English as more important than French internationally while French was more important for cultural experiences. It was also noted that French was the foreign language associated with Christians and English with Moslems. Whereas Arabic is the language of national affiliation, French is for cultural pursuits.

1.4 The Need for the Study

On another level, English has become the international language of communication. The power of the English speaking countries fuels the status of the English language as the language in which education is transmitted, scholarly articles are published, and major international agreements negotiated.

Second language acquisition (SLA) naturally does not take place in a vacuum, as the previous sections have attempted to show, but is embedded in a complex network of influential variables, among which is the socio-political context. Indeed, scholars agree that attitudes and motivation are significant in determining linguistic proficiency and achievement. In fact, Dörnyei (2001: 107) notes that there is a “need to account for the impact of the sociocultural and political macrocontext on the classroom-based processes (thereby addressing the ‘challenge of context’)”. This impact, be it positive or negative, affects motivation. Thus, a teacher needs to be sensitized to what enhances or diminishes motivation (Gardner 1985; Oxford and Shearin 1994). It is my belief that teachers need to be equally aware of the source of demotivation and, as Scarcella and Oxford (1992) highlight, negative attitudes which students bring with them to the classroom.

The purpose behind my study is to investigate whether, in this troubled sociopolitical context, negative attitudes exist towards the USA and towards English as an international/global language, and if so, whether they interfere with second language acquisition. The study was conducted at the American University of Beirut (AUB), Lebanon which enjoys a diverse student population that could be said to be representative of the Lebanese religious and ethnic affiliations.

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature on attitudes and motivation in foreign and second language learning.

Since attitudes and motivation are closely related to perceptions of the language’s power and global status, chapter 3 surveys the literature on globalization and language. English as an international language and a lingua franca is discussed and the positive and negative attributes of this position are examined.

Chapter 4 determines the research methods chosen to answer the research questions. The choice of qualitative methods is justified and the researcher's background foregrounded. This is followed by a description of the selected research methods and the data collection procedures. The Lebanese context in which the study was conducted is described.

Chapter 5 begins with an analysis of a report that, strictly speaking, is not part of my data sets but triggered my interest in the topic of global English and illustrates the presence of certain themes in the Lebanese context. It then presents and analyzes students' perception of the role of the English language and their attitudes and motivation. The relationship between American supremacy and the English language is analyzed. Why students believe English has become a lingua franca and an international language is then examined. The relationship between the English language and globalization is addressed. The advantages and disadvantages of the status of English are considered. I then analyze students' perception of the target language (TL) and the target language community (TLC) as well as their perception of their motivation to study the TL.

Chapter 6 concludes this study with an appraisal of the research methods used and the data analysis framework. The research questions are discussed. Implications of the findings are presented and suggestions for future research are made.

Chapter 2: Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning

Many researchers (cf. Spolsky 1969; Mueller & Miller 1970; Mueller 1971; Jacobson & Imhoof 1974; Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982; Gardner 1985; Canagarajah 1999) argue that attitudes towards a second language and its culture impact the motivation to learn that language. Robert Gardner, Zoltan Dörnyei, and Rebecca Oxford are the pillars of L₂ motivation research and their work, as well as that of other researchers, will be discussed below.

2.1 Motivation and Attitudes towards the Target Language Community (TLC) and Target Language (TL)

Many scholars assert that attitudes and motivation are key variables in language learning because they affect how fast and successful the language learning process is (e.g. Gardner & Lambert 1972; Gardner 1985; MacIntyre & Gardner 1994; Ellis 1994; Anderman et al. 1999; Dörnyei 2001a, 2001b; Norris-Holt 2001). As early as 1950, Jones conducted a study that established a relationship between attitudes towards studying the Welsh language and attained proficiency. Affective factors have long been coupled with achievement in second-language learning, with empirical research focusing on different variables to establish and probe this relationship.

The terms *attitude* and *motivation* overlap and are sometimes used interchangeably without clear demarcation. This is because motivation to learn a second language is influenced by attitudes and the desire to identify with the TLC among other things. In fact, there is no consensus on the constituents of and difference between attitudes and motivation (Ellis 1985:117). Therefore, it is necessary to define and distinguish between motivation and attitudes.

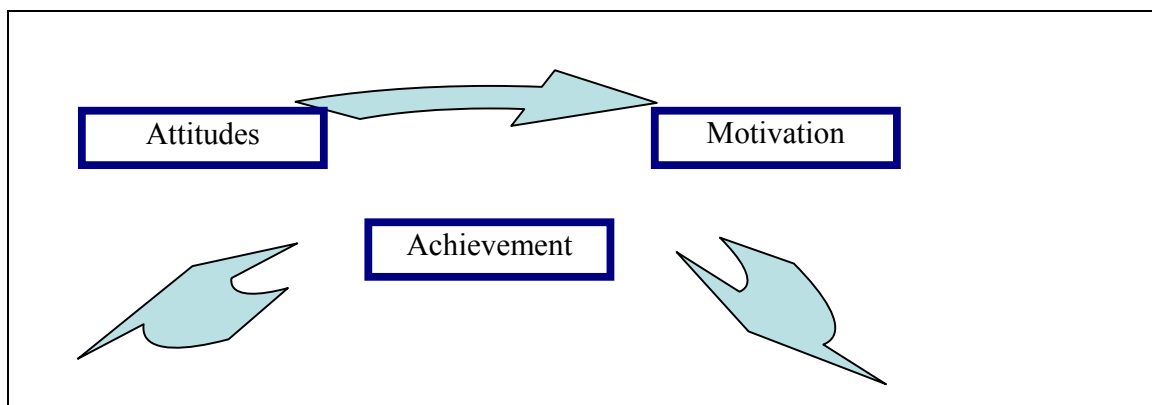
Motivation is defined as the

...combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language. That is, motivation to learn a second language is seen as referring to the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity (Gardner 1985: 10)

It is a “process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained” according to Pintrich & Schink (1996). Dörnyei (2001: 6) describes it as an ‘abstract concept,’ ‘a broad umbrella term,’ but defines it as “a general way of referring to antecedents (i.e. the causes and origins) of action.”

Attitudes are defined as “learned motivations, valued beliefs, evaluations, or what one believes is acceptable” that affect language learning (Wenden 1991: 52). Good & Brophy (1990) perceive them as developing with experience which can be used to kindle ‘attitude experience.’ Ajzen (1988 as cited in Sjöholm 2000: 126) defines attitude as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event.” Sjöholm (2004: 687) adds that attitudes can be defined as “evaluative self-descriptions or self-perceptions of the activity of learning languages.” In Gardner’s (1985) socio-educational model, attitudes towards learning a second language are expected to be related to motivation and achievement (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Attitudes, Motivation, and Achievement



Attitudes may have several directions among which are the language itself, the TLC and target language culture, the classroom or social learning and use of the language. One distinction is important here. Whereas attitudes are directed towards objects, motivation is goal directed (Baker 1992). That is, a learner may have a positive attitude towards the English classroom context or to the textbooks. However, s/he would be motivated to achieve a certain goal, such as successfully completing the required tasks.

That attitudes are very significant in relation to motivation which in turn affects language learning has been affirmed by many scholars. Attitude is related to motivation in that it

can enhance or deter it. Ehram & Oxford (1995) state that motivation is very significant in relation to language learning, second only to aptitude. Gardner's research findings (1985) also confirm the relationship between motivation, attitude and linguistic proficiency. Masgoret *et al* (2001) identify attitudes and motivation as "key factors that influence the rate and success of second language learning in the classroom" (281). Lewis (1982: 215) extends the effect of language attitudes, arguing that they contribute to language spread and social change.

It was Gardner's socioeducational model of second language acquisition (based on social psychology) that set the groundwork for most motivation theories. Gardner and Lambert, (1972) underscored the significance of motivation in L₂ acquisition. Their theory of motivation delineates the influence of attitudes towards the TL and target language community (TLC): what the second language learner (SLL) feels about the second language, the speakers of the TL and the culture behind that language influences the learning process and the outcome. This is also compounded by the SLL's orientations or goals, which, Gardner (1985) emphasizes, could be integrative or instrumental.

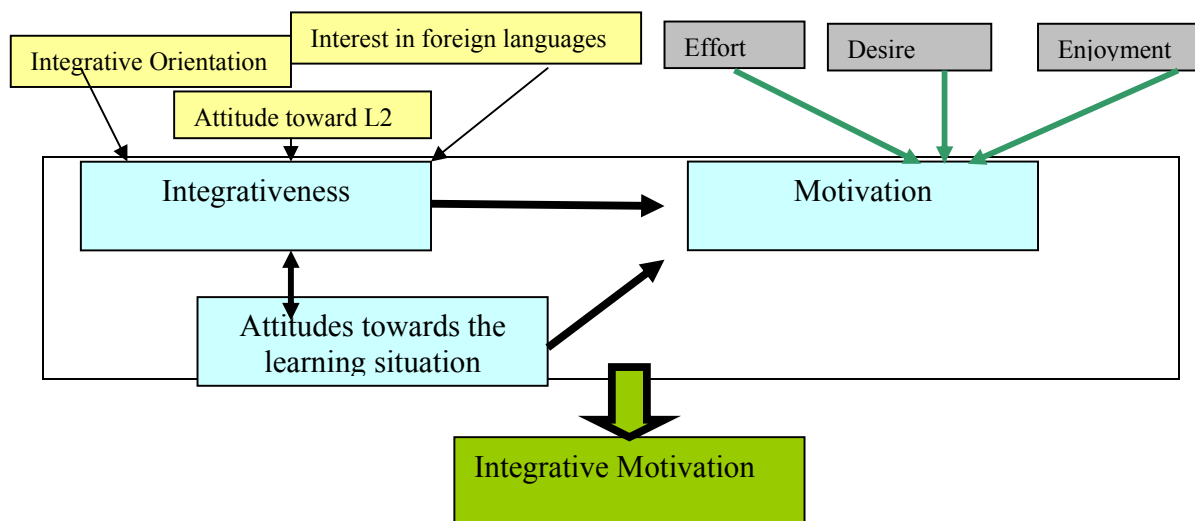
2.1.1 Gardner and Integrative and Instrumental Motivation and Orientations

In Gardner's socioeducational model of second language acquisition, motivation is a blend of how the second language learner feels towards learning the language, how much s/he wants to learn it and how much effort s/he exerts to learn the second language. Gardner distinguishes between orientations (integrative and instrumental) and integrative motivation. It must be emphasized that orientations are not components of motivation but motivational precursors, reasons or goals for studying a language. An integratively oriented person, for example, may want to learn a language to come closer to the L₂ community and to communicate with that community, sometimes to the point of identification. Instrumental orientation, on the other hand, involves a need to learn the language for self or career advancement, for example. Thus, an employee could learn Italian to get a salary increase or a job promotion. Orientations refer to **why** a person learns a language. Different orientations affect motivation differently.

Before proceeding, however, it must be noted that Gardner’s early research disregarded instrumentality as a form of motivation and limited it to orientations. Therefore, a learner may be instrumentally or integratively oriented or integratively motivated. This position was revised in 2001 when Gardner acknowledged other factors associated with motivation, such as instrumental motivation (a combination of instrumental variables), justifying previous exclusions on the grounds of ‘parsimony’. Notably, the integrative orientation and motivation are more important than instrumentality. In fact, Gardner and Lambert (1972) proposed that the integratively oriented SLL would be more highly motivated and hence more successful than the instrumentally oriented because s/he would regard the TL and the TLC more positively.

The integrative motive is the “motivation to learn a second language because of positive feelings toward the community that speaks the language” (Gardner 1985: 82-3). This motive is at the core of Gardner’s framework. Integrative motivation consists of three components discussed below: *integrativeness*, *attitudes towards the learning situation*, and *motivation* as signaled in the simplified Figure 7.

Figure 7: Integrative Motivation



(Based on Gardner 1985, 2001 and Dörnyei et. al. 2006)

Integrativeness reflects a desire to learn the TL to communicate and identify with the TLC (Gardner 1985, 2001). This combination of attitudes is reflected in and subsumes an *openness* to other cultures and the absence of ethnocentrism which are necessary for

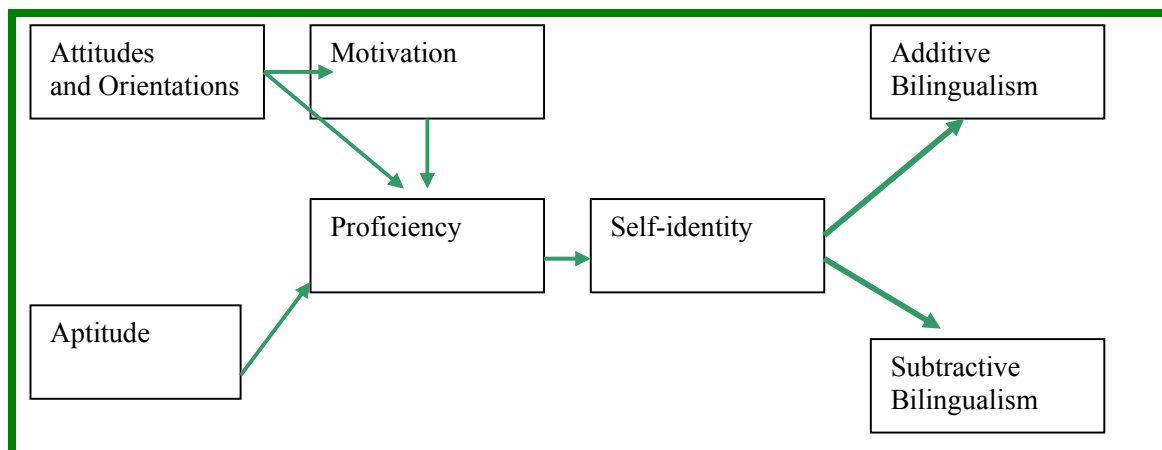
learning a second or foreign language. Language learning is different from learning any other school subject in that it entails assimilating not only linguistic structures but also “behaviour and cognitive features that are part of another culture” (Gardner *et al* 2004: 172). Unlike other subjects, learning a language entails the internalization of new ideas and behaviors which influence identity and self perception. Therefore, according to Gardner, the learner’s openness to the TLC affects how successful language learning is. This conception was later modified to accommodate English as a global language.

Attitudes towards the learning situation, in Figure 7, refer to the immediate learning context, i.e. to the teacher and the course itself. For example, a student’s success in learning a language could be hindered by a teacher’s bad temper.

Motivation itself indicates goal-directed behavior according to Gardner et al. (2004) and consists of three factors: *effort, desire, and enjoyment*. In other words, the SLL exerts effort because s/he genuinely wants to learn the language (has a goal) and enjoys doing so (affect).

In short, integrative orientation, interest in foreign language, and attitudes towards the TLC influence integrativeness, which in turn impact motivation. (See Figure 8)

Figure 8: Gardner’s Social Psychological Model



(Source: Gardner 1985: 133)

Thus an integrative motivation “includes the exertion of effort in and display of resolution to learn the TL, a disposition to affiliate with the TLC, and a favorable

perception of the learning context, an interplay of self-concept, attitudes, and motivation” (Gardner et al. 2004: 10).

Throughout, Gardner emphasized the importance of the context and environment. For example, if learning French were considered effeminate in a particular context, a feminist and a male wishing to assert his masculinity may be negatively predisposed towards learning French. However, in an environment where French was regarded as an elitist requirement, people wishing to join the elitist camp may be more positively predisposed to learning that language. This background baggage is referred to as *social milieu* by Gardner et al. (2004: 4) and affects learning favorably or unfavorably depending on the nature of the learner’s experiences, family, and culture.

2.1.2 Critiques of Gardner’s Socioeducational Framework

Even though many scholars have corroborated Gardner’s argument of a relationship between attitudes and second language learning (cf. Spolsky 1969; Oller et al. 1977; Pierson et al. 1980; Tarone & Yule 1991), Gardner *et al*’s theory has generated much controversy with many researchers expressing reservations. Some researchers have questioned the validity of the framework on the basis of criteria among which are whether the relationship is causal or not, the definition of integrativeness, the existence of many other kinds of motivations and the significance of integrativeness in EFL situations.

The direction of causality is an issue at the center of the debate. Savignon (1972) considers that how successful you are as a language learner affects your attitudes and that the opposite is also true. Skehan (1989) also discusses whether motivation causes success in language learning or is caused by it and concludes that it is both. Ushioda (1993), on the other hand, argues that language learning success fuels motivation and not the other way around.

Gass & Selinker (2001: 349) argue that

[i]t makes sense that individuals who are motivated will learn another language faster and to a great degree. Furthermore, numerous studies have provided statistical evidence that indicates motivation is a predictor of language-learning success.

Gardner & MacIntyre (1991:71) conducted a study that determined that both integrative and instrumental motivations were significant in and facilitative of second language learning:

Because integrative motivation has an attitudinal foundation in favorable attitudes toward the other ethnic community, other groups in general, and the language learning context, it is reasonable to expect it to have a continuing influence on language learning and use.

Therefore, the causal relationships posited are: attitudes affect motivation which in turn impact language learning and use. However, they also signal that the instrumental motive remains only till the goal is reached, unless the goal is a constant one, a point corroborated by Spolsky (1989) in his investigation of the relationship of economic factors and second language learning.

Even though a study by Oxford & Shearin (1994) noted six variables involved in motivation and language learning, namely attitudes, beliefs about self, learning goals, interest in the language learning process, environmental support, and personal characteristics such as language aptitude, age, and gender, in a later study (1996) on American students studying Japanese, they found that some of the reasons for studying the language were neither instrumental nor integrative and developed 21 motivational categories such as *personal challenge* and *showing off*. Clearly, the list of motivational categories could be infinite; this, however, does not disprove the import of Gardner's socioeducational framework.

Kruidenier & Clement (1986: 284) corroborate the causal link between motivation and language learning but argue that "the original distinction between integrative and instrumental motivations is lacking in universal relevance." They rightfully emphasize the need to explore other kinds of orientations and different learning contexts (other than Canada) as well as many other factors both within the classroom and outside since the learner could be driven by different orientations.

Dörnyei acknowledges the significance of the social dimension but notes that it is simply one, and maybe not the most important, of the three components of motivation: social, personal and educational. In fact, in discussing Gardner's socio-educational model,

Clement, Dörnyei, & Noels (1994: 5) corroborate Gardner's perception of the integrative disposition as:

positive interpersonal / affective disposition toward the L₂ group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community. It implies an openness, and respect for, other cultural groups and ways of life; in the extreme, it might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one's original group). Thus a core aspect of the integrative disposition is some sort of psychological and emotional *identification*.

They relate competence to integrative motivation as well as linguistic self-confidence and evaluation of class environment; nonetheless, they do recognize integrative motivation as "... the central component of the social dimension of language learning motivation," acknowledging that positive attitudes toward the TL, the TLC, and the cultural values of the TLC enhance learning (75). However, equally important and worthy of attention and research were the SLL's perceived proficiency and enjoyment of the class.

On another level, some scholars have seriously questioned the definition of motivation and empirical evidence within the framework (e.g. Au 1988). Moreover, the static nature of a trait like *integrativeness* has been questioned even though Gardner did not suggest a static nature. Dörnyei & Ottó (1998), for example, emphasized the dynamic nature of motivation where different types of motivation are active and influential at different times. That is, a student who is learning the L2 to continue his higher education in the USA or Britain, may be more influenced by instrumental needs at that stage, whereas at a different point in his/her life s/he may want to improve his/her proficiency in order to be similar to and integrate with the TLC. Gardner's later studies focused more on this dynamic nature.

The validity of self reports, on which attitude measures have frequently relied, has also been questioned (Oller & Perkins 1978a, b), potentially undermining the legitimacy of all the previous research in that line. The certainty of claims made on the basis of self reports may be unwarranted, especially since the input of other extraneous variables needs to be ruled out. For example, successful language learning may be responsible for the positive attitudes towards the TLC and TL and less successful language learning could result in less positive attitudes. The direction of causality argument seems to be a persistent issue. This query was behind my choice of qualitative approach.

Still others have problematized the framework further by claiming there are other types of motivations and orientations. Skehan (1989: 281) notes that "... the conception of motivation involved [in Gardner's model] is limited compared to the range of possible influences." In fact, Kruidenier & Clement (1986) identified more than Gardner's two orientations: instrumental, friendship, travel, and knowledge. These orientations were culture specific; that is different orientations drive people from different cultures depending on what they value and what language learning is important for. Thus, they posit that there was no unqualified support for Gardner's integrative orientation concept. Ely (1986) also claims that the distinction between the two related motivations is not unequivocal and that motivation involves more than the integrative/instrumental divide. Dörnyei (1990), however, argues that integrative orientation may include several of Kruidenier & Clement's (1986) four orientations. In fact, integrativeness does not discount other types of orientations and motivations but does single these two as the most important. LoCastro (2001) and Peirce (1995) go as far as suggesting a revision of Gardner's socioeducational model to allow for individual differences, such as an identity that is proficient in the L2 but also retains its L1 and culture. Such revisions would accommodate the current global context and the fluidity of the TLC.

Some dispute the importance of integrativeness in EFL situations where contact with the L2 community is minimal and where instrumental orientations are what really motivate students to learn the L2, arguing that it is more applicable to ESL contexts (e.g. Dörnyei 1990; Oxford & Shearin 1994; Warden & Lin 2000). Globalization also changes the situation because it calls into question the ownership of the English language, whether it belongs to a particular community or to an international community that speaks English (Kaylani 1996; Warschauer 2000; Yashima 2002; Lamb 2004), thus putting the whole integrativeness concept into question. (See section 3.1.2)

Some of the disputes may be attributed to the confusion around and usage of the concepts and labels for these concepts. For example, Dörnyei *et al* (2006: 12) argue that Gardner (1985) "discussed instrumentality strictly as a type of orientation, rather than a motivation," thus ruling out the presence of instrumental motivation. On the other hand, in discussing Gardner's framework, Oxford (1996) uses the terms orientation and

motivation interchangeably at times and speaks of instrumental motivation. Integrativeness is also a very broad concept around which there is much misunderstanding.

2.2 Other Perspectives on Motivation and Language Learning

Other researchers (Ely 1986; Crookes & Schmidt 1991; Dörnyei 1990, 1994; Oxford 1994; Oxford & Shearin 1994) have more meaningfully sought to expand Gardner's model rather than to question its validity and have thus introduced other variables or dimensions to accommodate the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of motivation (Crookes & Schmidt 1991). Overall, these new dimensions do not relate to the social context in general but to the immediate learning situation and context, such as for example, the classroom situation, the anxiety level, the teacher, and so on. These issues are extraneous to this study and will therefore not be addressed.

Many of the newer theories have provided new labels, highlighted specific angles of motivation, or added more dimensions or layers while others have proposed new frameworks (Brown 1990, 1994; Clement *et al* 1994; Crookes and Schmidt 1991; Dörnyei 1990; Wen 1997) which however were not intended to replace Gardner's model. For example, Deci & Ryan (1985; 1995) proposed the self-determination theory that distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, both of which are related to degrees of self-determination and have multiple levels. Intrinsic motivation consists of an internal pleasure gained from learning the new language such as self satisfaction and extrinsic motivation, the less weighty, consists of an external gratification such as grades or compliments. The similarity of these dimensions to Dörnyei's social and personal dimensions and Gardner's integrative and instrumental orientations signals how many theories mostly repackaged the older notions with minor additions of detail.

Likewise, Williams and Burden's framework (1997) of L_2 motivation further underscores the significance of the dimensions added to motivation theories, particularly the importance of context and time:

an individual's motivation is also subject to social and contextual influences. These will include the whole culture and context and the social situation, as well as significant other people and the individual's interaction with these people (p.121).

Logically, therefore, motivation does not remain constant over time or across different situations. As can be seen from the above discussion, newer models or frameworks have built on and added to Gardner's socio-educational model and Dörnyei's framework of L₂ motivation. For example, in William and Burden's framework nine internal and four external factors that affect motivation were identified of which the *perceived value of the activity* is similar to Dörnyei's *course-specific motivational components* (*interest, relevance, expectancy, and satisfaction*).

Recently, Masgoret and Gardner (2003) have persuasively validated the positive correlation between attitude and motivation and second language achievement through a meta-analysis of several studies. They concluded that the conflicting results in the literature could be attributed to methodological differences. Nonetheless, the call for an expansion of the theoretical framework still resounds (e.g. Crookes & Schmidt 1991; Skehan 1991; Oxford & Shearin 1994; Ushioda 1996; Dörnyei 1994, 2001, 2003).

A new concept in L₂ motivation based on Gardner's integrativeness/integrative motivation as *the ideal L₂ self* has been proposed by Dörnyei (2005). It draws on several approaches to second language learning and on 'self' research in psychology. The framework is called the *L₂ Motivational Self System* and consists of three dimensions: *the Ideal L₂ Self*, *the Ought-to Self* and *the L₂ Learning Experience*.

Self-research in psychology identifies an ideal self that individuals imagine as the person they hope to become. This ideal self has an L₂ angle. If a person's *Ideal L₂ Self* is proficient in a language, then s/he is considered as being integratively disposed (Dörnyei *et al.* 2006: 17). If that ideal self speaks a specific L₂, this would constitute a strong motivation to learn that L₂ as s/he would be more likely to exhibit behavior similar to that of an integratively disposed learner. An integratively motivated learner would exert effort, be resolved to learn the TL, be disposed to affiliate with the TLC, and have a favorable perception of the learning context; the SLL whose ideal self is proficient in the TL would exhibit similar behavior, all of which would decrease the distance between what s/he is and what s/he wants to be.

The second dimension, *the Ought-to Self*, is what the person thinks s/he needs to be, and is similar to extrinsic motivation. For example, an L₂ learner who knows that s/he should take a course in Business English public speaking to acquire the necessary public skills may register for the course despite unreceptive personal preference, which becomes inconsequential. Even though the *Ideal* and *Ought-to Self* are both future selves, they differ in that the

[i]deal self-guides have a promotion focus, concerned with hopes, aspirations, advancements, growth, and accomplishments, whereas ought self-guides have a prevention focus, regulating the absence or presence of negative outcomes, concerned with safety, responsibilities, and obligations (Csizér & Dörnyei 2005a: 617).

Motivation in this theory strives to reduce the distance between these two selves and the actual self, or between where you are at and where you want to be.

The third dimension, the L₂ *Learning Experience* relates to the learning context, for example, teacher efficacy, and classroom context, which are extraneous to this study.

Dörnyei *et al* (2006) report on a 12 year – three phase study evaluating five target languages in Hungary immediately after the collapse of the Russian empire when Hungary was opening up to the world and globalization. It identified five related dimensions on the basis of which Hungarian teenagers evaluated target languages: *Integrativeness, Instrumentality, Attitude towards L₂ speakers / community, Cultural interest, and Vitality of the L₂ community*. They also noted two influences on all languages: the learning milieu and linguistic self confidence. Of relevance to the present study is that the reason why students initially chose to learn English had little to do with motivation, even though English was perceived as popular and dominant. It makes sense that learning English has become one of the ipso facto necessities of the world we live in and not an issue of personal preference. However, after the language choice stage, less motivated students did not exert as much effort as those who were motivated.

The importance of the development of a salient ideal L₂ self was also underscored as a significant component in Dörnyei (2005). Pragmatically superior groups with only high instrumental needs or affectively superior groups with positive attitudes towards the TL and TLC had not fully internalized a salient ideal L₂ self associated with high motivation.

This was taken as proof that student motivation and proficiency were related to a fully developed ideal L2 self where both selves are internalized and both components drive the learner to greater success. Interest in foreign languages itself was identified as enhancing the development of a salient ideal language self and immediate and longer term motives. In other words, a salient ideal L2 self that identifies with a proficient learner, has positive attitudes, and appreciates the value of learning the language is behind potentially successful language learning.

Arguably, these distinctions are new labels for an old product because ultimately, an integratively or instrumentally motivated person would have an ideal self in mind. What these distinctions do add, however, is elaboration and fine-tuning. This *Motivational Self System* reconciles instrumentality and integrativeness as complementary rather than mutually exclusive since “[i]n our idealized image of ourselves we want to appear personally agreeable (associated with positive attitudes towards the L₂ community and culture) and professionally successful (associated with certain instrumental motives)” (Dörnyei *et al* 2006: 103, parentheses as in the original). It also explains why instrumental motivation is not prominent in Gardner’s framework; instrumentally motivated learners in Dörnyei’s framework would not have a salient ideal L₂ self.

More importantly, Dörnyei’s *Motivational Self System* resolves some of the queries surrounding integrativeness with globalization. With globalization, a concrete TLC disappeared. That “...has considerable effect on L₂ motivation theory because it in effect undermines the attitudinal base of Gardner’s (1985) traditional concept of integrative motivation” (Dörnyei *et al* 2006: 145). Moreover it gives L₂ motivation theory a broader perspective particularly since it allows for various L₂ situations where there is minimal or no contact with the L₂ speakers, language globalization, and the loss of ownership of English (Dörnyei 2005).

2.3 Positive and Negative Attitudes and Demotivation

Naturally, attitudes towards the TL and TLC, among other things, can be positive or negative. What promotes positive attitudes to language learning? The most prominent

contributors to positive attitudes in the literature discussed below are the social milieu, the actual learning of the L2, popular culture, and the media.

Gardner (1985) considers that the social milieu is central in the formation of integrative motivation. Anderson (2000) takes this further when he alleges that the attitudes shaped by the social milieu are decisive in determining the outcome of classroom success.

Donitsa-Shmidt *et al* (2004) conducted a study to investigate the effects of teaching spoken Arabic on student attitudes and motivation in Israel, a country that has been in a state of war with the Arabs since 1948. In spite of pervasive negative attitudes towards the TL and TLC, students who studied Arabic as a second language in Israel had a more positive attitude towards the language, its people and its culture than those who did not study Arabic. While initially students did not choose to study Arabic, the students' attitudes towards the language and culture were found to be significant predictors of their desire to continue studying Arabic. Other variables that affected the generation of positive attitudes were age at which they began to study Arabic and parental attitudes. They also found that students rated Arabic as more pragmatically important and contributory to peace between Arabs and Israel than those who did not study Arabic.

In short, attitudes and motivation are enhanced by the L2 learning experience in itself, a finding corroborated by Dörnyei *et al* (2006). Their findings suggest that, in Hungary, students studying an L2 were more motivated and had more positive attitudes towards the TL and TLC than students who were not learning the language. Motivation was not affected by whether the language courses were obligatory or elective. Similar results were found in a study conducted by Dörnyei (1998) and Sjöholm (2000).

Contact with speakers of the target language is also significant in promoting positive language attitudes but Dörnyei *et al* (2006) note that this encouraging effect loses momentum at a certain stage beyond which it 'backfires', especially in places where contact with the TLC is high. The novelty seems to wear off with 'cosmopolitan saturation level' (149).

Popular culture and the Media can also promote positive attitudes. Syed's 2001 study corroborates the significance of positive attitudes towards the TLC which superseded and connected all other causes:

When initially asked as to why they were learning Hindi, the participants mentioned a number of academic and personal reasons.... But what really ties it all together for them is a love of and appreciation for the culture (135).

Sjöholm (2000) found that positive attitudes were mostly generated from popular culture, television, and media and resulted in a great deal of incidental learning that favored American English. Because of the mass media and popular culture, English was no longer regarded as a foreign language in Finland and its status as a powerful world language led to positive attitudes towards the language which in turn fueled motivation to learn the language (Sjöholm 2004: 685 – 686):

English is widely visible outside the school context, as it is in many countries. This is most evident in the area of entertainment, and above all in film, television, video, music, etc., but also in information technology, as well as the press and radio. Thus, a 'good' knowledge of English is considered an essential requirement for a career in all these fields. In other words, the spread of English has led to an increased use of English for a variety of communicative functions by non-native speakers outside the classroom.

Her study shows that eighth grade students tend to have more favorable attitudes towards American than British English, which she attributes partly to greater exposure to input from the media. Attitudes also correlated with age. Thus, these young students tended to dislike the British English taught in schools and the style register used in the classroom which to them was less appealing than the American English encountered in the songs they listened to and the films they watched. In fact, British English seemed relegated to classroom contexts, whereas the favored American English was more useful for different life contexts. The more advanced the students were, however, the more positive they were about classroom British English. In short, the experiences they had outside the classroom, mostly through the media, contributed directly to the formation of positive attitudes towards learning and using English.

Forsman (2000) corroborates the finding that the more English leisure-time activities the learners were involved in, the more positive attitudes they had towards American as opposed to British English, particularly the vocabulary. However, the influence of popular culture and media may be more relevant at the earlier stages of language

learning, whereas in later stages other factors like familiarity with the language and time invested would exert more influence.

This is also evident in Lebanon where the young tend to idealize and emulate popular culture in the media that provides constant contact with the English language. Smaily-Hajjar (1996) reports a greater audience for English (73%) as opposed to French (30%) TV programs and radio broadcasts (45% to 33% respectively) (as cited in Shaaban & Ghaith 1999). This results in a kind of ‘openness’ to the language and much copy-paste usage.

2.3.1 Negative Attitudes

Dörnyei (1998) investigated factors that decreased student motivation in language studies. His study, conducted on 50 secondary pupils in various schools in Budapest, revealed that negative attitudes towards the target language and the second language community demotivated students in their language studies. Attitudinal variables are, thus, without doubt, closely related to motivation in a second language learning context, so it is meaningful to identify the negative attitudes that influence language learning.

2.3.1.1 Negative Attitudes towards the TL and TLC

Dörnyei (2001: 141- 142) identifies negative attitudes as “negative motivational influences.....that cancel out existing motivation”. Unlike motivation which intensifies effort, demotivation works as a specific force or occurrence that slows down or decreases motivation and effort, an external ‘detrigger’ or ‘decatalyst’. Demotivation is defined as “specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action” (Dörnyei 2001b: 143). The variables identified are low self-esteem, learning lethargy and minimal student input (Chambers 1993); the uninviting qualities of the learning context (Ushioda 1998); student-teacher relationship, teacher attitude towards course and course management; style conflict between students and teacher, type of classroom activities (Oxford 1998) ; personal and teacher traits, deficient school amenities, discouraging learning experiences leading to decline in self confidence, negative attitudes towards the TL and TLC, obligatory condition of course, competition

of another L2, attitudes of significant others, textbook (Dörnyei 1998). Dörnyei's picture is more comprehensive and goes beyond the language classroom. Undeniably, demotivators are not limited to the classroom.

Dörnyei's comparison of these negative factors to an affective filter with potential to obstruct language learning is reminiscent of Krashen (1982). Dörnyei notes that "[i]f learners develop negative attitudes towards the L₂ speakers, this undermines the social – dimension of their L₂ motivation complex" (1998: 154). As can be seen, negative attitudes can result from various obvious reasons which may be categorized as context or learner specific. Nonetheless, this area of motivation requires further investigation for a better understanding of how language learning may be obstructed.

Oxford (1998) identifies four categories of demotivating factors, among which is the relationship between students and teachers. Chambers (1993) investigated both teachers and students and concluded that amongst the numerous disparate demotivators were the home, parents, and friends as well as the teacher and the classroom. Ushioda (1998) found that most demotivators arose from the teaching context but that these were buffered by self-motivation as in students' compensatory self-encouragement.

The major contributors to negative attitude formation relevant to this study discussed below are negative attitude towards the TL and TLC, the dominant role of the L2 and ethnocentrism.

Negative attitudes towards the TL and TLC have been associated with a damaging influence on language learning. This is corroborated in the literature. Gardner believed that "if you didn't like the other language community, you could never really learn their language" (1991: 43). Nikolov (2001) found that students' negative attitude to Russia or Russians was responsible for their failure to learn or retain the language. Skehan (1989) notes a correlation between low scores on Gardner's Attitude Motivation Index, measuring attitude towards the TLC and TL, and low grades. Dörnyei *et al* (2006) explain the decrease in English scores in the 2004 data in their studies to feelings towards America resulting from the war on Iraq. In fact, *Cultural Interest* scores for the USA dropped while the inverse was true for the U.K.

The dominant status of English as a world language and what that entails could be a cause for negative attitudes towards the language. In fact, Lasagabaster (2003) notes how English is perceived as a threat to minority native linguistic rights in the Basque Region, where Basque and Spanish are the official languages and learners, therefore, built *attitudinal fences*. Thus, Lasagabaster (2003: 594), like many other scholars, notes that “the spread of English is such that minority groups have to face not only the menace of majority language, but also that represented by a foreign language so powerful as English nowadays is,” resulting in a form of linguistic protectionism.

The infiltration of English into the local languages may be through the borrowing of English expressions as noted by Pulcini (1997) who observed initial resistance to the infiltration of the Italian language by expressions borrowed from English. This process has created new words in ‘Itagliano’ and ‘Italiense’, terms coined by Dunlop (1989) to signal a mixture of Italian and English words. The resulting negative attitudes towards the TL and TLC and resistance, however, dissipated with time. Friedrich (2000) also underscores the “mixed feelings” ensuing from the spread of English that need to be addressed by language planners and educators.

In Egypt, Schaub (2000) reports, the demand for English has recently increased and resulted in resentment on the part of university graduate job applicants who disapproved of the prioritization of the English language over other skills, which they see as illogical and unnecessary. Schaub notes that this resentment has also spread to the government and companies who reinforce this hegemony. He documents an increasing demand for EFL since 1977 and more so since 1995 and the establishment of English language proficiency as a main criterion for getting a job. The status of the American University of Cairo as the most desirable place for education is due to its classes being held in English. In Egyptian academia English has become an additional or associate language. Nonetheless, he agrees that English is not really a menace since “[f]or the Arabic of those Egyptians, the linguisticide that Phillipson (1992: 237) describes as a result of the spreading hegemony of English is hardly a threat,” mostly because English does not serve the interpersonal, regulative, and religious functions which remain for Arabic.

This also purportedly applies to Lebanon where different languages seem to serve different purposes. Shaaban & Ghaith (2002) report that their study of ethnolinguistic vitality shows that for respondents, Arabic was mostly for daily communication and cultural conversations, while English was perceived as the most important language for higher level education, business, and science. French was for school education and cultural activities. Arabic was most vital for national and personal identity, religion, and entertainment. Also of interest was that languages were associated with religious groups (French with Christians, and English with Moslems). Abou, Kasparian, and Haddad (1996) note an increase in use of English for science, business, and technology while Arabic is predominantly used for daily communication. This would signal a lack of competition between the languages as illustrated by the stereotypical Lebanese salutation combining three languages: “Hi! Keifak [Arabic: how are you]? Ça va [French: fine]?”

Negative attitudes are also associated with ethnocentrism which obstructs language learning because of the ‘us/them’ association in which the TLC fails because of attitudes of superiority (Lambert 1963). In fact, in a study by Acheson (1994), American students learning Spanish in the USA were exerting minimal effort and did not seem to like the language or the material and particularly had a negative attitude towards the TLC (Spain, Mexico). Deciding that attitudes were responsible for the low performance, Acheson conducted a study to investigate why students were so demotivated and whether American adolescents in general had negative attitudes towards the language community. He concluded that ethnocentrism, which results in negative attitudes, was responsible for their poor performance. Social milieu, which includes stereotypes of the other culture, may also account for negative attitude. Whether ethnocentrism would remain a powerful demotivator, however, when the TLC is perceived as superior rather than inferior is not determined.

With globalization, the association of English with a specific TLC has become indefinite and obscure, diminishing the importance and relevance of favorable attitudes towards the TLC and the impact of culture on language learning (Widdowson 1994; Lamb 2004).

Moreover, integrative and instrumental orientations are no longer clearly distinguishable since

[m]eeting with Westerners, using computers, understanding pop songs, studying or travelling abroad, pursuing a desirable career – all these aspirations are associated with each other and with English as an integral part of the globalization processes that are transforming their society and will profoundly affect their own lives (Lamb 2004: 14).

This contests Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) separation of integrativeness and instrumentality into two 'self-domains' and is more in line with Yashima's (2002: 57) notions of learners' WTC (Willingness to Communicate) and 'international posture' which consists of "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to study or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners and... a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures." Friedrich (2000), however, warns language planners of the 'mixed feelings' resulting from the World Englishes approach to English.

Negative attitudes can be related to a threat to both mother-tongue and identity, particularly for the SLL, who is a member of the minority group learning the dominant language (Bandura 1986; Zimmerman 1989; Abu-Rabia 1993). Abu-Rabia (1996) states that negative attitudes could dissolve in a socially amenable context with positive contact between the two groups, while a charged context affects language learning negatively. Moreover, instrumental motivation in the form of awareness of the need for linguistic proficiency in the dominant tongue may also counterbalance these negative attitudes towards the TL and TLC. Many scholars continue to assert and support that attitudes towards the TL and TLC have a major influence on motivation.

Negative attitudes may affect language learning in several complex ways other than in this form of demotivation. Recent exploration into how attitudes impact language learning have found that several behaviors and states (such as class participation, achieving native-like pronunciation) result from negative or positive attitudes which could enhance or obstruct second language learning (Acheson 1994). The SLL may avoid speakers of the target language (Gass & Selinker 2001). In certain contexts, this may be responsible for lack of communication in the L2 and the ensuing attrition (de Bot & Hulsen 2002), a finding noted by Gardner *et al* (1989) who witnessed a greater decline

in the oral skills proficiency than for written skills: oral skills require interaction with native speakers while writing skills do not.

Demotivation resulting from negative attitudes towards the TLC or the TL could include not only lack of effort but also opposition or resistance (Giroux 1983:109). Canagarajah (1999) believes that “[m]uch of the opposition is ... generated by the textbooks, curriculum, pedagogies and discourse conventions recommended by center agencies” (174).

The negative attitudes could result in a learning barrier. For example, Li (2006) notes that the experiences of Chinese research students in the UK with the British influenced their attitudes which in turn affected their proficiency. One of the respondents

.... felt that his negative attitudes formed a kind of psychological barrier, preventing him from interacting openly with British people. Moreover, he placed responsibility for this barrier on British people and the British media (50).

This psychological barrier is similar to Schumann’s acculturation theory of second-language acquisition where “...the degree to which a learner acculturates to the TL group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language” (1978: 34). Thus, social and psychological proximity to the TLC influence a second language learner’s language acquisition where barriers are equivalent to psychological distance in Schumann’s framework.

Arguably, globalization may have diffused the impact of attitudes towards the TL and TLC and many scholars have queried their current relevance to a globalized world; however, I believe their dismissal should not be so categorical and should be context-dependent. The next chapter will therefore investigate the relationship between globalization, language and attitude.

Chapter 3: Globalization, Language Globalization and Power

“Language has always been the consort of empire, and forever shall remain its mate” (Nebrija’s plan presented to queen Isabella of Spain in 1492 as cited in Phillipson 1992: 5).

Cooke (1988) compares English to a ‘Trojan horse’ and calls it the language of imperialism. Similarly, Phillipson considers the status of English a form of linguistic imperialism that promotes and maintains global inequalities and control by those in power. In fact, scholars concur that language and the exercising of power are intimately linked (Tollefson 1988, 1989; Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994; Canagarajah 1999; Crystal 2003).

Undisputedly, the English language has become the predominant global language of communication. Its supremacy may be attributed to several direct and tangible causes and many other less transparent ones and has multiple effects on all levels. The reasons propelling this spread and its impact will be discussed below.

3.1 Causes of Spread of the English Language

The reasons behind the power of the English language in the contemporary world are not only numerous but also controversial with scholars predominantly falling in one of two opposing perspectives: *The Ecology of Language Paradigm* and *The Diffusion of Language Paradigm*. This section will focus on globalization, Transnational Corporations (TNCs), English as a lingua franca (ELF), gatekeeping privileges, linguistic imperialism, economic power, and media and technology as the major forces behind the power of the English language.

3.1.1 Globalization

Most scholars acknowledge the direct link between globalization and the spread of the English language. However, globalization itself is a rather vague term used to describe

changes occurring over the last two decades, if not much longer. Some regard globalization as a long historical progression traceable far back in history (e.g. Robertson 1992), whereas others refer to it as the continuation of modernity (e.g. Giddens 1999) or linked to postmodernity (e.g. Harvey 1990). In fact, Mignolo (2000: 236) argues that

on a larger scale, globalization at the end of the twentieth century (mainly occurring through transnational corporations, the media and technology) is the most recent configuration of a process that can be traced back to the 1500s, with the beginning of crossatlantic explorations and the consolidation of Western hegemony.

For Pennycook, globalization needs to be viewed as a combination of a historical process in continuation and, in the latest of the historical stages of globalization, a radically new process. Giddens (1999:10) believes that globalization is a new revolutionary process that includes economic, political, technological, and cultural processes.

Globalization has its proponents as well as its opponents with the former viewing it as the interlocking of various cultures and countries, the creation of financial and economic webs, and advancement primarily enabled by improved means of communication and technological advancement. This interdependence is believed by some to enhance interest in peace, presumably because of common interests, improve living standards, and generate opportunities through what Friedman (1999: 45) calls the ‘democratization of technology’ and the ‘democratization of finance’.

The price-tag for such valuable connectivity and rapid change is, however, as Graddol (1997) asserts, uncertainty and the loss of traditional jobs as well as much of the familiar, resulting in some alienation and opposition. As Tonkin (2003: 321) argues, there is

an ugly side to globalization as well: the exploitation of cheap labour, the concentration of extreme wealth in a small number of hands, and the growing gap between those who have access to technology and those who do not.

There is the view that globalization is the process of the Americanization/Westernization of the world to promote and safeguard American/Western interests, the McDonalization of society or creation of what Barber (1996) calls the McWorld, a world appeased by an abundance of commodities and a certain degree of affluence neither of which are equitably distributed (See section 3.2.3).

3.1.2 Globalization and Language

The English language has spread throughout the world to become one of the most traded languages. In fact, *The Economist* described it as “[i]mpregnably established as the world standard language: an intrinsic part of the global communications revolution” (as cited in Graddol 1997: 2). A press release about the British Council’s 2000 project reported that 1,400 million of the world’s population lives in countries where English has an official status, one-fifth of the world’s population is relatively competent in English, and the other four-fifths indubitably feels the pressures of English which has become

...the main language of books, newspapers, airport and traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science technology, diplomacy, sport, international competitions, pop music and advertising (as cited in Graddol 1997: 2).

That globalization and language spread go hand in hand and that language is not regarded as a neutral player in the globalization formula is obvious. Nonetheless, to understand the link, two conflicting conceptions of the role of global English should be discussed: *The Diffusion of Language Paradigm* which attributes the spread of English to its hybridity and regards this spread as natural and beneficial and *The Ecology of Language Paradigm* which primarily highlights the maintenance of indigenous languages and cultures (Tsuda 1994). Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2001) summary of these opposing paradigms in Table 4 reflects *The Ecology of Language Paradigm*’s perception of the other paradigm by the slanted choice of words with positive and negative connotations. The Diffusion of Language Paradigm is associated with *linguistic genocide, subtractive learning, imperialism, hierarchisation, polarization, and gaps*, whereas *The Ecology of Language Paradigm* is associated with *equality, maintenance, diversity, and growth*. Discounting the partiality, one can appreciate the issues involved on both sides (see section 3.2.1).

Table 4: Two Opposing Paradigms

The Diffusion of English Paradigm	Ecology of Language Paradigm
Monolingualism and linguistic genocide	Multilingualism, and linguistic diversity
Promotion of subtractive learning of dominant languages	Promotion of additive foreign/second language learning
Linguistic, cultural and media imperialism	Equality in communication
Americanisation and homogenisation of world culture	Maintenance and exchange of world cultures
Ideological globalisation and internationalisation	Ideological localisation and exchange
Capitalism, hierarchisation	Economic democratisation
Rationalisation based on science technology	Human rights perspective, holistic integrative values
Modernisation and economic efficiency; quantitative growth	Sustainability through promotion of diversity; qualitative growth
Transnationalisation	Protection of local production and National sovereignties
Growing polarization and gaps between haves and never-to-haves	Redistribution of the world's material resources

Source: Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) quoted in Phillipson 2001: 193

These two paradigms have opposing views on several concerns, among which is whether the ascendancy of the English language as the international language of communication occurred naturally or was a calculated effort. This is important because it signals whether this spread is related to the imposition of power or not.

Kachru (1986) supports the functionalist camp that regards English as a useful language that is neutral and beneficial. It is neutral in the sense that it does not carry the political connotations of native languages (even though it originally carried the meanings of the colonizers). Crystal (2003) voices a similar view, claiming that English "...is a language which has repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time" (120). For Crystal, it was the language of colonial powers, of the leaders of the industrial revolution, and of the world economic and later technological powers. Technology opened the way for English to permeate and then rule the media. With this came a need for more international communication and relations, and English was there both in the United Nations and on the internet. Very simply, it was a snowball effect rather than a calculated effort.

Graddol (1997: 6) partially attributes the ascendancy of English to its intrinsic qualities:

English is remarkable for its diversity, its propensity to change and be changed....Some analysts see this hybridity and permeability of English as defining features, allowing it to expand quickly into new domains and explaining in part its success as a world language.

Attributing the diversity and flexibility of the English language to an *inbuilt* superiority of the language, however, could be dangerous since other factors could more aptly explain these traits such as social and historical factors and one cannot claim one

language is better than another: a language is as good as its ability to express all ranges of its speakers' needs. In fact, many scholars question this explanation of the ascendancy of the English language. Kibbee (2003) adds that hybridity and permeability are not terms that can be defined scientifically.

3.1.3 Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and International Organizations

International Organizations and TNCs are major vehicles behind the spread of English as a global language of communication as their inception increased the need to communicate with speakers of other languages. TNCs are responsible for two-thirds of the world's trade and constitute half of the world's great economies (Graddol 1997). Located in the world's Big Three (North America, the EU, and Japan), they tend to promote English language usage.

In her editorial introduction to a special issue of *The International Review of Education* dedicated to globalization, Brock-Utne (2001) attributes globalization to technological developments in electronic communication and computers which have enabled transnational corporations to conduct international transactions and political decisions, freeing businesses from the nation state's control and creating unrestricted markets. Organizations such as the European Union and the North American Free Trade Area, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and the WTO (formerly GATT) have also been instrumental. Globalization has then enhanced "the tendency for economic, social, political and cultural processes to take place on a global scale rather than within the confines of particular countries or regions" (Fairclough 2000:165). Thus, the largest economies are TNCs and not countries (Brock-Utne 2001: 164).

Corporations exert their influence in education by financing educational materials throughout the world, which includes presentation of information to their advantage resulting in "... a generation of American youngsters ...trained to regard nature in a way that coincides with corporate objectives" (Mander 1996 as cited in Phillipson 2001:190). Phillipson notes how BP Amoco is promoting a 'Science across Europe' system while the British Council is gaining influence in the educational systems of postcommunist

European countries. Simultaneously, SHELL is financing the development of English teachers in Bulgaria “which is doubtlessly good for both the oil company and for the British textbook business” (Phillipson 2001:190).

However, international organizations and TNCs are concerned about the market and profit generation rather than the English language; with the increasing trend in localization, and the declining identification of increased market share with the English language “...it may be quite possible that the currency of English is eroded” (Graddol 1997:49). In fact, *The Economist* predicts this will change in favor of regional languages and lingua francas with, for example, countries bordering and trading with China tending to favor learning Malay (as cited in Graddol 1997). Graddol (2006) confirms such predictions, noting how Mandarin has become a desirable foreign language for Europeans, Americans, and Asians and how Spanish has also gained importance. Thus, with the economy of the Big Three shifting towards other centers and with the emergence of new economies known as BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), languages other than English have gained increased currency. Graddol (2006) states that BRICs will dominate the global economy and, hence, determine the future of global English.

Even though Mackey (2003) deems it senseless to relate economic power to a specific country and its language because “[w]ithin a global economy, sovereign states lose economic sovereignty” (72), there is a massive marginalization of local languages and cultures in favor of the languages used for trade and business, i.e. international/global languages.

3.1.4 English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL)

Globalization has amplified the need to communicate with speakers of other languages and English has increasingly been the chosen language of communication among people of different backgrounds and mother tongues, as a lingua franca or international language. Graddol (2006: 62), however, notes that there is a linguistic hierarchy and that “English is no longer the ‘only show in town’” at the top of that hierarchy; Mandarin is gaining ground as are Spanish, Hindi, and Arabic. Nonetheless, English is frequently

used and not only because it is a lingua franca but also because "...it is culturally regarded as the appropriate language for a particular communicative context." In Lebanon, for example, medical conferences are normally conducted in English, certain cultural/social functions in French, and a family discussion around politics in Arabic.

The prevalence of ELF is associated with its adaptability and lack of

consistency in form that goes beyond the participant level, i.e., each combination of interactants seems to negotiate and govern their own variation of lingua franca use in terms of proficiency level, use of code-mixing, degree of pidginization, etc... (Gramkow Andersen 1993 as cited in House 2003: 557).

Accuracy of language use is not measured by the standards of native speakers nor do speakers seek to achieve native speaker proficiency or integration into the native speaker community. ELF has also gained popularity because it offers speakers the venue to negotiate meaning with the tools of a common base language into which native language practices can be drawn. In fact, Firth (1996) speaks of a *let it pass* in communication between speakers of other languages where the communicators overlook incomprehension in the hope that it will later become clear or prove to be unnecessary. Thus, the conventional scales used to measure language proficiency, such as native speaker communicative competence, become meaningless in ELF where language is primarily a means of performing certain roles and needs, a shared instrument for communication with speakers of other tongues. The base of this common ground is not preset but continuously negotiated.

A main issue in relation to ELF is the identity of the speaker, which presumably is not defined by ELF but by the speaker's native tongue (House 2003):

Because ELF is not a national language, but a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital, it is a language usable neither for identity markers, nor for a positive (integrative) disposition towards an L2 group, nor for a desire to become similar to values members of this L2 group - simply because there is no definable group of ELF speakers. ELF users, then, use ELF as a transactional language for their own communicative purposes and advantages (House 2003: 560).

Thus ELF serves instrumental purposes, a means of communication which is distinguished from English for identification. (See other sections, i.e. 3.2.1 on other ELF related issues.)

3.1.5 Gatekeeper, Social Controller, and Global Inequalities

English is said to be the key to opportunity and advancement. Phillipson (1992) asserts this when he asserts that the distribution of the world languages today signals how colonialism metamorphosed into linguistic imposition as precondition for prospect enhancement. Indeed, in many countries, without English, options for advancement are limited. Thus, the categorization of instrumental and integrative motivation as incentives for studying English are partial according to Tollefson (1986) since there are many other battles involved. One cannot climb the social and economic ladder without English and therefore the language has become an important means of controlling who moves up and who does not. Simply put, a person who does not have a reasonably good command of the English language, cannot get that promotion, specialize in the field of his/her dream, or be socially acknowledged. In Lebanon, for example, even though French is a very commonly used language, most jobs require English and most of the French educated acknowledge the need to learn English to meet professional needs.

Thus, the English language empowers those who speak it and discriminates against those who do not. Indeed, Pennycook (1994: 186) summarizes it succinctly when he states that

...English functions as a gatekeeper to positions of prestige in society. With English taking up such an important position in many educational systems around the world, it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment, and social positions.

Hence, linguistic discrimination becomes a reality and English remains mandatory for the global workplace even though Crystal (2003) believes this could be resolved by bilingualism through early education in the global language. This solution works for the Lebanese, most of whom are bilingual or trilingual, provided one of these languages is English.

Many linguists believe that those in power control who has access to English. Tollefson (1986), for example, discusses how students instructed in 'survival competencies' are held back in subjugated positions under the guise of assimilation into the American culture in the USA and how the Philippine elite benefits from the divisions created by the power of the English language. Pennycook (1995) and Tollefson (1988, 1989) explain

how refugee access to integration, progress, and social and economic wealth in the US is blocked by maintaining their language deficit in order to keep them in lower paying jobs that suit the needs of the American job market. Tollefson labels this unequal exchange as one-sided Americanization. This language politics or discrimination, according to Crawford (1989), has replaced racial discrimination, which is no longer overtly tolerated. Likewise, Graddol (1997: 38) notes ELF proficiency is a new determiner of social class, “a gatekeeping mechanism,” since it increases chances of getting a job or scholarly publications.

Even though ELF and bilingualism are no longer sufficient and the global workplace currently requires multilingualism (Graddol 2006) and even though English’s gatekeeper privilege in the twenty-first century is unpredictable with local lingua francas making English dispensable (Graddol 1997), people have to learn English and its power increases with its provision of what Tonkin calls “a market advantage” (2003: 322).

3.1.6 Linguistic Imperialism and Ideological Power

In 1801 William Russel claimed that the English language could do much more for England than guns and military power in the subjugation and control of nations and the imposition of British culture, religion, and business. In endorsing free education for these countries, he states that “a thousand pounds expended for tutor, books, and premiums would do more to subdue a nation of savages than forty thousand expended for artillerymen, bullets, and gunpowder” (as cited in Crystal 2003: 78 – 79). Churchill considered that after the war, struggles would revolve around people’s minds and that language would be important in that battle. Likewise, Graves believed in an “ideological World War III” for “men’s minds” in which language and linguistics would replace guns (as cited in Pennycook 1994: 134).

Naysmith (1987: 3) sees ELT as “... part of the process whereby one part of the world has become politically, economically, and culturally dominated by another.” Eco also acknowledges the relation between military power and language: “If Hitler had won World War II we would probably today use German as a universal vehicular language” (1995: 31 as cited in Mackey 2003: 69). However, the German conquest of Gaul in 486 and the Viking conquest of Northern France where the language of the

conquerors was gradually replaced by the language of the conquered (Mackey 2003) demonstrate how generalizations about language are not always reliable predictors.

Nonetheless, it has long been acknowledged that guns and colonial power could be replaced by the control of minds (Iredale 1986: 44). In short, the view that language is a tool to subjugate the other is not uncommon.

Linguistic imposition can be realized through several means. For Phillipson, (1992:47) one of these ways is *linguicism*, or “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language.” In other words, the language one speaks could result in inequalities and discrimination. English linguistic imperialism is a form of linguicism. Phillipson (1992:47) defines it as when

the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of the structural [material properties] and cultural inequalities between English and other languages [Brackets as in the original]

or as “discrimination on the basis of language and culture, and native/non-native hierarchisation” (2001:195).

The author defines two kinds of linguistic imperialism: *professionalism* and *anglocentricity*. Professionalism is a form of ‘professional imperialism,’ where the world is held in a dependency relationship to the West. Phillipson (2001) discusses how cooperation between British and Indian professionals is unbalanced with the British expert leading the enterprise; this is paralleled in a similar dependency relationship in higher education. Anglocentricity sets the English language, its users and the opportunities it provides as the benchmark. It is the view of both Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) that the role of English as an International language (EIL) post world war II was to control the third world, a form of ideological subjugation in which applied linguistics and ELT were active ammunition, for “a new era in which battles were to be fought for people’s minds and in which language and culture were to play an ever greater role” (Pennycook 1994: 146). In fact, Pennycook provides a lengthy study of the role of

the British Council in furthering EIL for political, cultural, and commercial gain.

Phillipson (2001: 189) also argues that

[t]he colonial exercise was not merely about conquering territory and economies, but also about conquering minds. For Macaulay and generations of colonialists the purpose of British education for Indian leaders was to produce: 'A class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.'

An example that triggered my initial interest in the topic of language and power from my teaching practice may serve to clarify Anglocentricity and professionalism. Several years ago, in a business English class, I was teaching my students the basics of routine business claim letters. According to our textbook, a claim situation should be addressed in a manner that deviated from what my students had come across in the actual Lebanese business culture. I instructed my students that they should use positive language and tone and avoid anger. In the Lebanese context, however, this was unlikely to have the desired effect. Nonetheless, I found myself preaching and enforcing the textbook's strategies and claiming that our approach was inappropriate. I was uncritically following the stipulates of an American textbook, reinforcing the American way of doing things and the American institutions regardless of contextual appropriacy, placing my students and myself on the receiving end of what the West dictated. In other words, I promoted the belief that English was superior to Arabic by showing that the Western business practices were better than those of the Lebanese, whereas I should have emphasized the effect a particular usage was likely to have in a particular context. I was culpable of anglocentricity and professionalism in one lesson.

Phillipson's viewpoint contradicts Kachru's claim that the spread of English is a neutral and beneficial occurrence and Crystal's argument that it is a fortunate accident. Instead it signals that it is a calculated self-serving design against which languages should be compared. In Western ELT approaches the Western model to be emulated and followed is a form of professionalism, a decontextualization of language learning. In anglocentricity and professionalism, the SLL and the non-native teacher are made to feel less important. Linguistic imperialism is a form of what Galtung (1980) calls cultural imperialism, the other five being economic, political, military, communicative, and social. In Lebanon, the dependency on the West for teaching pedagogy and textbooks is the norm, and most often it involves an uncritical adoption sometimes to the detriment of

the language learner. We routinely apply Western pedagogical dictates, invite consultants to advise us on how to fix problem areas, and tend to uncritically favor Western expertise.

This is not to imply that English is intrinsically imperialistic or malevolent, yet it could, according to some scholars, be exploited for imperialistic discriminatory purposes. Through language, those in power are said to hold the third world in a subjugated position, constantly looking at the West for what they should be, think, and do. This serves the interests of the powerful by helping them maintain a dominating relationship and superiority, not for altruistic motives but as a form of norm standardization.

Scholars have contested the linguistic imperialism framework on several grounds (e.g. Graddol 1997; Canagarajah 1999; House 2003; Crystal 2003). Canagarajah (1999) maintains it is an unrealistic center viewpoint based on center data, thus overlooking local periphery realities and conditions, particularly those of periphery classrooms. More importantly, the framework does not recommend how to teach English in the shadows of linguistic imperialism. Another critique of Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook's (1994) framework is that it is too simplistic a rendition of a rather more multifaceted matter, whereas a functionalist account would be preferred by some scholars (Crystal 2003). For example, Crystal's model reverses subjugation into empowerment of the marginalized and dominated and maintains that the English language reduces the disparities that Pennycook and Phillipson feel it creates. That developed and developing countries also experience comparable levels of resentment of the imposition of English is a major ground on which Crystal validates his criticism.

In an intriguing paper presented in *World Englishes*, Widdowson (1997) questions what is meant by EIL and the spread of English. The connotations of the word *spread* are shown to be reflective of the current status of English on the world stage. The spread of the English language could have come about naturally resulting from environmental variables operating on the volatility of the language or it could have been a tool for colonial objectives and enforcement of power, a form of linguistic imperialism (Widdowson 1997: 2). However, Widdowson argues that the latter is only a partial version of the story as language does not operate in such a predictable manner.

Widdowson bases the rejection of the linguistic imperialism conspiracy theory on the distinction between *distribution* and *spread* of the international language where the former is transmitted as an intact form and the latter as a virtual language that is pliable, moldable, and adaptable:

The distribution of the actual language implies adoption and conformity. The spread of virtual language implies adaptation and nonconformity. The two processes are quite different. And they are likely to be in conflict. Distribution denies spread (1997: 6)

The implications of the word *distribution* do not allow for transformation or variation of what is being spread whereas when language spreads, it changes and adapts.

Furthermore, even though the intention behind the language spread may be to control the colonized, this may not necessarily succeed: language not only cannot be controlled but it is also appropriated by the speakers to express their own thoughts and even to resist control. Widdowson (1997: 3) thus asserts that linguistic imperialism cannot but fail since "...English does not get spread as a fixed pattern, as a linguistic entity, artificially kept unitary and stable like a set of regulations". The language is thus appropriated and molded to fit its surroundings, or as Parekh (1990 as cited in Widdowson 1997: 5) says of Salman Rushdie,

[h]e does to English what the English have done to India. He deconstructs the language, colonizes it, reclaims it for the Indian with Promethean courage, and amply avenges imperial history

even though the Indians do not require anyone to do this for them.

The Lebanese context, however, contests this. Lebanon is a clear example of how language is mostly handed down, distributed with its cultural baggage with many just absorbing it. Nonetheless, there is partial appropriation and molding, an example of which is the extensive code-switching the Lebanese employ. Even more illustrative of this is Lebanese rap where the local singers follow rap template but add a little cultural flavor and use the Arabic language but mostly with the Western ideas. The use of the Arabic language here is mostly after an English template, so ultimately it becomes a form of appropriation of Arabic, not English.

3.1.7 Economic Power and Business Gain

The English language is as powerful and pervasive as it is today because of the power of its speakers (Crystal 2003). However, to retain that power and superiority, English is also used as a tool. Thus, many scholars query the role of the English language in promoting the interests TNCs and the economies of the Big Three (North America, Japan, and the European Union). In fact, Phillipson (1992) argues that the infiltration of Western culture and language into the periphery is necessary for the establishment of the base on which economic control pivots. David Blunkett, former British minister for education and employment, confirms that “[i]t makes good economic sense to use English fluency as a platform to underpin our economic competitiveness and to promote our culture overseas” (as cited in Phillipson 2001: 191).

On another level, ELT is a lucrative competitive global trade which flows from the West or center to the third world and periphery (Canagarajah 1999, 2002b): teacher training, textbooks, consultancy, standardized testing, etc... are exported to third world countries and bring in considerable income (Pennycook 1994), resulting in ‘a vortex of professional dependence’ (Canagarajah 2002b). In fact Canagarajah (1999) describes how the center’s production of core textbooks visiting consultants, and teacher training dominate the curriculum in Sri Lanka. Current textbooks are designed as packages, thus minimizing teacher input and augmenting teacher reliance on the text, which is also intensified by limited photocopying resources. In Lebanon, even though local textbooks have been produced for the new curriculum, there remains a preference for imported textbooks (Shaaban 2005), which are consistently granted superior status except to deal with local issues (i.e. Lebanese history, sociology, or literature). Thus, the center reaches directly into the periphery classrooms through books and training that often conflict with periphery curricula and promote center ideology and practices.

Phillipson (2001:191) argues that “English for business is business for English”. In the 1980s the British economy benefited from £6 billion from the English teaching business and this revenue has been increasing with all the supplementary services provided. He notes that distance learning is the new business for the USA, England, and Australia as well as organizations providing standardized exams such as the Educational Testing Services of Princeton.

More importantly, however, "... teaching English as a second or a foreign language is not only good business in terms of the production of teaching materials of all kinds... but also it is good politics" (Ndebele 1987:63). The expertise and methods exported are value-laden, ideological, and frequently inapplicable to situations where the teacher's expertise and intuition would be more suitable than the imported formulaic decontextualized pedagogical prescriptives.

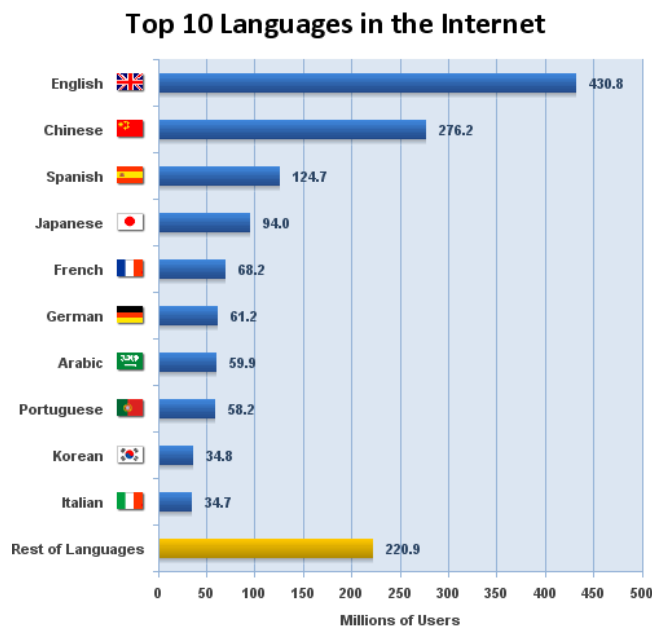
3.1.8 Media and Technological Language Monopoly

English is linked to a "technological monopoly". The TNCs would normally communicate with local economies using English based technology. When we think computers, we think English: the tools are predominantly in English because there needs to be two million possible users for tools to be customized to a specific language (Séquin 1997, cited in Maurais 2003: 20). The languages on the internet are predominantly English (84 %) followed by German, Japanese, French, Spanish, and Italian, with four other languages each holding less than 1% (Le Devoir 1997 cited in Maurais 2003: 20). The significant languages on the internet in 1997, besides Japanese and Finnish, were all European. The international lingua franca of scientists and internet users is English (Graddol 1997). Finally, as cyberspace communication between people living in different countries requires the use of English, 80% of communication through computers was in English in the 1990s (Graddol 1997).

However, expectations are that this monopoly will dwindle with a diminishing link between English and computers, even if its presence will continue to be felt for some more time to come (Graddol 1997; Mackey 2003; Maurais 2003). As of 2001, the number of English-speaking users was outnumbered by the number of non-English internet users (Mackey 2003; Maurais 2003). In 1997, Graddol predicted that English content on the net would drop to 40% because other languages were gaining ground and technology was making that possible (49). In 2006, Graddol reported a remarkable 19.3% decline in English internet users with an increase in Chinese, Japanese, and other languages.

In fact, Figure 9 clearly shows how other languages are now not far behind.

Figure 9: World's Top Ten Languages in the Internet



Source: Internet World Stats- www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm

The National Translation Virtual Center (2007) reports that English currently enjoys the greatest number of internet users (29.9%), German the greatest penetrations (61.3%), and Arabic the greatest user growth (93.2%). Crystal (2001) explains that unless identity concerns surpass information access needs, local languages do not replace English without there being significant internet penetration and content in the local language. Therefore, changes in both content and penetration would translate into increased dependence on local languages for internet usage.

Indeed, the rest of the world has been gaining ground and taking measures to remedy the content deficit. With the added availability of translation software, there is a decline in the need to learn English for internet communication with speakers of other languages. English is losing its position as the Web's dominant lingua franca with regards to regional communication in particular, where regional lingua francas are replacing it. For example, Asia Online is using new translation technologies to translate over 3 million pages into Thai and initiating literacy programs that have come to be known as the World's Largest Literacy Project (PR Web 2008). The aim is to allow access to information, thus eliminating the linguistic impediment on the net, increasing the number

of internet users, and enhancing chances for competing in the “knowledge global economy” (PR Web 2008: para. 3).

Other local answers are being devised. For example, two young Lebanese men developed a program, *Yamli*, which enables the users to write in Arabic using the Latin alphabet and using the symbols the young employ to substitute for Arabic letters as in *ya3ni*. The user would type in the word on an English keyboard but it would automatically be ‘translated’ into Arabic letters. Such inventions enable people to communicate in their local language and override the influence of English, perhaps making the former an internet lingua franca.

Therefore, whereas English remains the most dominant internet language, other languages are not far behind, and it is likely that English dominance will not last much longer as predicted by Graddol (2006).

On another level, Mackey (2003: 75) argues that even if English remains the predominant language of technology and the net, the needs it addresses can also be answered by the local languages, limiting the effect. Thus, like in language use, the technology user appropriates the technology and the internet, adapting and possibly subverting it.

At present, English supremacy also applies to the language of printed media. Already by the 1950’s English was the language of 50% of the magazines and newspapers, 75% of correspondence and 60 % of radio stations in the world (Mackey 2003: 74). However, whether this is detrimental is yet another contentious issue among scholars. Machin & van Leeuwen (2003) compared two monthly editions of 44 versions of *Cosmopolitan*, and identified three trends that characterized the relationship between the media and globalization. One is *cultural imperialism* with the US media and corporations dominating, resulting in Western cultural domination and homogeneity in spite of some surface individuation. Another trend is the *emphasis on the local*, where it is argued that different audiences receive and interpret the messages differently, creatively, in what Fiske (1989) calls ‘semiotic democracy’. Nonetheless, Machin & van Leeuwen (2003) argue that this democracy is only superficial since the preferred local media productions

carry the global content with localization just “a gloss which hides deeper similarities” (496). The main message is thus not resisted at the subconscious level. The third trend is emphasis on *glocalization* which allows concurrent globalization and localization. The authors show how through the global schema of problem-solution, various different local accents and cultural differences can be accommodated while retaining the central main messages.

The eminence of English is also obvious in the visual and auditory media. Wherever one is, switching on the TV will result in a uniform experience ranging from MTV to Will and Grace, Friends, or House, all of which are originally in English and promote the Western culture. Even though Bollywood films are popular in many parts of the world and even though local films and soap operas are very popular with Arabs and Greeks, the educated younger generation in Lebanon would shy away from a public confession that they actually watch such films, and they prefer to watch cable networks that provide American series and sitcoms. The same applies to the top 10 and Arabic music. Even though Arabic rap and jazz is on the rise, listening to Arabic music is more of a private affair since it comes with a stigma attached and is associated with lower socio-economic status.

For some scholars (cf. Graddol 1997, 2006), however, the media’s contribution to the dominance of English is not unassailable as global media are becoming localized in their attempt to gain greater market share. Graddol (1997) writes that a fear of homogenized TV satellite production that produces a homogenous global culture propelled by US English is groundless as the media is more inclined to support broadcasts in local languages. For example the localization of MTV, previously regarded as a medium promoting a uniform Western culture and the proliferation of global Arabic news channels broadcasting in both Arabic and English (Graddol 1997, 2006) are evidence of the power of new languages in the media. Moreover, with the increase in the number of channels from which to select, the viewer is no longer likely to have a uniform media input and diasporic viewers can watch programs in their native tongue wherever they are. Rather than the promotion of homogenous cultures, Graddol sees the trends in the

international media industry as encouraging cultural fragmentation with a lack of collective experience which localization could bring with it.

Simultaneously, however, Russia, Qatar, and France are broadcasting globally in English, signaling the enduring power of the language. On another level, the locally produced programs emulate or even copy western media templates. For example, *Alam al Sabah* (August 13, 2007), a program on one of the main Lebanese TV channels, Future TV, discussed the modifications made to a short program, *Adam and Eve*, imported from the West, and adapted to the local profile of the relationship between the female and male in a marital relationship. In the original imported Western version, the female character was initially too assertive and had to be slightly subdued through the Lebanese actress to fit the local profile of the female in the Arab world and Lebanon, yet the main issues remained the same. *Star Academy*, *Superstar*, and *Beauty Clinic* are other programs copy-pasted from the West along with the value-laden cultural baggage. Thus, as with printed media, the diversification is superficial, as Machin & van Leeuwen (2003) would argue, since the main content remains uniform. Hence, Mackey (2003) laments the “monothematic repetitions of the same content” (75) which persist along with the local medias’ effort to maintain their language by the broadcasting of programs in the local language. Thus, the outcome of the media and internet dominance is not fragmentation but a unifying global identity wherein individuals are members of a global culture as Arnett (2002) affirms.

3.2 Effects of English as a World Language

The impact of language globalization again divides scholars into two camps with linguists adhering to the *Ecology of Language Paradigm* warning the world of the irreversible loss, and the *Diffusion of Language Paradigm* proponents speaking of linguistic natural selection and survival of the fittest.

3.2.1 Language Loss / Extinction

Requesting funding to record the stories of Mali’s elderly, a Mali delegate to UNESCO warned that “[w]hen an old man dies in one of our villages, a shelf-full of books is lost”

(as cited in Phillipson 2001: 189). One of the major concerns among both scholars and politicians is whether the global dominance of English will result in the death of other languages, if not the related identities.

The trend in statistics on the condition of the world's languages and the impact of the spread of English on those languages is overwhelming. Graddol (2004: 1329) warns that "We may now be losing a language every day." Hale (1998: 192) estimates that languages with less than 100,000 speakers will not survive. 50% of the languages today have less than 6000 speakers (Karttunen & Crosby 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas 2001) and because the fate of a language depends on its number of speakers (Mackey 2003), half of the world's languages (i.e. 3000 languages) will not make it through the twenty-first century (Robins & Uhlenbeck as cited in Mackey 2003; Crystal 2003). 95% of the world's spoken languages have fewer than 1 million native users; half of all the languages have fewer than 10,000. Several scholars warn that 90 % face extinction as a result of language globalization (Hale 1992; Krauss 1992; Mackey 2003; Hamel 2003).

Many linguists belonging to the Ecology of Language Paradigm (e.g. Hale 1992; Krauss 1992; Tsuda 1994; Harmon 1995; Phillipson 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas 2001) claim that there is a direct link between linguistic diversity and biodiversity. Chronicling the decline in biodiversity and the ecosystem, Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) includes linguistic diversity as one of these declining diversities, citing conservationist David Harmon (1995: 14) whose study showed a correlation, which they claimed could not be fortuitous, between the extinction of higher vertebrates and languages. 16 of the highest 25 countries in the lists of language extinction were also among the highest in other forms of extinctions as vertebrates, plants, and butterflies. The causal relation between linguistic diversity and biodiversity is based on theories that claim a reflexive relationship between cultural diversity and biodiversity: "linguistic and cultural diversity may be decisive mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity itself, and vice versa, as long as humans are on the earth" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2001: 208).

We are cautioned that the problem with language death is not solely restricted to the loss of the language because we also lose the culture, history, and knowledge that it

expressed. This decreases our chances for survival because language loss includes the loss of knowledge on managing our environment and ecosystems (Hale 1992; Krauss 1992; Tsuda 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas 2001; Kibbee 2003). In fact, Hale warns that

the modern period is of a different character, in its extent and in its implications. It is part of a much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled. The process is not unrelated to the simultaneous loss of diversity in the zoological and botanical worlds. An ecological analogy is not altogether inappropriate. We understand to some extent the dangers inherent in the loss of biological diversity on this earth ... it is clear that language extinction has reached an extraordinary level in recent times and that the outlook for an impressive percentage of the world's surviving languages is very poor... the loss of a language is part of the more general loss being suffered by the world, the loss of diversity in all things... (1992: 2 – 3)

Skutnabb-Kangas (2001: 201) identifies “the most important direct agents in language murder” as “the global economic, military and political systems” that operate through the media and educational systems. She claims that the education in many parts of the world today, including the education of indigenous peoples, minorities, and politically dominated large groups as in Africa and Asia, contributes to linguistic and cultural genocide, in conflict with multiple United Nations Conventions.

The Diffusion of Language Paradigm, on the other hand, disputes most of these assertions. Its proponents dismiss them as too simplistic. Language use is complex and not a copy-paste function; it allows for appropriation, resistance, creativity, individuality, and so on. Moreover, the power of world languages is a matter of natural selection and attempting to preserve certain languages by contrived means such as through the national education system may result in more harm than good.

The detrimental link between linguistic death and biodiversity is indeed questionable since a third variable may explain it more meaningfully and it seems unlikely that protecting linguistic diversity would result in protection of biodiversity. Therefore, many scholars, in line with the Diffusion of Language Paradigm, dispute assertions that language death is causally related to globalization and particularly to language globalization.

Graddol (2006) categorically denies a causal link between global English and language endangerment, arguing that the decline in the number of languages began before English became a global lingua franca. However, language globalization is considered guilty by association with global and economic trends like the electronic media and TV that Krauss (1992: 7) calls ‘cultural nerve gas.’ Graddol (1997), however, is concerned with the ensuing resentment towards English as it may

come to be regarded in a similar way as exploitative logging in rainforests; it may be seen as providing a short-term economic gain for a few, but involving the destruction of the ecologies which lesser-used languages inhabit, together with the loss of global linguistic diversity (p.62).

Graddol (2004) quotes a 2001 United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) remark that “[l]osing a language and its cultural context is like burning a unique reference book of the natural world” (1329).

House (2003) argues against the view that English as a lingua franca (ELF) poses a threat to local languages and to multilingualism on the basis of three research projects in Hamburg University. She concludes that ELF will not endanger the native tongue of its speakers nor replace it since it is used for instrumental purposes while the native tongue is used for identity performance. Thus, ELF has had the opposite effect of reviving interest in local languages in her native homeland, Germany, but is also “a medium of border-crossing to set up as many expert communities as necessary in science, economics, education, etc...[ELF] cannot be seen as encroaching on established ‘roots’” (House 2003: 561).

Another disputed issue is that the use of English will result in changes to the native tongue of its speakers. For example, an Arab may start using English textual norms and styles that will eventually be integrated into Arabic. Thus, the language will become Anglicized. House’s three projects (2003) tentatively confirm her belief that textual German norms do not suffer from Anglicization, as evidenced in translations of texts into both languages. ELF speakers carry their native practices into ELF settings, and there is a tendency to prefer local language use in education where possible. ELF is thus regarded as a ‘hybrid language’. This is corroborated by Machin & van Leeuwen (2003).

Kibbee (2003: 52) also refutes the ecolinguists' belief that language change does not maintain the distinctions of the first language, labeling the ecolinguists' language equals species metaphor as 'misleading'. Languages are flexible and can incorporate and adopt the distinctions the speakers feel are important. With time, this will result in a new version of the language and eventually become a language in itself. He further refutes the belief that the current variety of languages will be replaced by one language as in the McDonalization of society: "Even if an international language did eliminate all other languages (an unimaginable occurrence) for a given period, this would not be the end of linguistic variation" as all languages originally developed from one or a few languages and the process could be repeated (53). Indeed, languages are outcomes of a constant organic social and cultural creative process.

The impact on languages does not only affect regional and local languages but also global languages. There is evidence of decline in importance and usage of the world's major languages (French, German, and Russian) under the influence of English (Tonkin 2003; Graddol 2006; Dörnyei *et al* 2006). Then why do countries not have policies that would curtail the impact of the English language? Why are measures not taken to buffer the impact of the English language on the local languages? Such attempts exist, as for example the French *Toubon law* (1994) which sought to restrict public space language use to French, but are ineffectual according to Graddol (2006). Crystal (2003) would argue for bilingualism as a buffer against language loss but many scholars believe that English cannot be challenged. The history of countries like Kenya, Tanzania, China, Malaysia, and the African continent demonstrates how power cannot be established if the English language is resisted or opposed in favor of maintaining a local language (Pennycook 1994). Thus, social and economic powers run in parallel with the acceptance of the English language.

The linguistic and cultural damage inflicted by globalization could be partially alleviated according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) by the equal application of Human Rights dictates. However, dominant countries can abuse ambiguity in wording that may serve as loopholes for unequal implementation of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) when they

should be imposed on all nations without exception (Skutnabb-Kangas 2001). In discussing these LHR, she claims that

we are still to see the right to education through the medium of the mother tongue become a human right. Denial of LHRs, linguistic and cultural genocide and forced assimilation through education are still characteristic of many states, notably in Europe and Neo-Europes (2001:211).

If this equality in LHR is not implemented, she predicts that there will be an increase in restlessness and inequality in handling of ethnic minorities and an increase in right wing affiliations and thus a blow to democracy with an increase in negative glocalization.

However, others would argue that not learning the international language handicaps the learner and limits chances of success. Phillipson (2001: 189) affirms this fear when he warns that

[i]n our contemporary world, 10–20% of the population are getting obscenely richer, the English speaking haves who consume 80% of the available resources, whereas the remainder are being systematically impoverished, the non-English-speaking have-nots.

Moreover, Kibbee (2003: 53) sees the attempt to preserve languages unnaturally as a new injustice, and as “a certain non-negligible element of neo-colonial paternalism.” The price of artificially preserving an endangered language, for example by the provision of formal education and government transactions in that language, it is claimed, would be too high in financial and human resource terms, even by developed country standards.

The protracted argument between Phillipson and Crystal reflects the tension between these two standpoints. Phillipson (1999: 274) condemns Crystal’s positive perception of the role of English as

...an uncritical endorsement of Capitalism, its science and technology, a modernisation ideology, monolingualism as a norm, ideological globalization and internationalization, transnationalization, and the Americanization and homogenisation of world culture, linguistic, culture, and media imperialism...

He also says that it necessitates the distinct endorsement of the English language and American culture at the detriment of other languages and cultures “...by means of the interlocking of linguistic imperialism with a system of production and ideologies that attempt to justify an economically expansionist and exploitative world order” (2001:193). In fact, Skutnabb-Kangas proposed *The Diffusion of Language Paradigm* be named the *Subtractive Spread of English paradigm* as it comes at a high price (Phillipson 2001). On

the other hand, Crystal (2003) repeatedly argues that even in first world countries, where there is no colonizer-colonizee relationship, resentment of the imposition of English is noticeable. This is a 'simplistic' reading for Crystal and merely one component of a much more complex situation, since English is also essential for establishing one's existence and goals in the world: English empowers minorities and the underprivileged.

3.2.2 Resentment of Dominant Languages and Affiliated Cultures

The dominance of certain languages and the cultures they are coupled with is seen as hegemonic. In fact, recently, many minority languages are asking to be heard internationally and in the local schooling system and this demand is

fueled by resentment against the monopoly of dominant languages....Dominant languages have often provoked jealousy if not resentment against their native speakers whose monolingual indifference sometimes passes for arrogance, while at times it may be simply due to diffidence (Mackey 2003: 73).

Language is also related to identity and when languages are threatened so is the identity of its speakers, which could result in ethnic strife. In fact, Skutnabb-Kangas (2001:203) warns that

[f]or most groups, their languages are core values in their identities and, together with more mundane economic and political causes, threats to identities seem to be decisive causal factors in a large number of conflicts, regardless of how fluid the identities may be. We do not live on bread (or rice or maize, as it may be) alone.

Even though according to Graddol (1997) the causal attribution of the deteriorating status of a certain language to the ascendancy of English need not be so direct, the policies restricting the use of English in public space signal the protectionism resulting from this association. The prediction that "[i]t would not be surprising if anti-English movements worldwide begin to associate language loss with the rise of global English" (Graddol 1997: 39) hence seems valid. Thus, Human Rights should include the right to language development and expression. It is because of such concerns that the learners Specter (1998) describes avoid native speaker proficiency and intentionally retain imperfections. LoCastro's study (2001) of Japanese students highlights Japanese students' unwillingness to engage in pragmatic norms in favor of retaining their native color.

Graddol (1997: 9) also implies an international resistance to the global hegemony of English when he discusses the decline of the spread of the French language which he notes is predominantly used

...because it retains a somewhat negative convenience in being 'not English,' particularly in Europe. It is the only alternative which can be used in international forums as a political gesture of resistance to the hegemony of English.

He cites a delegate in the League of Nations as saying "I can't speak my own language and I'll be damned if I'll speak English" (1997: 9). Graddol (2006) reports resistance to the current *de facto* privileged status of English in big corporations and certain government organizations. Nonetheless, it continues to gain ground, replacing the traditional second languages and boasting an increase in the number of EU citizens claiming they can speak the language (Graddol 2006).

The question of the ownership of English has been raised loudly over the last decades with statistics pointing to an increasing number of non-native speakers. Speaking of a Global English, Graddol (1997, 2006) notes that English has become the world's public property and is no longer associated with one country or economy. Ammon (2003) calls this worldwide English 'globalese'. In fact, Graddol (1997) estimates the number of native to non-native speakers of English at roughly 1 to 4 and thus the ownership of English is no longer confined to its native speakers. In fact, the native-speaker ranking for English has declined from second to fourth. The term *native speaker* has become insignificant and has been replaced by *ranges of proficiency* with more value apportioned to the number of speakers of English as a second language (Graddol 2006). The ever-increasing number of speakers of English as a second language may eventually result in their outnumbering native speakers and becoming more influential in determining developments in the English language than speakers of the 'inner circle,' i.e. 'native speakers'. Language predictions, however, are rather unreliable and inaccurate because of the scarcity of reliable statistics as well as the unpredictable nature of the dynamics of language evolution and change (Crystal 2000; Tonkin 2003; McConnell 2003).

3.2.3 Cultural and Linguistic Norm Imposition: Americanization / Cultural Homogeneity VS Diversity

Many scholars investigating the impact of language globalization emphasize that learning a language is not simply the learning of the grammar and the lexis but entails absorption of its culture, customs, and beliefs. Iredale (1984) states that “when people learn English, for whatever purpose and by whatever method, they acquire something of the flavor of our culture, our institutions, our ways of thinking and communication” (as cited in Phillipson 1992:12). In fact, this is why, according to Phillipson, aid is given: the British Council’s mission was to spread the English language and culture. Lloyd Fernando (1986 as cited in Pennycook 2001: 25) warns that “[i]t is not British culture which should be feared in South East Asia... It is rather certain Western habits of thinking which are now deeply infused in the language to which we must be much more alert.” In discussing the role of English in South Africa, Ndebele (1987) alerts readers that language carries attitudinal moral lenses and thus changes the speakers, making an international language an instrument of Western imperialism. Citing Mazrui’s (1975) argument that learning English equates with Westernization because language embraces ways of thinking and being of its speakers, Pennycook (1994) concludes that EIL frames a specific prevailing way of thinking and speaking and is therefore ideological.

Americanization is visible in many parts of the world today with many people dressing the same, acting the same, and talking the same. In fact, Ritzer (1996:1) calls this *McDonalization*. Flaitz (1988) warns that the Americanization of popular culture and academic / intellectual knowledge is ideological.

With Americanization comes the standardization of communication. For example, Cameron (2000: viii), speaks of a pervasive ‘communication culture’ in which communication is under the microscope and theorized. *Verbal hygiene* then becomes the standardization of what is accepted as correct or otherwise and more significantly, passes judgment, and translates into “setting the world to rights” (2000: viii). Cameron attributes this increased concern with and technological transformation of common talk, hitherto relatively unconstrained, to the developments accompanying and leading to globalization. In fact, Cameron argues that Giddens’ (1991) *expert systems* where technical knowledge and rules, transferred into areas formerly governed by traditional conventions and knowledge, have been carried over into communication (2000) and that language is both “an instrument as well as a tool of cultural change” (Cameron 2000: 3).

Whereas in the past it was language that was exported to third world countries, today it is American normative rules for effective communication, rules propelled by transnational corporations (Cameron 2002: 81).

Thus, Cameron (2002) validates linguistic imperialism but rather than the imposition of an international language, she is critical of linguistic and cultural ethnocentrism where the trend is to impose uniform interactional norms deemed most appropriate in any context, in the form of template speech acts. This 'new rhetoric of global communication' (70) shares with the linguistic imperialism framework the inequitable transfer of expertise from the 'dominant to the subaltern'. Cameron criticizes the concern with and teaching of communication skills for the resulting ideological prioritization of certain modes of thinking and behavior.

Cameron's justified concern with the ideological ethnocentric definition of effective communication and the standardization of language, 'universal desiderata', and 'universal routines' (Cameron 2002: 81) according to Western and American, mostly white, middle-class standards (Cameron 2002; Kramsch and Thorne 2002) is not atypical. Ritzer (1996) calls this *McCommunication*, a uniform form propagated as the most effective throughout the world. Cameron (1996: 36) calls it *verbal hygiene* and Fairclough (1995) the *technologization of discourse*. In short, the picture is of McDonaldized societies McCommunicating (Ritzer 1996; Block 2002), template people behaving in template manners.

However, Jay, (2001) argues that

[t]his is perhaps the crucial political question regarding globalization studies: is the real object of its fascination the triumph of Western culture or do the myriad pockets of globally produced cultures around the world simultaneously receive and transform the commodities and styles of the Western culture in a way that resists such homogenization?(39)

He concurs with Appadurai (1996) that different cultures do not simply absorb Western influences but also have the options of appropriation and resistance. Moreover, the nature of different cultures' appropriation and transformation of Western material and immaterial input is also bidirectional as the products are themselves transformed.

Certainly, influence is bidirectional; however, it is also notably more powerful in the direction of standardization and homogenization.

The Diffusion of Language Paradigm followers, however, believe that cultures are fluid and not bound to particular nations or geographic frontiers. Rather, in spite of globalization and the linguistic standardization it is claimed to promote, cultures tend “...to survive and mutate in diasporic pockets thriving within the borders of multiple countries...” (Jay 2001: 8). Equally important, the

culture of English is so thoroughly hybridized, so inexorably based on complex exchanges among these various cultural traditions, that it is getting even more difficult to identify a dominant Western discourse that is not being subordinated to, and shaped by, this accelerating mix of sources and discourses from outside Britain and the United States (Jay 2001: 8- 9).

Thus, for some scholars, the Western culture with which the outside world comes into contact is an amalgam and not a tangible exported entity. This international flow of tangibles and intangibles is a main characteristic of a globalized world which, according to Appadurai (2001:5) is “a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion. These objects include ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques. This is a world of flows” With these increased global cultural flows naturally languages also circulate and become less strictly coupled with a particular nation or community.

This view of culture as deterritorialized and fluid is concurrent with globalization and guards against homogenization. The United States “is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one mode of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes” (Appadurai 1996: 39). The homogenizing input is paralleled by a trend in diversity as globalization is received differently in different parts of the world and “seems to create new, hybrid forms of culture, language and political organization: the results of global influences meeting local traditions, values and social contexts” (Graddol 1997: 33). Appadurai (1996:11) shares this input adaptation viewpoint as “[g]lobalization is not the story of cultural homogenization but a deeply historical, uneven, and even *localizing* process.”

In a study of rap in Japan, Pennycook (2003) argues that language appropriation does not construct a set (Americanized) identity. Rip Slyme performs his identity through appropriation of rap and English, creating raplish, of which he is the native speaker. Pennycook defines *performativity* as “the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity” (2003:528). This postmodernist approach considers that people are who they are because of the way they talk and not the other way around. Thus, English is regarded not as a set natural structure but as “sedimentation of semiotic (re)constructions” (Pennycook 2003: 528). Similarly, identity is not something that already exists as an entity but a performative act performed through several mediums, among which are language varieties. Thus, global English becomes the performance of new identities as “English is used to perform, invent and (re)fashion identities across borders” (528- 529).

But is this performance with a taint of Western characteristics? Universal routines and McCommunication are indeed what is evidenced in many local contexts. In Lebanon, for example, our English courses at AUB mostly define effective communication according to Western native speaker standards. On campus, student communication is characterized by an American accent and use of expressions and structures typical of western youth culture probably absorbed from the media, as for example, *dude*, *man* and the excessive use of the word *like*. The ‘native-speaker’ teacher is more valued and empowered than the communicatively competent ‘non-native’ speaker.

Several scholars discuss the development of a dual identity to enable life within two different and sometimes conflicting cultures. Syed, for example, notes how students in Western countries have to live in and reconcile two different cultures and have “membership in at least two worlds” (Syed 2001: 130). Arnett (2002: 777) speaks of the development of a “... *bicultural identity*, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture” (original italics) resulting from globalization. Multicultural global identity might be a more accurate term, however, to reflect the fluid amalgam which currently circulates in the global communities.

In chapter 1, I have showed that Lebanon is a conflicted country with many turbulent daily occurrences. The USA, and to a lesser degree England, are regarded as players in Lebanon's conflicts and predicament. Chapters 2 and 3 have discussed the importance of attitudes towards globalization, the TLC and TL for the SLL. Even though English may not be directly related to a specific TLC and has become public property, when the stakes are as high as they are in Lebanon, attitudes towards English and the TLC may impact on the learner. That is why my study investigates these relationships. The following chapter presents my research questions, research instruments, sample, and methods of data analysis.

Chapter 4: Research Methods and Procedures

The previous chapters discussed the literature on language attitudes, motivation and globalization with its concomitant power issues. This chapter will present some problems I hypothesize may or may not result from these givens and the current Lebanese language learning context. It presents my research questions and a discussion of the research methods I used to answer these questions to determine whether the socio-political macro context negatively impacted attitudes towards the TL and the TLC community.

4.1 Research Questions

To attempt to reach a conclusion, I formulated the following research questions:

1. Are students motivated to learn English?
2. What motivates students to learn English?
3. How do students regard the English language?
4. How does English being a world language affect student motivation to learn the language?
5. Are there negative feelings towards the TLC? If so, do they affect the perceived motivation to learn the second language?
6. For the SLL, does the political context which is characterized by anti-Americanism and suspicion of the West carry over to the English language and the language community?

4.2 Research Methods

The choice of data collection methods depends on multiple variables but must be aligned with both the researcher's attitudes as positivist or interpretivist as well as the topic being investigated. Even though in discussing possible options for attitude 'measurement,' Baker (1992) suggests document analysis, content analysis and interviews and Dörnyei suggests observation, interviews or authentic documents (2001: 193), the first concern remains whether to use quantitative or qualitative methods in data collection, particularly since the tradition in motivation research has been in favor of the former approach.

4.2.1 Quantitative vs. Qualitative Approaches

Much of the research on attitudes and motivation in second language learning has been quantitative. LoCastro (2001) acknowledges the value of the contributions made by Gardner and his colleagues but also reminds us that for Schmidt *et al* (1996) studies relying on a quantitative approach have limited progress potential while “[r]esearch adopting qualitative techniques or a multi-dimensional methodology may generate insights into language learning closer to learners' views and interpretations” (73). In fact, research in the last decade has also brought into question the efficacy of the traditional methods of motivational research which are thought to be incapable of representing the intricacy of language learning (Lamb 2004: 3). This call for more qualitative research is echoed by many researchers (Skehan 1991; Spolsky 2000; Dörnyei 2001b; Lamb 2004; Li 2006). For Pintrich and Schunk (2002: 11), a strength of qualitative research is that it may elicit new queries and provide new takes on the old questions. Ushioda (2001) has argued that qualitative or interpretative approaches, involving in-depth and long-term study of individuals' thinking are especially appropriate where motivation is conceived of as context-dependent, multifaceted, and dynamic.

Different researchers justify the call for more qualitative research with different reasons. LoCastro (2001) suggests that new studies need to better address student needs and identity construction in speech and in writing, in order to inform a teaching pedagogy which is more contextualized and appropriate. Li's (2006) findings from qualitative studies tend to better reflect the non-static nature of attitudes which he found in his respondents.

Several scholars favor qualitative research because an imposition of the researcher's agenda is more probable in quantitative research. Thus, Skehan (1989: 285) acknowledges the need to “go beyond questionnaires, which are necessarily constrained by the agendas as seen by the researcher” and calls for more open-ended techniques. Others have questioned the validity of quantitative approaches in investigating attitudes and motivation. One of them is Lamb (2004: 15), who affirms that the stage is now ready for qualitative approaches which

may be more productive than quantitative, because the identification processes being proposed are by definition highly context-sensitive, and as Hickey (1997: 182) has said, 'self-report measures, particularly Likert-style scales....don't capture the full range of responses, making different contexts appear more similar than they really are.

In fact, other researchers have questioned the precision of questionnaires when it came to quantitative measurement of attitudes. In discussing his 1969 studies, Spolsky (2000) remarked that he "... was suspicious of the reliability of direct questionnaires for ascertaining integrativeness or instrumentality, motivation or orientation" and talks of "the trap in much social and psychological research which smugly reports correlations and patterns in the answers to questionnaires" (as cited in Baker 1992: 160). In a study by Spolsky and Cooper (1991), Cooper insisted on observation to compliment questionnaires and surveys which later focused more on the use of interviews (Spolsky 2000) and affirmed the need for triangulation of methods. In fact, Spolsky (2000: 160) affirms that "the interviews follow protocols that enable us to explore attitudes and opinions while we are gathering 'hard' data of linguistic performance at the microlinguistic level."

Discussing Kalaja and Leppanen's (1998) call for a comprehensive methodology, Spolsky adds that the traditional questionnaire methodology "is limited....and unable to tackle the complexity, variability and 'situatedness' of motivation" (2000: 163). Spolsky questions the value of questionnaires:

To attempt to reduce their orientation, attitude, and motivation to a single scale is clearly a distortion.... They [questionnaires] remain the bare skeleton, as unlikely to account for the complexity of language practices and ideology as a simple formula... Knowing that language is the kind of knowledge that Code (1991) characterized as contextualized, dynamic, and reciprocal, depending on the context in which it is learned... (2000: 165).

Li (2006) also notes that qualitative studies tend to better reflect the changing nature of attitudes.

On another level, Baker (1992: 161) was "afraid that direct questionnaires somehow permitted subjects to disguise their 'real' attitudes and hoped that an indirect approach would get closer to 'true' attitudes." He claims that in later research he relied more on

...long interviews that give us an opportunity to explore in conversation and through stories and anecdotes the attitudes, identities, and ideologies of our subjects and to gather reports of language use in various domains and with various members of their social network. This approach guarantees the multi-methodological data, the triangulation as it were, that builds our confidence in the results (162).

Dörnyei and Schmidt (2001: IX) also underscore the need for qualitative research on motivational aspects of L2 learning:

... we consider it a significant step in research on motivation in second and foreign language learning that traditional quantitative research methodologies are increasingly complemented by qualitative approaches. The qualitative studies in this book provide firm evidence that various interpretative approaches are very well suited to the investigation of motivational dynamics and motivational thinking and will hopefully inspire more research in this vein.

Likewise, McGroarty (2001: 87) states that context specific motivation issues necessitate use of qualitative approaches to supplement quantitative approaches. In short, the call for investigating attitudes and motivation through qualitative methods makes sense and is widely supported.

The primary reason why I personally chose a qualitative approach was that expressed by Baker who was suspicious that questionnaires enabled respondents to conceal their attitudes while longer discussions could circumvent this (1992:161). I believe that in depth discussion makes possible further probing and provides richer data. Another reason I opted for a qualitative approach is my firm belief that attitudes, identities, and reality are not static but fluid and co-constructed. Closed ended questions or scales may overlook the complexity of participants' perception of their and others' reality, identities, or attitudes.

However, in qualitative research, the role of the researcher is not only more significant but also more involved, thus necessitating a conscious foregrounding of who and what the researcher is.

4.2.2 The Researcher

The role of the researcher and his/ her personal baggage are significant in qualitative research which tends to be more subjective than quantitative research. The subjectivity of the researcher, however, is not to be equated with contamination since it could be contributory (Peshkin 1988: 18) and welcomed (Allan 1995), but needs to be conscious and foregrounded (Allan 1995: 66).

Gee (2005: 139) argues that “[s]ocially situated identities are mutually co-constructed in interviews, just as they are in everyday conversations.” In a sense, therefore, the interviewer and interviewee construct the interview, allowing for the production of a socially situated identity that is shaped in and through language. Gee does not consider the researcher’s role to be transparent since s/he is a part of this social construction, which however, does not distort the ‘reality’ but co-constructs it. Because the researcher needs to foreground what his/her concerns and beliefs are, I will present what I believe is relevant information about myself.

I am a good example of a multicultural multilingual individual as I have lived most of my life in different countries throughout the world ever since I was a child. As I grew up, I learned many languages as we moved from one country to the other; therefore I consider myself to be a good language learner. My first language is English because that is the language I studied in throughout my school and college years, and my mother tongue (Arabic) is my second language. However, I see myself as an Arab and pride myself of my Arab identity. I see the power of English as a prominent force in our world today and believe that it is a means of indirect control. I do not however believe that it infringes on national identity and destroys my “Arabness” since I could perform my Arabness in English, Chinese, or any language for that matter.

Therefore, I approached this research with some reservation about the Americanization of the younger generation, but I do not hold language accountable for that. It is for me part of the new global identity and English is one way of performing that identity. I agree with Gee’s perception of language as political, but not in the current connotation of political. To Gee (2005: 2) politics means

how *social goods* are thought about, argued over, and distributed in society. ‘Social goods’ are anything that a group of people believes to be a source of power, status, value, or worth, whether this be ‘street smarts,’ academic intelligence, money, control, possessions, verbal abilities, ‘looks,’ age, wisdom, knowledge, technology, literacy, morality, ‘common sense,’ and so on through another very long list.

Thus language, which is political, is recruited on site for the performance of identity. For me this identity is increasingly a global one that is aware of how significant language is, among other new skills, for a successful global career. Thus, I come to this research

with a belief that language is a tool that is political in Gee's sense but maybe not in the traditional connotation of political.

4.3 Selected Research Methods

In 2004, I conducted a pilot study with five semi-structured interviews. After the interviews, I decided that it may be useful to conduct both individual and focus group interviews to weed out the potential differences in both interviews. Moreover, I decided to make my role slightly less obtrusive in the interviews, allowing the participants more leeway in leading the conversation.

After much deliberation and extensive reading in the literature, I decided to collect data through the following modes:

- Individual interviews
- Focus group interviews
- Student writings

I hoped that the different kinds of data collection methods would provide a variety of types of data and that this triangulation would ensure an in depth understanding of participants' attitudes.

I chose to use both focus group interviews and individual interviews. Through the focus group interviews, I hoped to get input from different perspectives in an informal discussion, thus enabling me to assess how stable the voiced beliefs were. In other words, I hoped students would challenge or support the other respondents' standpoint and thus encourage a defense and more justification or retraction, which would enrich the data. I personally felt that more data could be unearthed in a focus group interview since participants would catalyze each other's feelings and thoughts. Anti-Americanism is regarded as a contentious issue these days in the Arab world. In a focus group interview, the voices of the young generation and their attitudes would be catalyzed by their own insiders' perception. More importantly, group interviews could help me neutralize my role as an English teacher which could cause students to modify their stance to please me or to express the 'right' answer.

The individual interviews were also semi-structured and followed the same conditions of the group interviews. I would let the participant take the ideas as far as possible and expand as long as the content was relevant. Through the individual interviews, I hoped to be able to probe individual attitudes and perceptions more deeply. I hoped that through the individual interviews, I would allow the participants to air their own personal opinions and attitudes without obstruction from others. Most importantly, the individual interviews aimed to function as a check against the group interviews in which individuals could be influenced by the group. Attitudes, opinions, and perspectives expressed in a group could differ from those expressed by an individual and thus individual interviews could provide different insights.

4.3.1 Interview Schedule

My final research instrument consisted of a very loose (semi-structured) interview schedule consisting of 17 questions (see Appendix A).

The sections were organized thematically for practical reasons because it helped me cover the important areas with a high degree of flexibility and in a relaxed atmosphere, even though the amount of data was somewhat overwhelming. The questions on the interview schedule were used as guides for points I wanted to cover. Therefore, wording that seems to be leading was not used unless they resulted from the discussion. This can be illustrated by the words *lose* and *anti-Americanism* both of which were preceded by a discussion of relevant issues. If the issue of loss or anti-Americanism came up, then these words were used. In other words, the questions were guidelines for my areas of interest but the wording used came out of the discussion itself.

To determine whether respondents were motivated to learn English, six questions were asked, among which were whether they felt it was important to study English and why and why they were personally studying English. To probe what motivated them to learn English, I asked what they would lose if they did not study English. Some of the interview questions tackled both the first and second research questions.

I elicited data on how students perceived the English language through a free association question where respondents were asked to say the first words that came to their mind when I said the word *English*. I hoped that if there were any negative or positive feelings or attitudes, these would be exposed.

The question of what role they perceived English to play in the world today and why they were studying the language also covered the first three research questions. To answer the fourth research question participants were also asked what role they thought English was playing in the world today and how they felt about speaking it. To assess how they felt towards the TLC students were asked to respond by free association to the words America and Americans and England and British. To answer the question relating to whether their feelings towards the TLC affected their motivation to learn the language, participants were asked whether anti-Americanism in the Arab world affected their desire to learn the language, naturally if and when that arose from a discussion of attitudes towards the TLC.

Questions on whether they believed that language controlled thoughts and whether they believed in linguistic imperialism were held to the end of the interview because of their loaded nature and were included when and if the discussion lead to them.

4.4 Research Timetable

My first source of data was a report written by one of my students and arose from a class discussion of business writing in which I presented the prescribed style and tone with which my student disagreed. The result of this discussion was the birth of my interest in the topic and the student's desire to write a report on the topic. I think it is very important that this topic was entirely generated by the student and reflected his own interest in the topic (see section 5.1).

Interview data was collected in two phases, one conducted from December 2004 to January 2005 and the other in October 2006 (see Table 5). All interviews were conducted at the beginning of the semester prior to any instruction or student contact with me, particularly since some of the material in my courses could modify student expression of

attitudes and beliefs; in fact, two of the units in Academic English related to Arab identity and multiculturalism and could have predisposed the participants to respond in a particular way.

Table 5: Interview Time Table

Interview	Date	No. of Participants	Male	Female	Course
Focus 1	December 21, 2004	3	0	3	208
Focus 2	December 22, 2004	6	3	3	203
Focus 3	December 23, 2004	6	4	2	203
Focus 4	January 10, 2005	4	2	2	203
Focus 5	January 11, 2005	5	2	3	208
Individual	December 21 – January 14	7	2	5	3/203 4/208
Focus 6	October 12, 2006	4	2	2	208
Focus 7	October 13, 2006	3	0	3	203
Focus 8	October 13, 2006	6	2	4	208
Focus 9	October 17, 2006	4	3	1	208
Individual	October 12 – October 17, 2006	5	3	2	3/203 2/208
Total		53	23	30	
Total Focus Group Interviews: 9					
Total Individual interviews: 12					

The second data set, consisting of student writing, was collected mostly during these two phases (December 2004 to February 2005 and September - October 2006) except for a set of essays in 2004, a report in 2004 and a critique in 2005 (See Table 6)

Table 6: Writing Samples

Type of writing	Date	No. of Participants	Course
Essay 1	September 29, 2004	56	203
Essay 2	February 11, 2005	28	203
Letter	September 29, 2004	49	208
Report	January 4, 2004	1	208
Critique	May 17, 2005	38	203
Total 203: 122			
Total 208: 50			
Total: 172			

On September 29, 2004 and February 11, 2005 my students wrote an essay or a letter depending on which course they were registered in on the following prompt:

What is the role of the English language in our world today? How do you personally feel about that? In your opinion, what are the consequences of English being such an important language? Why are you personally studying English?

Students taking English for International Business Communication were asked to format their text as a letter. These samples were collected at the beginning of the semester prior to any instruction.

On May 17, 2005 my Academic English students wrote a critique of a text which discusses American sentiments towards Arabs. The critique also arose out of the regular classroom proceedings and provided insight into student attitudes towards Americans since it allowed them to accept or reject the opinions voiced in the text. This data set, however, was not used as part of my data and was not quoted in chapter 5. It was used primarily to verify the themes in my data (see section 4.8).

4.5 Sample for the Research

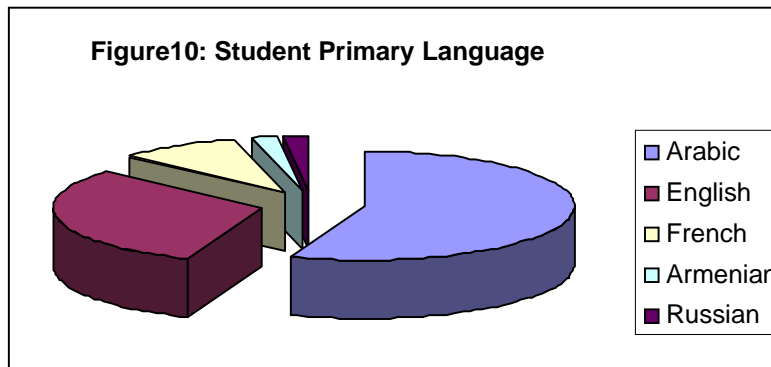
All participants in the research were my students. All participants were students at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. The 53 interviewed participants volunteered to participate in the research: 29 were females and 24 males. As for the sample for the written texts, there were 172 students, 79 female and 93 male, for the written samples. In total, the sample consisted of a total of 225 participants with a total of 109 females and 116 males. In the interviews, 28 of the participants were English 208 students while 25 were English 203 students (see Appendix B). Ages ranged from 18 – 21.

The ethnic and religious backgrounds of my self selected sample cannot be quantified because, in the Lebanese context, inquiring about such backgrounds could be problematic and could result in lack of cooperation or resistance on behalf of the participants. However, the AUB student population includes all sections of the Lebanese community and, therefore, it could be argued that the sample was representative of the Lebanese population.

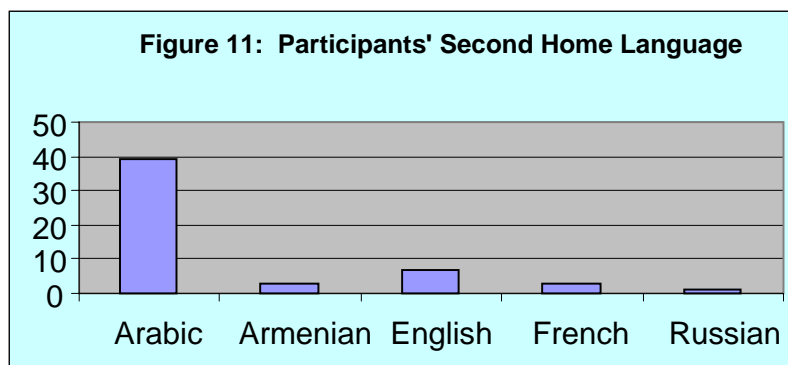
The students in the sample, prompted by their parents, had probably decided some years back that they would like to attend an English medium University. Biographic data was collected for the interview participants (see Appendix C). 64.2% of the participants'

primary education was in English while 75.5% of their secondary education was in English. Most of the students had thus been educated in English in Primary school. The slight increase from Primary School to Secondary in the number of students being taught through the English medium, could probably be attributed to their need to improve English proficiency as university entrance was drawing closer.

The participants' first language included many languages but favored mostly Arabic with 30 out of 53 of the respondents claiming Arabic as their first language, 16 English, 5 French, 1 Armenian and 1 Russian. Thus even though French is Lebanon's colonial language, it came in third as the perceived primary language whereas English came in second.

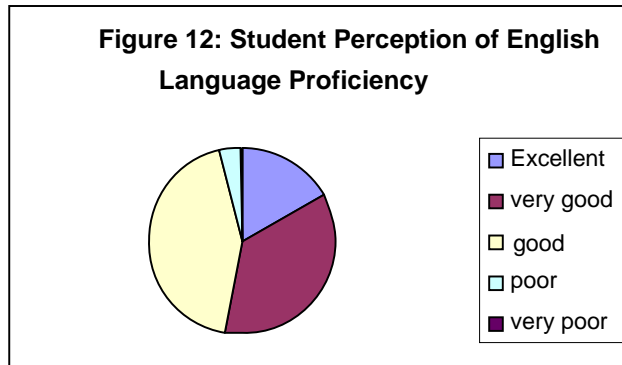


The sample illustrates Lebanon's multilingual nature: only 6 out of 53 respondents spoke one language (Arabic) at home. 90.6% of the students spoke a second language at home and that language was English (52.8%), Arabic (22.6%), French (15.1), or Armenian or Spanish (1.9%), with one student speaking Russian.



As for the number of years students had studied English, it is significant to note that 38 / 53 (71.7%) of the participants had studied it at school for more than 12 years.

The majority of the students ranked themselves as ‘good’ at English with nine classifying themselves as excellent, 19 as very good, 23 as good, 2 as poor and none as very poor.



All the participants were my students and were taking a compulsory English course. However, those registered in Academic English (English 203) were taking a required course for all university students with little relevance to their major, while those taking English for International Business Communication (English 208) had more vested interests in the course because it was directly related to their major and thus their future career. The sample size itself is not large.

4.6 Interview Conditions and Location

I personally collected all the data; the interviews were conducted in my office and the written assignments in class. This had several advantages and disadvantages. As for the advantages, when the researcher collects his/her own data

- chances for misunderstanding are minimized
- participants can ask for clarification
- the researcher can note non-verbal signs (May 2001).

Nevertheless, especially since I was an English teacher, students may have felt pressured to respond in an English-friendly manner. I, however, tried to minimize this by my opening statement informing students that participation was optional and not related to the course. The casual informal setting was enhanced by the availability of cookies and a pot of hot coffee. I aimed for an environment of openness and relaxation which I hoped would be conducive to more meaningful interaction and thus richer data. They were also

assured anonymity and confidentiality. Throughout I tried as much as possible to let the conversation take its own course.

All the interviews were recorded with a small tape recorder with an inbuilt microphone placed in a relatively unobtrusive position. In many instances, participants initially seemed intimidated by the presence of the tape recorder but I assured them that it was strictly for accuracy and that only I would have access to the recordings. Eventually the participants became less attentive of the recorder as they got involved in the discussion. Using a tape recorder allowed me to have an accurate record of all the discussions with all the pauses, hesitations, glides, and so on. It also allowed me to pay more attention to and record the nonverbal signals.

At the beginning of the interviews, I told participants that I was conducting research on attitudes towards the English language and asked them to fill out information sheets about the language in which their primary and secondary education was conducted and the first and second languages spoken at home (see Appendix B). I initiated the actual interview with a question where participants were asked to say anything that came to mind when I said the word 'English,' hoping to elicit free association and to break the ice. After this ice breaker, I attempted to stay in the background as much as possible, allowing the discussion to take the turn participants wanted it to. However, I also directed the interview with the questions on my interview schedule whenever the discussion became irrelevant and made sure I covered as many of the questions on my list as possible.

In the October 2006 phase of interviews, Lebanon was recovering from an Israeli attack that destroyed much of the infrastructure and main bridges connecting different parts of the country. I began my focus group interviews with a discussion of pictures of Lebanon (see Appendix D), among which were two blaming the USA for the Israeli attack that summer (see Figures 1 and 2). I asked students to discuss these pictures to note if they themselves actually attributed blame to the USA for the Israeli executed invasion. Attribution of blame may impact on student attitudes towards the TLC and hence motivation to learn the language.

In short, data was collected in a very informal relaxed atmosphere allowing for all possible views.

4.7 Ethical Concerns

Even though I tried to avoid ethical transgressions by for example obtaining students' informed consent for participation in the interviews, there was one issue that was always on my mind. I was fearful that by discussing the power of English and the implications of linguistic imperialism, anti-Americanism, and so on, I might be disseminating these negative thoughts in the interviewees' minds. Therefore, I was always on the look-out for any possible negative influence which could be attributed to me, as well as for signs of my intrusive potential as the researcher, which I continually sought to minimize, particularly through word choice in my questions. I tried as much as possible to let the students themselves voice their own thoughts and to neutralize potentially loaded questions by formulating them in the third person. For example, instead of saying simply "Do you believe there is currently a wave of anti-Americanism in Lebanon and the Middle East?" I would say, "What you are describing signals that there is currently a wave of anti-Americanism in Lebanon and the Middle East. Do you agree with that?" but only after general questions about their feelings and attitudes towards American and Americans.

Another ethical concern was confidentiality. Since I was the only one who had access to the recorded interviews, I was able to guarantee student confidentiality and I used pseudonyms in place of respondents' real names in reporting the data. However, the sensitive nature of some of the information and discussion remained potentially problematic, particularly in the politically charged Lebanese context. For example, voicing an anti-American stance in Lebanon would signal political alignment with one of the Lebanese political factions. One of my roles was therefore to keep the discussion as focused on language as possible and to avoid overly sensitive discussions that could 'incriminate' or harm respondents. The socio-political context was highly charged with many of the participants affiliated with political factions who were in conflict or collaboration with other parties.

My membership as an instructor in an American institution investigating attitudes towards the English language in a context I believed to be permeated with anti-Americanism seemed paradoxical and raised another ethical concern. In fact, I sometimes felt that I may have been promoting feelings and attitudes that clashed with my allegiance to my workplace. However, throughout, I made sure participants realized I was discussing issues on a general level, and not my personal beliefs which were neutral.

4.8 Data Analysis

There were many subtle meanings that induced me to use discourse analysis. I chose to analyze my data through two means: thematic analysis and discourse analysis. I used thematic analysis to organize my data under thematic categories. Gee recommends that the researcher initially examine one selection / piece of data for emerging themes. I decided to begin my analysis with the English 208 report that initially triggered my interest in the topic. I read through the report several times and noted emerging themes in the margin. I then applied this same analysis to different data sets, refining the themes and merging and splitting themes according to my data. I color coded the data according to theme and source (see Appendix E). Different data sets were printed on different color paper. The themes were also color-coded. The critiques were mainly used to validate the themes.

I opted to apply Gee's discourse analysis approach (2005) to analyze my data for multiple reasons. First, I concur with Gee, and many other discourse analysts for that matter, on the significance and meaningfulness of linguistic details. On a second level, I also believe that identity and reality are negotiated, constructed in our social world and Gee provides the tools for the analysis of language in use, negotiating and constructing meaning. Gee's approach (2005) was used to analyze both the *formal* (lexico-grammatical) as well as the discorsal aspects of my data. For the formal analysis, I mostly followed the approach presented in Gee's appendices but also relied on common sense.

Gee (2005) identifies seven building tasks that language in use constructs in communication: *significance, activities, identities, politics, relationships, connections*

and *sign systems and knowledge*. What follows is a brief summary of Gee's *seven building tasks* and his tools for discourse analysis.

The way we speak and act gives meaning or value to our world, or what Gee labels as *significance*. For example, if a doctor tells his patient that his smoking is endangering his health, the doctor would be attributing harmful significance to the act of smoking on the individual's health. People use *activities* to be perceived / recognized the way they want to be perceived. In other words, we enact certain activities through language which becomes a venue for self enactment. For example, if the chairperson is conversing in a room with the faculty and then moves to the head of the table and says, "I call this meeting to order," his behavior and use of language enacts the social activity of chairing a meeting. *Identities* take place in and through language. For example, as a teacher, I present myself as an authoritative facilitator in the classroom in and through language. When I go back home, the identity I enact is that of a nurturing mother. In my community, I present myself as an ambitious and motivated career woman who juggles a full time job and a full time family. However, in certain settings, I am more of the female and in others, I am more the motivated career woman and all of these states of being are enacted through language.

Language signals current desirable and potential *relationships* we want in our interactions in groups and institutions. For example, if I received an email from one of my students with the salutation, "Hey miss! How are u??!!!!? Can I c you 2morrow?" and I responded with the following:

Dear Sami:

Please check my office hours online on Moodle.

I would be signaling to Sami that our relationship is formal and that he should keep it that way. Hence, we enact relationships through language.

To Gee, *politics* refers to the distribution of goods, our perception of which is encoded in the construction of what we want to say. For example, if the departmental chair were dividing office space using cubicles to accommodate the increasing number of teachers and said, "Part time instructors will be moving to the new rooms with cubicles," it could be inferred that s/he privileges full-timers over part timers.

Through language we create or sever relationships and relevance of one thing to the other: we make *connections*. For example, Gee sees a connection between language and how we represent ourselves or how we want others to perceive our identity. He uses language to show the relevance of language and identity performance: Language does not merely convey meaning but is also a means of conveying who and what we are.

Languages (French, English) or language varieties or registers (medical, technical, or global youth culture language) and semiotic language (visual images) are *sign systems and knowledge*. In our use of language, we can create significance for a certain sign system and vice versa. In the email example above, I *disprivileged* the informal internet language and abbreviations. Likewise, we can privilege a certain kind of knowledge. In academic English, for example, religion is not considered a suitable form of concrete evidence. In the literature review, I narrated an incident where I valued the Western business language style over local alternatives. The way I personally teach, privileges visual images.

People use language to build these seven building tasks. The analyst can use several tools of inquiry to analyze how language in use builds significance. One of these is *social language*, the styles or versions of language that we use for different purposes. For example, as an English teacher, I would avoid using technical jargon to explain Communication Theory when talking to Freshmen students about group work. When talking to my Business Communication students, I would use that technical jargon. Again, the language I use to tell my son what the proper communication practices are would be different.

Discourses with a capital D are ways of *doing and being*, how we enact our identities through how we talk, behave, communicate and so on and what we believe. A rap singer, for example, would use rap language, beat, and so on in his/her songs but would not use business language and wear a three piece suit while singing.



Intertextuality is the allusion to other texts, whether other people's speech or writing, through allusions, quotations, or reference. For example, I made many references to many scholars in the review of literature.

Conversations are national, social, or group themes or issues under discussion by the different social groups or our society at large. These social conversations are recruited for the interpretation or conveying of meaning. Thus, figuring out which social Conversation is involved in a particular text is useful to the analyst.

Situated meanings refers to language in context. The reflexive relationship between language and context implies that how we encode meaning is acted / molded by the context which in turn influences how and what we perceive the context to be. Meaning for Gee is grounded in and interacts with the context, and our perception of the context is grounded in the meaning we give it. Thus, whereas a word can have multiple meanings, the situated meaning is the only meaning in that particular context. In the example above, when the chairperson in a room says, "I call this meeting to order," all individuals in the room would sit down and know the rules of when to speak and when to vote. The context decides which meaning we choose from the many existing possibilities.

Discourse Models (DM) are the meanings or patterns we associate with words. DMs have recognizable patterns and are like stereotypes that simplify what is in our world to facilitate meaning making. For example, the DM for the word *bag* is small, pockets, fastening mechanism, different design, leather, colors. They reflect the DM of the bag as an accessory worn with clothing. If in the workplace an employee says, "I can't find my bag," others would probably foreground the pattern for a briefcase: rectangular shape, pockets, straps, etc. Words are linked with situated meanings and DMs are "theories (storylines, images, explanatory frameworks) that people hold, often unconsciously, and use to make sense of the world and their experiences in it" (Gee, 2005: 61). They function to *routinize, normalize* situated meanings. In short, DMs are a prefabricated template of what certain discourses comprise or for that matter do not involve or eliminate, and are present in the "social practice of Discourse" (Gee, 2005: 68). I will be referring to my students' DMs in chapter 5.

The following chapter presents an analysis of my data using the two tools of thematic analysis and discourse analysis. I made use of the following notational devices in the transcripts.

... hearable pause	 : interruption	naturally : falling pitch
... .. long pause	 : overlap	naturally : emphatic
... .. very long pause	naturally : rising pitch	NATURALLY: more emphatic
[.....]omission	theeee: glide	NATURALLY : very emphatic

Reference to data from the different sets is made through the following abbreviations:

Focus 1: [F1]
 Focus 2: [F2]
 Focus 3: [F3]
 Focus 4: [F4]
 Focus 5: [F5]
 Individual Interviews, December 21, 2004 – January 14, 2005: [I1]
 Focus 6: [F6]
 Focus 7: [F7]
 Focus 8: [F8]
 Focus 9: [F9]
 Individual Interviews, October 12, 2006 – October 17, 2006: [I2]

Essay 1: [E1]

Essay 2: [E2]

Letter: [L]

Chapter 5: Student Perceptions of the Role of the English Language: Attitudes and Motivation

Some major themes made themselves evident in all the different data sets. These themes, which include student perception of the role of the English language and the positive and negative impact of that role, and students' perception of what motivates them to study English as well as their attitudes towards the TLC and TL, are discussed in this chapter. Before proceeding, however, I will discuss the report which initially triggered my interest in the topic.

5.1 Speak Up

In January 2004 a student in Business English questioned my prioritization of Western standards for writing a claim letter over the reality characterizing the Lebanese business culture. He requested permission to write his report on language and power as a result of the ensuing class discussion. I conceded even though the choice of topics was originally restricted to either a specific business or a business issue in Lebanon because of the profound insight in the student's arguments and because he was up to the challenge of writing a demanding report. In short, this report topic arose from the classroom context and was completely student generated, signaling genuine interest on the student's part.

Even though strictly speaking this report is not part of my data, I will discuss it below because it triggered my interest in the topic and reflected the themes that naturally arose from the research context and later from my data. It also illustrates my data analysis.

The title of the report is *Speak Up: A Study of Linguistic Imperialism*. From the very beginning the author refers to the *DM* of linguistic imperialism which in the transmittal memo is also related to other words and phrases that contextually could be associated with imperialism: *English language's hegemony, iron grip, English language's control or more accurately mediation, a tool of power, key to significant success and advancement, dependence on English, significant power, American power, domination, and so on*. The *situated meaning* of these words all relate to imperialism as a concept, to

power, and the imposition of power, where those in power impose, control and dominate subjects that are suppressed, controlled, and manipulated.

These situated meanings may be placed under three categories:

Table 7: Categories of Associations

Power	USA / America	English
Domination	American power	English language's hegemony
Control of others	Force behind linguistic imperialism	English language's domination
Money	Shape and define science and technology	English language's control/mediation
Resources	Publication, consequent studies and research	Tool of linguistic imperialism
Domination over	Relates its hip pop-culture, its music, its books and its general lifestyle to the English language	Key to any significant success and advancement
Significant power lays within us	Makes these values appealing	Key to global power, influence, markets
Force		Key to power
Makes		Dependence on English
Shapes		A necessity
Affected		Iron grip
Dominance		The language's grip
Global power		No signs of frailty
Grip over modern business		Forced
Forced		Enable them access to
		English's superiority
		Its direct dominance over
		Hexed by the English language
		Hex
		A tool
		Mandatory
		Tool of power

These three DMs of power, the USA, and the English language reflect competition in the world for power and its maintenance, a world in which power decides who controls whom, with the former determining and controlling access to social goods on which the individual and national success potential depends. The *Conversation* of West, the power of the West, its ability to impose, force, and control versus third world countries which it controls is also clear. Life in this situated meaning is a battle for survival. Third world countries are subjugated and dependent on the resources of the developed countries. In fact, the

Americans are achieving through linguistic imperialism what millennia of civilization sought. America has swept the world and nestled in every nook. Wherever you roam, you are still within its grasp; we study at its educational institutes, we wear its clothes, read its books, and watch its movies. We live America whether we like it or not; America has become borderless.

America's powerful domination is described as pervasive and apparently unavoidable through the grammatical structures the author employs. The declarative sentences present claims and argumentative facts. In the first sentence Americans are the actors and the verb of the sentence is *are achieving* in the continuous time. The object of the verb is a complex noun phrase, *what millennia of civilization sought*. *Linguistic imperialism* could have been placed in several places in this sentence but most commonly at the end of the sentence. Its placement after the verb emphasizes the significance of the role of linguistic imperialism in the achievement since here it functions as the tool for this achievement. The actor is the same in the sentence that follows but the sentence itself is shorter. The actor here is responsible for two actions: *swept* and *nestle*. The situated meaning of *sweep* is to "*pass over (a surface, region, etc.) with a steady, driving movement or unimpeded course, as winds, floods, etc.: sandstorms sweeping the plains*" "*To wipe out at a single stroke.*" The power of America clears everything in its way, like a hurricane, and is definitely unimpeded. *Nestle* could mean *to snuggle or cuddle, to make or have a nest, to make one's home; settle in a home*. The situated meaning here does not carry the positive connotations of snuggling and coziness that accompany nestling but is more an act of taking over as your own home, of building a home, but not on your premises. This building takes place in *every nook*. The situated meaning of *nook* signals a dark concealed side to the nestling, thus suggesting some secretive and devious intentions.

The recipient of the action of these verbs, the patient, is the writer's world which becomes less powerful than America by the latter's ability to *sweep* it and *nestle* in it. The actor changes in the sentences that follow to a *you* and a *we*, signaling how closely the impact is felt by the writer. In the sentence that follows, *Wherever you roam, you are still within its grasp; we study at its educational institutes, we wear its clothes, read its books, and watch its movies*, the actor is a *you*. Fronted information functions as a launching point providing information that contextualizes what is presented in the independent clause (Gee 2005). In this excerpt, *Wherever you roam*, presents the launching point, thus establishing and confirming the sweeping and nestling as omnipresent. The information that follows in the main clause, however, reveals an actor who is actually being acted upon, who cannot escape from the grip of this power. The

grasp is further detailed in the parallel structure that follows with the main verbs *study*, *wear*, *read*, *watch* identifying the areas of influence. The repetitive use of the pronoun *its* function as a cohesive device to relate the situated meanings and refers to America. Its repetition, as well as the repetition of the same phrases, serves an emphatic purpose.

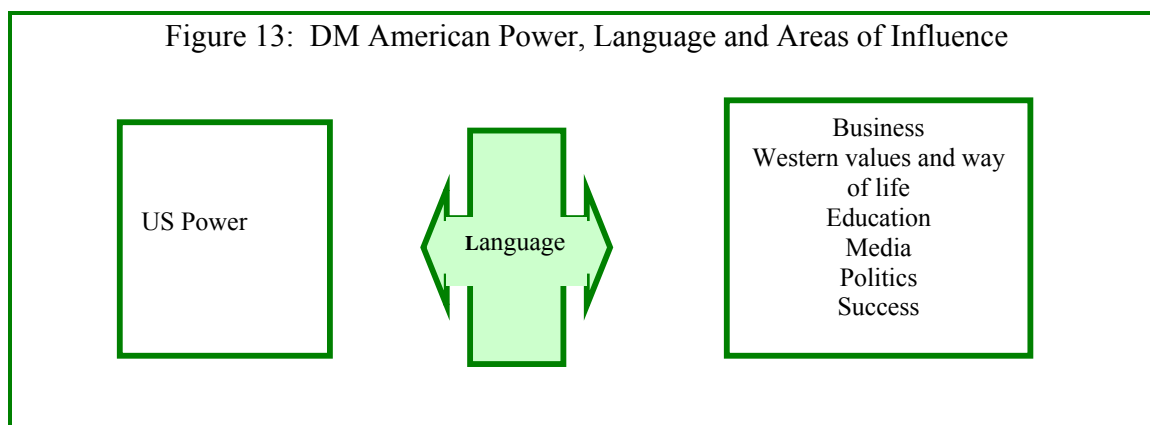
The action that the actor is capable of though is very different from the action of the previous actor (America) and makes him subservient to the *its*; that is, the verbs only function to affirm the grasp of America. *You* probably refers to a generic you and not the reader; nonetheless, the *you* becomes a *we*, signaling an Arab identity that is caught in a repetitive pattern of receiving which subjugates it and makes it subservient to the grasp. The following sentence can then make the unqualified assertion that identities are bastardized and have no choice about it. The action *live* is followed by a noun, *America*, and not the usual part of speech, an adverb or a prepositional phrase. Thus the action that we are performing, the living, is interrelated with America whose reach here has become borderless. Thus, America is IN all of us and all around us: it has nestled in us. It has indeed become us. This is the power of America that the situated Arab identity struggles with.

Accordingly, there are two opposing identities: the controller (American and sometimes European) and the controlled (Arab). The Arab is dependent on the tools of language which are imposed on and control him/her, but which, if properly acquired, could actualize success or access to social goods. The Western identity is in control, for it is the producer of the knowledge that creates power which it imposes through language.

The relationship between these identities is one of struggle, of a battle, for

[i]n global control and imperialism, there is no bystander; you are either spreading your ideas or fed foreign ones. That is the simple, cold reality we face.

The DM for American power associates US power, language and the American areas of influence (Figure 13):



The American identity is characterized by knowledge, advancement, progress, technology, all of which contribute to its power for which English is the vehicle. On the other opposing side, the Arab identity is that of the underdeveloped dependent who is controlled. The identity in this report is of a person on the receiving end, dominated, imposed upon, *hexed* but who at the same time needs to access social goods or cultural capital through compliance with exacted obligations: the Arab has to submit to the requirements set by the gatekeepers.

These are the identities that are present in the Lebanese environment but this Discourse is transformed in the lack of competitive blame for the power. According to the author, no one is stopping anyone from making it to the position of power if s/he has the power to *invent, publish, discover, create, and control*. The author seems to blame the Arab who implicitly is not up to the challenge of power struggle. This is very clear from two concluding parts of the report. The first extract is from the conclusion of the executive summary. It has many instances of what Gee calls *I-statements* that carry insight into the socially situated identity the speaker is constructing in and through language. Gee categorized these statements on the basis of the predicate that follows them.

Table 8: I-Statements

	Category	Expressions of
1	Cognitive statements	<i>thinking and knowing</i>
2	affective statements	<i>desiring and liking</i>
3	State and action statements	<i>Own state or action</i>
4	Ability /constraint statements	<i>Wanting and having to</i>
5	Achievement statements	<i>“activities, desires, or efforts that relate to ‘mainstream’ achievement, accomplishment, distinction”</i>

Based on Gee (2005: 141 – 142)

The category is signaled by the number next to the example.

In preparing this report, I pondered [1] at how to make a language powerful. What I learnt [1] is that language is a mere reflection of its underlying society's achievements, and that the power of a language is proportionate to the scientific and intellectual progress of its father society. I learnt [3] the simple, cold truth that the only hope for significant power lays within us; if I dare think [4][1], progress [5], fail [5], learn [5], and to speak up [5], I will spread [5] my word, then my thought, and then the reach of my influence.

The *socially situated identity* constructed through these I-statements has contemplated and gained knowledge about current realities. However, it signals dissatisfaction with its achievements and current status. The truth is *simple* but also *cold* since success is gained by autonomous hard work. Thus, the Arab identity is released from the role of passive recipient for which only it is to blame.

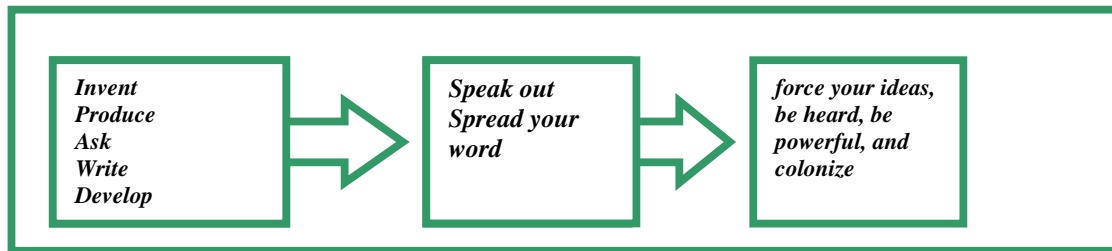
The second extract is from the conclusion of the report where the author confirms this blame. Here the Arab identity is again held accountable for its slacking because it does not dare think, progress, fail, learn, and speak up.

It is only through the newfound scientific curiosity and academic perseverance that we develop. And it is only through our own development that we create a genuine idea, an infant of our own minds that has to be nurtured and cared for. Produce an idea, be it an equation, a discovery, a political theory, a book, or even an innocent question whose answer is sought. Do so, and you shall spread your ideas and enlighten a soul. Do so, and you will certainly force your idea to be heard. Do so, and you colonize.

The author challenges the reader and Arab identity at large through imperative sentence structures that signal a call or order for action. In such structures, the sentences begin with action verbs: *produce* and *do*. The outcome of these actions is *spread your ideas, enlighten a soul, force your idea to be heard, and colonize*. Whereas the first two verbs are mild, the last two verbs are much stronger and powerful where the ideal Arab identity gains the power to force and colonize, much like the American identity. The call for action somehow gains rhetorical force as it builds momentum through the repetition of *do so* as the author directly addresses the reader.

The author presents all the proof of the power of language as a tool for the imposition of power but concludes by changing the formula by empowering the Arab identity. This is done by changing the locus of power:

Figure 14: Locus of Power



The relationship between the identities is transformed in this text where the Arab identity is empowered and encharged with its fate and is not a passive victim but accountable for the follower role it submits to. Equally important, the American identity is not regarded as blameworthy for its power which results from actual superiority in science and technology. Nonetheless, the Arab DM of Western superiority is upheld, at least till *we dare to speak*. Thus the Discourse that is relevant here is the Discourse of the hard working academic/ worker.

... with excellence in commerce, science, technology, economics, and education comes the key to global control. It is not the ease of the English language that promotes it, as some would dejectedly conclude. No, it is the power of the engine behind it that propels it this far. The present-day American civilization is one of industrial, economic, and academic excellence; with that excellence comes the necessary edge needed for global hegemony. The power of the USA is not in its material wealth but in its scientific and academic awareness. The United States was once a colony and an extension of an empire itself; look at it now. The Americans were not born wealthy, nor did their power lurk in the fields of black oil. Curiosity, intelligence, and a need to succeed were the motivators and catalysts of their journey to power. Linguistic imperialism, and all facets of imperialism, honestly, are no conspiracy. They are a natural and expected profit of advancement, ingenuity, and perseverance. English is the strongest language because the civilization that supports it is strong where it matters. Dominate commerce, politics, education and advancement and you will be hailed, followed, and designated leader of the world. Dare to advance and think, and you will spread your own ideas and colonize the world.

There are two relevant, significant intertextual references in this excerpt. The reference to fields of black oil refers to Arabs' effortless inherited wealth bestowed on them by nature, unlike the Americans who toiled for their wealth. The situated meaning of wealth in relation to black oil is financial wealth, whereas American wealth is related to excellence in all fields where it matters, implicitly negating the significance of financial wealth

Another intertextual reference is to conspiracy in relation to linguistic imperialism. The author is referring to Phillipson's (1992) book, *Linguistic Imperialism*, which was among his references. The author negates Phillipson's conspiracy theory, and upholds

America's right earned through excellence. The author rationalized control, not as an imperialist force but as *a leader of the world* through superiority. In one paragraph, the author brushes aside Phillipson's whole framework and gives America an A for achievement and thus leadership rights. Notably, leadership is distinguished from imperialism.

Clearly, the English language is the *sign system* that is valued and scientific endeavor and research are the favored *ways of knowing*. Throughout the report, the author supports and describes the tight grip of the English language as the language of trade and commerce, science and technology, education, politics, and media. Arabic is not mentioned once throughout the report in favor of the English language's *tight grip* in these important domains. It is noteworthy that the author also excludes any mention of British English throughout the report. He equates the English language with American English and British English is made irrelevant, presumably because he does not see it as related to the discussed power issues.

English is presented as the most powerful sign system unrivaled in its gatekeeper position to knowledge: *The power of English is that it allows access to information, to ambition, and to global levels and markets*. The power of English is the agent, the doer, and English is personified as the gatekeeper. The lexical choices associated with this linguistic hegemony, however, signal disapproval: *alarmingly, disturbing, disconcerting, overwhelmingly, troubling, disquieting, forcibly*. Likewise, the word *cold* is used in at least three instances in the quotes duplicated in this section.

- *the cold truth that these publications are in English*
- *That is the simple, cold reality we face*
- *I learnt he simple, cold truth that the only*

The author makes ample use of metaphors to discuss the power of English. English is a *tool of linguistic imperialism, the key to power, a tool that ensures prolonging the USA, a key, the key to success*. The English language, however, is value-laden, a medium for promoting culture and values of the West, a medium of cultural and mental penetration which tightens the previously mentioned *grip*.

Exporting the English language, which carries within it the very values of the American civilization, and having it reach across the globe is America's key to global power. This pattern of linguistic imperialism grants America access to the deep realm of the mind.

This grip is further consolidated by dependence on the language:

In most our activities, we apply the English language, utilize it, and empower it even more; the dependence on English is a vicious cycle, as it is forcibly continued.

Thus, one of the most important powers of the English language is that on the human mind. Contact with the language results in absorption of the values and culture with which it is associated.

Extensive exposure to a language on a long enough period would eventually have us adopt the values and lifestyles it holds. Make no mistake about it; our exposure to English is the most extensive in history, since no language has ever had this many extensions and routes of spread. Commerce, communication, education, science, politics, and media have been proven to be under the English hex..... English has become inescapable, as it is firmly correlated to all our interests, thoughts, and likings.

Simply put, absorbing English from business, science, education, politics, and media will eventually root American-promoted principles of capitalism, liberalism, secularism, and democracy into our modes of thought.

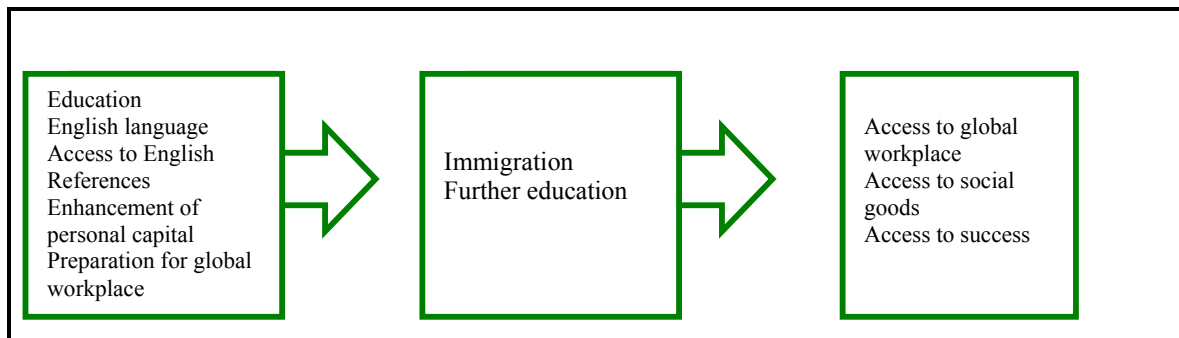
The author divides the power of English into short term and long term powers, both of which seem to function as baits. The short term power is that it is the language which holds the key to success. The real purpose of the power of linguistic imperialism is the long-term power which is

the rooting of ideas that would ensure the USA's power and title as the leader of the 'free world'. Spreading its ideas through its language and having that language reach all, is, in effect, covertly colonizing the world....Spreading ideas is the sweet reward of imperialism, and the authentic purpose behind it.

With the argument that the TL is a tool for imposition and maintenance of power, the author returns to the Conversation of Western hegemony and control. The use of single quotes signals the author's belief that the world is not really free and that colonialism is still operational with language as its tool: language upholds the power of the USA.

The distribution of goods in this report is very clear. The USA controls access to social goods through the language which controls business, science and technology, education, media, and politics. Most importantly, English is the language that makes possible the pursuit of higher education. The academic DM in this report is:

Figure 15: Academic DM



The DM is one where the English language is in fact a key, as one cannot get a job in the USA without English nor can s/he understand refereed journal articles for professional academic research required for graduate studies.

The themes discussed in this section were evident in the data collected for this research as will be discussed below. Student perception of the role of the English language includes awareness of American supremacy, English as a global language and English as a lingua franca. The positive and negative conceptions of the role of the English language were concurrent and interlinked, resulting in some overlap in information. Nonetheless, the main groupings under which student perceptions fell^{*} were the inherent qualities English, American power, global English, and the numerous advantages and disadvantages of English.

5.2 Student Perceptions of the Role of the English Language

Students believed that the English language had inherent qualities to which its supremacy may be attributed. The use of the following descriptors of English signals this conviction. The English language

- *is user friendly*
- *can be learned easily*
- *is like a tool for me that I need to use daily; it is the flesh and blood of my interactions with others.*
- *is malleable, adaptable, and natural*
- *is more flexible to change and the addition of new words and terms which swayed the scientific community to the language.*
- *is second nature.*

^{*} Note that thematic categories were formed when a considerable number of students reflected a particular perception. Therefore, unless otherwise stated, all quoted material is typical of student responses.

These intrinsic qualities seem to be specific to English and constitute one of the major reasons for its becoming the world's most dominant language besides its being the language of the world's most powerful nation. Surprisingly, almost all the respondents regarded English as an easy language to learn and hence the following quote is typical of students' perception of English: *It is a very easy language to learn and to speak; and that's why it is the most spoken language in the world.* Indeed, this may partially explain why students bestowed it with another inherent quality, suitability for self expression, primarily because of its straightforward expressions:

[E1]I personally believe that that this language in particular is used a lot in many aspects because of the simple words and expressions. Those simple expressions and uncomplicated words that are in the English language attract people to learn it more, and later on they even would enjoy using it more in their everyday lives.

Besides its inherent qualities, on the positive side, English is perceived as a language of international communication, a resource, a tool that enables access to knowledge and information and hence social goods, while on the negative level, it is related by the students to the American supremacy and globalization which in turn are related to linguistic death, cultural infiltration and hence uniformity or Americanization, as discussed below.

5.3 American Supremacy and the English Language

One of the major issues that students began their writing with was the undisputed power of the USA and, consistently, this power was related to linguistic and cultural imposition. Thus, Wahid, Samih and Yasser's assertions are typical in their acknowledgement of American power and the naturalness of the resulting linguistic supremacy:

[E1]Yasser: 'He who has the bigger gun, makes the rules.' Today, the USA is without question the superpower not to be messed with. Because of the awesome ability the USA has to wage wars, conduct commerce, introduce technologies as it pleases, the English language has become the number one international language. People nowadays learn the English language as a second language all around the world, a phenomenon that has simplified communications in all different fields. I personally like the fact that I can go anywhere in the world and being able to communicate using one language. Globalization could not have been possible if it weren't for the English language.

[E2]Wahid: During the last century, and up to these days the united states of America has proven that she's the only pole capable of spreading its culture, its language throughout the world. Since then, the English language started propagating in each country without having any limit.

[L]Samih: Depending on the English language as a common language, seems very reasonable since today the united states is on the lead of all world issues concerning

business, trade, and politics, etc. English language will be spoken on every tongue as a secondary language in every nation during the next generations.

Yasser clearly recognizes American supremacy. In all the focus group interviews, 10/12 of the individual interviews, and 120/133 of the written samples, the participants, linked American power, English as an international language and globalization. The medium for making the rules is the gun. Even though the metaphorical reference to guns signals power and not an actual gun as we can see from the rest of the text, the choice of the word *gun* bestows this power with a form of intimidating strength. In fact, several of the lexical choices, such as *awesome, not to be messed with, wage wars, as it pleases*, intimate a hegemonic view of that power. When it comes to the world superpower some kind of deference is in order since it is *not to be messed with*. Like a tyrant, the USA can *do what it pleases*, when it pleases and English is the tool for the execution of that wish.

In 90% of the writing samples, however, the reader is faced with what seems at first glance as an inconsistency. Immediately after presenting the USA as this power not to be messed with and the English language as its supporter, Yasser expresses his positive affective response (*I personally like the fact that*) towards English as an international language of communication; it facilitates international communication by functioning as a lingua franca and makes possible globalization. Yasser perceives globalization as an achievement of the international language.

For Wahid, the use of the word *pole* is significant; it refers to the North and South Poles but here there is only one pole, the USA, making it the new nave of the world. The comma separating *culture* and *language* signals that for Wahid culture is equated with language, and both are inexorably *spread* through the world.

Samih places dependence on English as fronted material where taken for granted information is placed, thus making it the context for him to conclude that English is the language of the most powerful. It becomes an undisputable given, or as Wahid says, *reasonable*. The certainty of the assertion that English will spread is thus noticeable and intensified through the sentence structure.

This undisputable relationship between the supremacy of the English language and the West is reiterated by another student as follows:

[E1]Also the huge amount of power that English speaking nations like America and parts of eurpoe have influences this [the spread of the English language]. And of course, everyone must abide to the one with most power. The mighty rule if you might say.

The link between the spread of the language and power is clear and presented as logical by the use of the words *of course* at the beginning of the sentence that follows. Moreover the modal *must* before *abide* also signals obligation, lack of choice. The verb *abide* is normally used with rules; one abides by rules which here are not actual rules but the wishes of the one with power, namely the USA. The end result is that in this students' DM, the spread of English is tied to the power of the United States which becomes the force that sets the rules with the author's situated identity as the one who abides. This is a very typical perspective of the connections between these components.

Nonetheless, this power and its imposition may result in confusion. Thus, Amina states that:

[E2]It might result in confusion between being the most powerful & being the 'best'. Other languages are able to express a lot of things in the same way if not better than English. Its just that their countries & people are not powerful enough to overthrow or match English. Other languages might be forgotten or even disregarded.

Again, we see the interdependence of American power and the dominance of the English language. This, however, is deemed unfair for English might have had competitors had it not been for the supportive power of the USA. Again, the power of the language is implicitly compared to that of a despotic regime by the use of the word *overthrow*, a word frequently used with the deposition of dictators. The situated meaning of *match* also signals competition as in fencing where English is the superior combatant, and thus the *match* unfair.

This supremacy of the TL dictates the learning of the language:

[E1]Another reason is that the United States of America is dominating the world today and it would be essential to learn its native language for either political ~~reasons~~ matters like watching CNN, or for entertainment matters like the movies. Last but not least, one can learn the language to gain culture and thus widen his knowledge.

The situated identity is of one who needs to be familiar with the political and cultural perspectives of those in power, the dominating, to receive the news, culture, and

entertainment handed down from the West. The need to be exposed to these is taken for granted, in fact essential.

5.4 English Language as a Tool for American Power

The English language and American power fuel each other's strength. Of interest is that the United States is perceived as actually exploiting the language to establish and perpetuate its dominance.

[E1]The English language is therefore the leading arm of the USA in order to maintain and increase their lead of the world. They can control your opinions if you can simply understand what they're saying on television, on the radio, in the newspaper and in books.

The noun *arm* here is probably a translation from an Arabic expression where someone's 'right arm' is the indispensable crux of that person's power. Thus through English, the USA propagates its power through media which in turn controls beliefs. This relationship between language, power, and control is a seminal link that will be addressed later (section 0).

In 3 focus group interviews, 4 individual interviews and 27 written samples the supremacy of the USA was linked not only with the imposition of the English language but also specifically with British colonialism when English was imposed on the dominated countries. Similarly, globalization is linked with the USA that is behind globalization by almost all participants. The USA seems to have replaced England as the hegemonic power behind linguistic imposition and globalization has replaced colonialism as the tool of that imposition. Thus, globalization is implicitly paralleled with colonialism. The result in both cases is linguistic and cultural demise (*cultures-crumble*) (see section 5.7.3):

[E2]Everything from the industry to having companys share and communicate with the same language, the English one, and this is worldwide, its simply a very important language to the extent that it replaced the native language of many countrys work and businesswise. This sad but true situation lead and will lead to many consequences like the complete domination of certain countries like the united states and its alies like England. Imagine that a country can use its language as a weapon, this happened and its still happening simply because no one says NO.

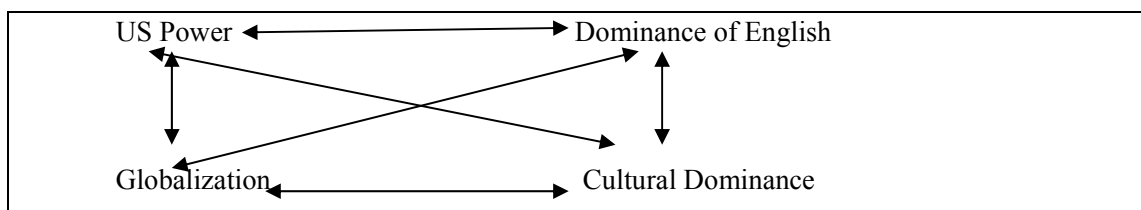
The participant's discontent with this imposition and bewilderment with the use of language for dominance is typical. This tool has become indispensable for the USA in

the imposition of its power through linguistic hegemony in global business and communication while for the imposed upon, it is an inescapable prerequisite for everything in life. Here the author's lexical choices signal a war situation with *allies* where the *weapon* is used to enforce *domination* through linguistic proviso. Beginning the sentence with *everything* and showing later the breadth of *everything*, intimates how complete the linguistic and hence business, and hence American/Western ongoing domination is for this author. The fact that no one says NO (author's emphasis) depicts an impotent patient/object.

5.5 English Language and Globalization

Reading through the student writing, the DMs in the students' repertoire are distinct. One of the major ones, as is clear by now, is (from left to right)

Figure 16: Student DMs



Students linked the spread of the English language and globalization in a mutually enhancing reflexive alliance. Haya expresses this bond as follows:

[L]The English language nowadays has become an international language being taught and spoken in many different countries around the world. This facilitates communication between different people with different cultures and nationalities. Globalization is being more and more spread, but have you ever wondered why? Since many people around the world speak English whether as a native or foreign language, globalization is increasing noticeably and the world seems as small as a minor village. Being an English educated student for more than 15 years makes me feel safe and secure, and opens up for me new horizons, no matter where in the world.

In this extract, Haya signals perception that the international status of the English language is more important than its being taught everywhere by the structural subordination of the latter as a participial adjective clause which also signals the causal role of the international language status. The end result, however, is that it facilitates communication between different peoples. More interestingly, Haya sees the spread of the English language as intensifying globalization as is signaled by the use of the subordinating conjunction *since*. The question is why having 15 years of English

education makes her secure. Haya, like most participants in this study, have no confidence in a safe and secure future in Lebanon, and it is perhaps comforting to know that she has the means (English) to settle somewhere/anywhere else. Typically, Haya is preparing herself to enter the *minor village*, this globalized world, and English is her ticket. So for Haya, this is a world where English is a key to the *horizons* she is seeking. Again, English being an international language of communication, a lingua franca, is a positive factor in its creation of a feeling of *safety* and *security*.

Globalization is perceived as something desirable for the majority of the students, a band wagon they need to join. Thus, Khalil thinks it is necessary to acquire the English language to *become a member of the english language society*. This is a kind of integrative orientation but not to the TLC usually assumed. Similarly, Wael expresses a need to integrate with this globalized world, and, to do so, English is mandatory:

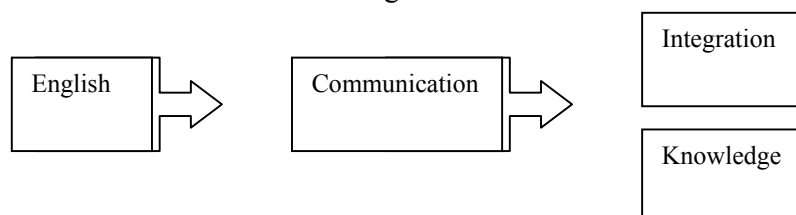
[E2]On a personal level, the english language will also help me to reach personal ambitions and success in the business and social domain. Ultimately that is why I am studying English which will in turn allow me to communicate with as much people as possible & in different places. Consequently the english language has made the whole world ^ largely dependent on the language itself. Various aspects of life will be extinct without the English language and that is why it will remain important for centuries to come.

Notably, Wael believes that without the English language, the key to self fulfillment and access to social goods, success is unattainable. The same idea is expressed more explicitly for Samir who says that he is studying English for his future career as a business person which requires international communication,

[L]...so English being such an important language would oblige everyone wishing to integrate in today's advanced world to learn this language which would help him increase his knowledge about himself and others.

English facilitates communication, which facilitates integration and acquisition of knowledge (see Figure 17). It is interesting that self knowledge is also acquired in the process, presumably because access to knowledge comes with language learning and with knowledge comes broader horizons and hence self understanding.

Figure 17: TL DM



In short, the role of the language is clearly multifaceted but distinctly related to American power and globalization. There are, however, numerous distinct advantages and disadvantages to this supremacy.

5.6 Advantages of Supremacy of the English Language

Students see both positive and negative impacts of the prevalence of English as a global language. The advantages are remarkably numerous. English enables communication between different peoples in the world, is a carrier of information and knowledge and, since it is also a global language, allows for its sharing. With the help of the English language, one can access the international world stage and more importantly, perform on it.

The most important advantage almost all students perceived English as playing is that of the role of the international language of communication and a lingua franca that is indispensable. This role is necessitated by American supremacy as discussed above and globalization with its concomitant communication prerequisites. English for some [L]*plays the role of linkage, between civilizations, countries, and races....It is a way of unifying people, therefore a way to better understand each other.* Thus English is seen as fulfilling a need.

5.6.1 Need fulfillment

The world needed a language to communicate in and English became the lingua franca primarily in response to that need. For example, one of the students sees it as filling a gap that ensued globalization:

[E2]Being ~~a one of the~~ the most powerful ~~and popular~~ language in our world today, English plays a simple yet ~~crucial~~ very important crucial role in ~~turning th~~ getting people from all over the world together by filling the gap of communication that existed in the past, and as such turning this world into a smaller place (a village as I'd like to think about) where all people are close to each other and understand one another.

The view of the world that the author presents in this extract is interesting. Fronted material presents information that is background context or launching off point (Gee

2005) for other foregrounded information which is the role the language plays. That English is the most powerful language is taken for granted and functions as the context for its role: it filled a gap of communication which arose from globalization and the increased contact between peoples of different origins. The deletions in this extract are interesting. The English language is definitely not perceived as *a*, or *one of the most powerful*, which would allow for other competitors, but, exclusively, *the* most powerful language. *Crucial* is deleted and replaced by the words *very* and *important*, with *very* and *important* doubly intensifying the crucialness to the point of redundancy. The world connection role is played by two equal acts (as signaled by their joining with the conjunction *and*): filling the gap and turning the world into a village. The latter act is causally dependent on the former as signaled by the use of *as such*. The adverbial clause at the end of this extract describes this *village* as physically *close* and in agreement. *Close to each other* refers to the decrease in distance separating countries, and the aspiration to *understand each other* is achieved through the common language.

5.6.2 Communication

Clearly, a role the language fulfills, which is linked to everything else, is the role of a communication medium necessitated by globalization:

[L]During the past century, the English language has gained a predominant place in the communication domain. Due to the excessive increase in economic exchange and information fluxes, a common language needed to spread in the two poles of the globe.

This tool of communication is characterized by the following:

- *[E1]It has a very important role in communication, were we see people from different countries and with different languages usually referring to the English language to communicate with one another.*
- *[E2]It will provide people from a variety of origins or nations the ability to communicate with each other in such an easier way other than.*
- *[L]One of the rare bonding elements between human beings today.*
- *[E2]'Connecting' role between individuals of different nationalities and various native languages. Hence the process of exchanging and displaying information is ^{^ being} facilitated over the years with the increasing domination of the English language over other languages. In this perspective, one would support such a phenomenon because life, and most importantly business, ~~and~~ economics, and politics, would become much easier*

As seen from the extracts above, English functions as an easy means of communication between peoples of diverse linguistic and national belongings, is a *bonding element*, and plays a *connecting role* which facilitates information exchange and local and

international operations. In the last excerpt the *domination* of the English language is highly subordinated. This can be explained by students' association of the communication role of English as an *essential tool of communication, means of general communication, base of communication between people, and a vehicle of communication*. Again, there was a need, and English came in to satisfy the need.

One student made a very interesting analogy in which the English language was compared to the communication metric system:

[I1]Mayssam: *Can I make an analogy between two things*
For example maaaaaaaath
When when you're talking about measurements
and stuff
*you use the **metric** system*
so all scientists everywhere
can communicate with the same means
*so they can understand the **numbers***
and stuff [O.K.]
and the same thing is when you are communicating
when you're talking to people
you
English is like
*A widely used means of **communication***
Researcher: *So it's like the metric system*
Mayssam: *Yeah, you can say that*

This metric system, ELF, is important in a world where intergroup communication is essential because it facilitates communication between people, potentially providing the underprivileged people some equal opportunity in a conflicted world, a key to access the global workplace on par with others. Equally important, it seems to provide a key to tolerance and understanding of the other. This is important in the context where the Arab feels substandard (see section 5.7.4).

- [E2]Personally, I think it's great that the world have now a united language. It helps in all ways of life and it gives opportunities to young people like us outside. But it also helps the people to get closer together despite our origins and culture. In a time of war, we can always communicate and understand each other because in the end we are all humans.
- [L]I, myself, being English educated, have come to see the value of my education. Knowing this language has helped open many doors in my career as well as higher education. I am able to interact with diverse people having diverse cultures through this common language. Because of my English oriented educational facilities, I have been exposed to a modern culture and been taught to accept others in their uniqueness.

5.6.3 Business, Science, and Academic Lingua Franca

English is seen as playing the advantageous role of the lingua franca for business, science, and academia. As a business lingua franca, very simply, globalization led to the internationalization of business which required communication in English:

[L]Especially in the field of business one has to communicate in English, in writing, oral etc. That's because anyone who do business must deal in one way or other with the outside world, and most people use English to communicate internationally. So we can say that the English language is the way of communication in the world today, especially in the globalization era which is lead ~~by~~ majorly by English speaking countries.

The modals in this extract (*has to* and *must*) signal obligation, thus presenting a situated identity of a business person doing international business but inescapably in English. The use of the definite article *the* before *way of communication* denies the possibility of there being another option even though the author here is aware of the competitors in global business as can be inferred from his crossing out *by* and replacing it with *majorly by*: in this writer's framework, Japan and China are probably powers not to be ignored, but English remains **the** means of communication in the world.

Others concentrate on the facilitator role the language plays in the logistics of business, for

[L]the existence of a language which most people of the world know has helped in a great way in what we have really accomplished till now. The English language nowadays also helps in linking universal corporations and trading companies and suppliers and even markets.

Another student illustrates this with an example of *[a] Lebanese company sends a fax in English to its suppliers to order raw materials. If you're lost in a foreign country, you use English to try and find your way.* The English language thus facilitates business transactions by making possible international communication.

English is the lingua franca for science and technology:

[E2]The English language has allowed scientists to share their ideas in order to come up with such great achievements such as the telescope, the microscope, medicine, rockets, space shuttles, cars, and many others.

Here sharing of ideas, teamwork, is essential for progress and invention and this teamwork is international. The students realize that in the first place, the information is in English where *every aspect of technology uses English, like the internet, industrial and technological firms* not only because *[i]t's easy but also because it's the main language used in developing technologies.* That the technology is initially developed in English reveals the author's perception of the predominance of English as the language in which

(scientific) discoveries are published. English is the language of the international academic community. It could also imply the recipient's situated identity. Arabs do not invent, discover, and share; they receive, and they receive in English. English is ...[E2]*the language that allows us to be well informed about the world and be aware of all the new technologies in the world.* Thus, in science and technology, English enables the sharing of knowledge and information on which progress depends through international collaboration or what in the students' schema resembled an international database of knowledge.

For Hashem, this knowledge lingua franca

[E2]has become a standard language used in different domains such as education, medicine, business, and technology playing a major role in giving commonly understood knowledge to people of different nationalities. This point has been apparently clear to us in our world from the books we learn from, computer software, commercials, canned food labels, etc...

92% of the participants signaled the realization that they cannot progress in academia without English “... *since all information in school and university was taught in that language, be it in biology, physics, chemistry, philosophy, engineering..... All, it is all in English.* Thus, access to education was obviously in English which was acknowledged as the academic lingua franca

5.6.4 Gatekeeper or Opener

Another valuable role the language plays is that of job gatekeeper or opener. Simply put, English is mandatory for employment in this globalized world where English is the lingua franca: *It is a necessary requirement for all employees.* Because English is an *international language, a dominant language and a key to communication*, Abed believes that

[L][1]That is why, international and local companies can never accept employees who cannot speak English. [2]How can the employee communicate with his manager of colleagues in they come from diverse cultures? [3]They need a common language and this language is English. [4]This reveals the fact that learning English is crucial for anybody who is aiming at getting a decent job. [5]I feel that it is essential to have a unique language that allows people from all around the world to communicate. [6]English has become a vital means for cultures to gain knowledge from each other.

This extract presents what a prospective employee should be: proficient in English. None of the students even considered the option of local business in which the alternative

of Arabic could exist, for in their framework, business is conducted in the international arena. The exaggerated use of negatives in sentence 1, which could have been formulated, for example, as *that is why international and local companies require English*, signals how certain the author is that lack of English equates with lack of employment. Since globalization stipulates international business transactions and those are conducted in the business lingua franca, English becomes *crucial, essential* and *vital* for a decent job; *decent* obviously connotes a well paid job with prospects for promotion, and an unwavering pre-requisite is access to the global world.

For Arabs, English proficiency may open the right doors:

[I2] *It's a way of getting somewhere
For the people of the third world countries
I mean people in
they don't need to get
because they're having a good life too but us as arabs.*

The word *facilitate* was used by many students and signaled a perception of the language as setting the stage for positive things such as communication, an international forum where people from different domains could communicate with more ease and thus save time and effort as well as enhance the field.

23% of the sample regarded this role as entirely beneficial. For example, in Akram's description of the role played by the English language all the underlined words or phrases are positive with no negative implications throughout the whole description:

[E2] *In the beginning, the English language is a language that has unified different countries and cultures because of globalization and the rapid technology developments taking part in the United States. This circumstances has obliged, indirectly, people to learn this language in order to use the different machines; Adding the English language had been classed as the first universal language because people are able to learn it faster and it is easier and practical. To support this we can notice that even the far east developments are made in English.*

The meaning of *obliged* could signal being forced to do something which is not very positive. However, in this situated meaning, the obligation fulfills a need, to operate machines. The use of the passive voice, *has been classed*, signals the importance of its being a universal language without specifying who classed it and attributes this status to its inherent qualities. English's intrinsic qualities (easy and fast to learn and practical) explicate its being the language of international communication. More importantly, all that accrues are benefits as seen from the underlined descriptors. However, again, it is

taken for granted that developments take place in the USA and are unquestionably followed by the rest of the world. The author presents this as taken for granted information by placing it in a participial adjective phrase descriptive of *developments*. The United States' developments are a catalyst for the rest of the world to communicate and that equals globalization.

However, the participants also acknowledge some negative outcomes resulting from the power of the English language.

5.7 Disadvantages of the Supremacy of the English Language

In spite of the numerous advantages, students did not overlook the disadvantages: domination, linguistic threat, cultural and linguistic threat, Americanization, domination of minds, and identity obliteration.

5.7.1 Domination / Pervasiveness

The English language is seen to play many roles in our world today. Primary among those roles is domination, which is agreeable to some but disagreeable to many others. All participants recognized the commanding role played by the English language where it [E1] *has become a dominant language, and ~~found its spread~~ spread its roots deep into every aspect of daily life*. This modification of the sentence from passive to active intensifies the agency of the language, making it more powerful and the sentence itself more assertive and confident of the assertion made. The metaphorical use of the noun *roots* conveys the feeling that the action *spread* leads to a deeper and more stable entrenchment *in every aspect of daily life*.

The *roots* that the English language spreads are in its omnipresence and requisiteness. This is reflected in the emphatic nature of the repeated sentence structures in the following excerpt.

[E1]The language is a must for development and improvement. Everything is written in English. For example, most websites use the English language. Wherever you go to a restaurant, the 'menu' is written in English. Most films are in English language. Therefore, English language dominates over our world today.....Whenever I need to send a mail, I send it in English. Whenever I chat, I chat in English. It is found everywhere.

The repetition of the same sentence structures fronting the information of what the English language is or does serves to emphasize the matter of fact ubiquitous unshakable nature of the status of English. More importantly, the fact that *English* is in the Rheme gives it significance as the main point. The only exceptions are *our world today* and *everywhere*. Thus, the message from the Rhemes is *English is everywhere*.

This is both positive and negative as can be inferred from the following excerpt:

[E2]English language is playing a crucial role in our world today. In every field in our daily life, english has become necessary for us to communicated with others, learn about the world's current events and have knowledge of different kind. However, in this way, I see English which is driven by globalization, give an easy way for the big countries, like the U.K. and the U.S. to imply their policies and power on us mainly, the Third World countries.

English is presented as a double edged sword which provides access to other people and knowledge but at the same time allows the West to control. The kind of control is political domination, a form of colonization as is clear from the imposition of *policies and power* on third world countries. Again, we have a powerful West who, through language gains control over, colonizes, third world countries that need the West's language and knowledge expressed in that language.

However, the writer's reasons for studying English in the paragraph that follows show reconciliation with the reality of the situation.

[E2]I study English because I have to use it later on in my life. I can't apply for a job nowadays without having English as a basic language even if it is in a foreign country. In addition, learning English gives one a broader view of things taking place in our world, and of the American culture which, unwillingly, we have to relate to it in our lives.

The use of the modal *have to* signals obligation to learn English for two reasons. First, the job market requires English. Second, individuals have to have a broad exposure to the world and American culture. It is significant that the author regards awareness of and contact with the American culture as mandatory. Joining *things taking place* in our world and *American culture* with the coordinating conjunction *and* signals a close relationship between the two. In fact, one might speculate that he equates these two things from what his perception of the role the English language fulfills. America is what is happening in

You have the NASA there
 You have eeeeehhhh
 Yanni everything technology is.
 Researcher: from
 Walid: yeah is from
 America
 So its normally yanni
 To eh eh
 use the English language here

In the students' DMs, how important the English language is has led to linguistic supremacy over other languages and countries. Walid's perception that education and language have replaced colonial power and arms in controlling people clearly expresses Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism framework (1992). The USA gains this powerful dominating status through its scholarship and technological superiority.

5.7.2 Linguistic and Cultural Threat and Americanization / Westernization

Two harmful effects of the supremacy of the English language are very closely related and will be addressed in conjunction: the linguistic and cultural threats. Clearly for the majority (72%) of participants the supremacy of English was harmful to other languages, particularly Arabic.

- *[[E1]For example, after fifty years other language would be abandoned and English would be the main language that most people speak. This consequence could also cause traditions and social rules to disappear under the heavy attack of Western traditions and behavior, the thing which would destroy the diverse civilizations built thousands of years ago.*
- *[[E2]The dominance of one language will undermine other languages and the role of languages as a crucial part of a specific culture will become more or less neglected. Over the past years, many languages have diminished and vanished. One could say that these languages were initially cumbersome and did not benefit the world. However, the world is in need of diversification. Through diversification and variability, one would be able to open their minds on many aspects of existence which would otherwise be impossible with the presence of limitations. To be more exact, languages that are rich in many ways may diminish and become no more than words in untouched books.*

These two excerpts reflect the most predominant student perception of the relationship between language and culture and the ensuing cultural and linguistic threat from the American linguistic and cultural monopoly. These threats are so pervasive that other languages become redundant and with this decreased use and cultural penetration the language itself ultimately atrophies. In fact, the second excerpt echoes the Ecology of Language Paradigm and Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) in particular.

Three other perspectives were shared by a few other students. Some (1 focus group interview, 3 individual interviews, and 6 written samples) felt this threat was just a realistic observation of the state of affairs or did not perceive it as harmful, for linguistic survival was an issue of survival of the fittest.

[L]Even though people find that the local language is being lost to English that might not be a bad thing because the goal is an evolution of a language that unifies and if the language has become obsolete you replace it with another that work that is what has happen for a thousand of years the evolution of languages and man.

Language, like species, is subject to natural selection and when it is too weak to survive, we *replace it*, as we would replace a defective appliance. The author speaks of a unification goal with some degree of ambiguity since we do not know whose goal it is, but the process here seems to be natural evolution. Since natural evolution is a fact, one might as well accept language demise as reality.

For still others, linguistic and cultural supremacy were even justified and earned: while, one student argues that *I think that this is unfair* another believes that

[E2]since the technology and the amelioration of the ^ material world comes from the countries where the native language is English, it would be fair enough for this language to be dominant or at least very important.

Here the writer qualifies *world*, with the adjective *material*, which hence would restrict improvement to things. This makes one wonder whether the author meant to exclude moral, spiritual and other forms of progress not depending on the material. Nonetheless, sovereignty of the language of power is justified.

Still others felt that the threat was not significant, but they referred to the mother tongue nostalgically:

[L]I don't feel threatened by the fact that it might replace my first language [Arabic] as I don't use [Arabic] as much anymore. However, I regret not being attached to my first language anymore.

In fact, in 3 focus group interviews, 4 individual interviews and 11 written samples, harm from the dominance of English could come only from abandonment of the mother tongue, thus attributing responsibility to the native speakers of Arabic: *The English language as any other language is not harmful if we don't abandon our native culture.*

Again, the concepts of culture and language are interchangeable. Clearly, for these students, language was seen as very closely related to culture and what damages the language also damages the culture.

[L]That's because a language is a culture. And by "imposing" (since without using this language we can't communicate!) this language we're imposing a culture.... And erasing others

The closeness of this link is evident in the following excerpt:

[E2]However, there are some consequences of english being so important. One of which is that it may dominate over the native language, just as whats happening in our country and other Westernizing countries.

The word *other* signals that Lebanon is also being Westernized and Westernization becomes what is *happening in our country*, Lebanon. This is caused by the domination of the English language. Another student expresses this link more succinctly:

[E1][1]Having this much importance, the English language is obscuring and eating away other languages because people are now learning English and forgetting the other languages which is seen as a huge problem. [2]The other languages are seen as less important and unuseful anymore. [3]Whole traditions and cultures will be lost someday if any language is lost and forgotten. [4]That is a huge consequence that I believe is threatening our world today.

The language is seen as *obscuring* and *eating away at* other languages, both of which are rather aggressive invasive acts that subjugate and abuse other languages. What results is the favoring of a sign system, the English language, at the expense of native languages (sentence 1 and 2). Sentence 3 poses an unambiguous causal relation between loss of traditions and cultures and loss of languages by the use of the adverbial clause beginning with *if*. Equally important, this threat is global: English domination results in linguistic and hence cultural deaths which are harmful both on the national and the global level (*threatening our **world** today*). Again, this echoes the Ecology of Language Paradigm.

How this is harmful is clear from another student's statement of the problem:

[E1]However, the globalization of the English language have some disadvantages affecting the arab world and mostly Lebanon. Actually, Lebanese students in school study their math and science subjects in foreign languages; thus their Arabic skills became weaker. And as they say each language is a big part of its culture, therefore, Lebanese people are loosing a part of their culture and filling it by foreign cultures.

Education in the English language is seen to cause the deterioration of the local language, resulting in cultural loss. However, the agent in the last sentence, the Lebanese people is

responsible for the *filling it by foreign cultures*, not the Americans. Notably, the main perspective was of Arab culture disappearing and being replaced by Western culture rather than the birth of a new cultural blend. The reasons for this are the incompatibility of Arab and Western cultures and identities and the choice of the latter is a more attractive choice than the former (see 0).

The link between linguistic dominance and cultural endangerment frequently connoted cultural standardization and hence Americanization:

[E1] *One consequence of the English language's having, relates directly with a phenomenon: Americanization. English language import is ~~great much more than~~ nothing but this simple matter.*

Again, I find deletions significant, for they emphasize the intentionality of the final lexical or structural choices. Here the author deletes *great*, and then *much more than* to select the much more negatively assertive choice of *nothing but*, equating linguistic dominance with Americanization. This view of language as a tool for Western cultural domination is shared by many other students.

Another student equated the spread of the English language with the spread of the American culture by making the former representative of the latter. [E1] *English is one of the most spoken languages in the world. It is a clear representation of how American culture is spreading everywhere.* This student acknowledges the contributions of English as a lingua franca, a *link between people from different horizons*, a facilitator of communication, but in the same paragraph also concedes that

[E1] *it minimizes the importance of other languages, leading sometimes people to neglecting their own initial language giving too much credit for English. Therefore, they loose a part of their identity and lead cultures to extinguish.*

The English sign system is granted more significance than the initial mother tongue whose loss is linked with identity loss and hence cultural loss. Again, adoption of a language, and prioritizing it over your own language (*too much* signals more than the author would like) are not positively regarded by the author.

One common relationship (82% of the sample) is that between English language supremacy, globalization, and cultural infiltration and hence local culture loss. This is clear in Samiha's explanation:

[E1]It [spread of the English language] is a very important factor for political and economical pressure. The English language has facilitated the adoption of the American culture and way of life by teenagers and adults all over the world. There are McDonalds restaurants all over the world. Jeans are now part of our everyday life. American movies are also distributed all over the world. So, the English language has become a very important vector for the adoption of the American culture all over the world.

Another student expresses similar ideas:

[L]This universal language is attributing to globalization; where the big prestigious countries 'take over' the small or developing countries whether the latter know that or not. For, this domination is being done in a subtle manner so as the 'prey' does not sense it is being 'attacked' and the best example of that is American movies. For, these movies are imposing new customs and traditions that other countries never had, and even new sports included in the movies such as baseball, hockey.... Moreover, even the way the 'world' eats today is different than before because of the English language that broke the barriers and helped globalize McDonalds and Burger King and others....

Very clearly here, the students perceived the infiltration of local cultures through a dual medium: penetration is through American cultural artifacts which, through the medium of English, movies, lifestyle, etc, function like baits. In the second text above, the penetration is depicted as more forceful through lexical choices of *take over*, *domination*, *prey*, *attacked*, and *imposing*. The English language is the actor that *preys* on the agent, *the local culture*, dominates it, takes it over and worst yet, without the local culture being aware of it. The subtle nature of this invasion makes it underhanded and therefore untrustworthy. The attractions of the Western culture through the medium of the English language are perceived to be the bait for the imposition of the Western culture which functions in devious ways ultimately

[E2]pushing us away and away from our culture and further solidifying the dominance of the West, especially the united states, over the world, and it helps in spreading the American lifestyle in our community. This has a BAD effect on Arab identity

(See section 5.7.3 and 5.7.4 for a more detailed discussion.)

In both focus and individual interviews, two other main causes of cultural Americanization were presented: the media and imitation.

The media was a main source of Americanization with the collaboration of the English language, and this was more notable in the interviews than the written texts.

[I2]Researcher: Do you think it's because English is there internationally
 Rachal: **Already** people have some base or is the language itself being easier
 yeah because maybe
 and because of the movies
EVERYTHING is in English now
 I would like to have
 like more Arabic movies?
 make them learn our culture?
 instead of the opposite

Obviously the culture is propagated through the media and the omnipresent language allows that to happen. These are clearly the tools for globalization and Americanization which are sometimes considered synonymous:

[I2]Salma: America
 America is ruling the world
 Researcher: It's ruling the world?
 Salma: there's globalization and Americanization
 So
 So
 Globalization is **causing** more Americanization
 Inno [that is] **everything** you see for example
 Eh in theeeeeeeeeee Arab world
 you could see ehhhhhhh
 Arab people with their traditions and so
 and they're eating at McDonalds
 so they're entering our culture
 Yanni [that is]entering ehhhhhhh
directly and indirectly
 through the media and so
 and also you have to follow them through the ~~tech~~technology
 and eh
 because they're advanced
 so that's why you have to follow them
 and you have to learn their language
 to be able tooooooooooo
grasp
 what they are

The media as a medium for American cultural permeation is a recurring theme. Those in power impregnate local cultures with their culture, thus strengthening their grip, while those being changed have to follow and imitate to connect with the current scene and share part of the power. In the process of the followers becoming more, they become less.

[L]And a language is more than just a word, a language represent a whole culture in itself so the importance of English leads to the globalization of only one culture.

Thus, through globalization, the English language permeates the whole world, resulting in a cultural and linguistic monopoly:

[F3]Khalil: they're everywhere

Hanadi: *They produce everything* **YEAH**
 Khalaf: *It's like McDonald's*
*They're **ALL OVER** the world*
*And **everything** is in English*
Ssssssssssoooooooooo
 Naim: *You eat English*
*You eat **American***
*You **WEAR** American*
*You **listen** American*
*Everything you **do** is American*
 Khalaf: *so globalization **is** americanization*

American cultural influence is compared to McDonald's in its omnipresence and homogenizing effect. Thus, the DM that included English language power, American political and economic power, cultural and linguistic dominance, infiltrations, and threat was very common and the ensuing link between linguistic and cultural demise and hence endangerment tangible.

For several other students (20) this power of the English language, a tool for globalization that effaces local languages and cultures, could result in resistance and opposition, for [E2]/[i]t may cause some societies to refuse these Western traditions by many ways producing bad relationships between the cultures; thus, dividing the world instead of uniting it. The resistance and opposition could be to the English language itself or to the Western culture:

[E2]Moreover, some of the nations receiving English will notice the real intentions of the 'colonists' and thus might rebel not necessary through war but by intellectual war against the spread of the English language. However, if these 'intentions' go unnoticed then native languages other than English would probably inferior.

Because students distinctly saw the language as a political tool for domination, linguistic resistance seemed viable:

[L]The English language has more significance in the political field than in the economical one. It implies the domination of the U.S.A. and the world. Therefore, we have see in Europe many tentatives to make the German or French languages as common language to the Eurpoean Union, in order to contestate the U.S. domination.

Obviously, this would destroy one of the main advantages, or rather the role of the English language, unification of the world. Nonetheless, the reasons for which this same student is studying English, presented in the paragraph immediately after this, seem to completely overlook all that was said, and explicitly provide instrumental reasons, presenting English as a standard language.

In summary, even though many complained that the marginalization of Arabic was a serious loss and a step towards a single global culture and language, others sanctioned this as an issue of natural selection, a fact of life, or simply tolerable. Notably, all students who expressed negative thoughts about the impact of the language on culture, language, and identity acknowledged the invaluable advantages, and when it came to personal linguistic choices, shed any antagonism towards the language, expressing entirely positive results and benefits from English proficiency.

5.7.3 Language, Thought Control, and Globalization / Power

Several students (4 focus group, 5 individual and 51 writing samples) connected power, globalization, linguistic imposition, and thought control. The power of the USA, buttressed by globalization, allows the USA to impose its language and its own culture, thus permeating the thoughts / minds of other cultures.

[E1][1]We are living in an era where countries are segregated and people are divided, and we desperately need something to unite us. [2]This thing is the English language. [3]This language has formed a bond that holds numerous people belonging to various races together. [4]It is hence up to us people to decide how to utilize this fact and turn it into a positive driving force, but on the contrary, it is the most negative and vile face created to insure the hold of dominion of a small group of countries. [5]The question that instantly occurs to all minds at the moment is: how can that be true? [6]Isn't it true that when we are divided we are conquered? [7] Ayn Rand contradicts this common belief when she writes in one of her novels: 'unite and rule.' [8] We should restrict the world and condition people in such a way that the English language becomes not only the primary language but also the only language spoken, and by achieving that, we can now control the language and thus control the way people think. [9] This concept is similar – if not the same- to the concept of 'Newspeak' in George Orwell's novel. [10]'Nineteen Eighty Four'. [11]The language that we speak and think affects and influences us drastically. [12]So if we can unite the people in one language, we can then control them.

The situated meaning in this excerpt require unpacking because of the ambiguity resulting from difficulties the student must have experienced in expressing highly abstract thoughts in English. From the first sentence till the middle of sentence four, the author speaks of what is (a fragmented world) and what should be (English fulfilling its unifying role). The *but* in sentence 4 signals the selected choice: the self-interested promotion of its own interests to the detriment of the world. The language's unifying possibilities were used not to unite the world but to control it [8]. Uniting the world under one language disproves the concept of *divide and conquer* because through language thoughts are controlled in an Orwellian style. The control of thoughts that

results from this unifying language is signaled through the use of *now* and *thus*. *Now* shows a new situation resulting from this unifying language: control. Control of language is causally linked to control of thought by *thus*. The intertextual references are not only to the concept of divide and conquer but also to Orwell's novel where a utopia turns into a power nightmare.

Another student reiterates similar ideas:

[L]English is the second- most spoken language in the world, ~~after~~ second only to Chinese (Mandarin), but is undoubtedly the most widespread. The English language, more than any other, is a translation of a culture and a mentality that is taking the world by storm. The accessibility of the language and the fact that it is easy to learn have propelled the United States, ~~into~~ unto the forefront of the advertising and promotional world. It grants the US a sense of familiarity around the world, more 'leverage' if I might say. When your language ~~has become~~ is taught everywhere around the world, and is now considered indispensable (in the stock market, internet.....) to daily life, your culture will automatically be introduced everywhere, and your ideas promoted and eventually taken up. The ongoingness of this phenomenon, I think, will be one of the ultimate weapons for the installment of globalization and the 'infiltration' of societies.

The author's perception of the English language is evident particularly in the assertive sentence structures used and the intensifying *second only* and *undoubtedly*. In fact, the language is a *translation* of the culture and mentality making language their vehicle and with the language so widely used, the USA gains power (*leverage*) through the universality of its cultural imposition and control. Thoughts are controlled through adoption of the culture which is made possible through the English language being easy to learn, accessible, pervasive, and indispensable. The author sees this as a belligerent act as is evident from the use of the words *weapon*, *installment*, and *infiltration*.

Globalization is installed and with it comes, as Malak intimates, identity and cultural rape:

[I1]Malak: Yeah

*I mean when I'm living English
when my family learns English
when I learn it from our teacher
our English teacher
she is English
and from the movies
from the sitcoms
I mean when I speak English
it's like I think like them
I eh
that is why they are affecting me because
I am not thinking as me anymore....
It's changing our culture
It's like raping us*

The reasons behind the students' feeling like victims are related to the context as will be evident from the next section.

For 38/49 of business English students language learning is tied with behavioral learning since the students also learn how to behave appropriately.

[F6]Abdallah: *there's no something good*

Walid: *Yanni English 208*

*is not teaching us only how
you talk English
it's teaching us how to
Conduct meetings
How to eeehhh
Like ACT
Or with other people
Behave with other people
Yes*

Researcher: *Is that good?*

Walid: *Of course*

The natural acceptance of normative behavioral patterns intimates Cameron's normative rules for effective communication through which cultural change is effected. From the student's perspective, however, this is not problematic but advantageous since he is acquiring the required work skills.

5.7.4 Identity Obliteration

Undoubtedly, Arab culture is seen to be closely related to Arab identity. The supremacy of English is bound to impact native identity in the students' view. After a lengthy discussion of the advantages imparted by the English language, Salwa presents the impasse on Arab identity.

[E2]But on the other side English and its influence on our world could affect the identity of cultures concerning their own languages. The wage of these native languages will decrease with time. This is bad and affects native culture in a negative way because native identity is important.

The situated meaning of *wage* is *value*, as related to financial remuneration for work expended. For this student, the depreciation in the value of the Arabic language is paralleled by a similar degeneration in Arab culture and hence Arab identity. Another student refers to this result as *confusion in the identity of nation*, or as expressed by still another student, [L]*the adoption of Western values and culture that carries in the English language confuses the identity of the arab. He becomes like a cocktail with no distinct*

flavor. Again, here the language carries culture and that carries identity infiltration and standardization which is *flavorless*.

For 23% of the participants, this is a great desecration of Arab identity as it also signals the dissociation with the Arab civilization when it was at its peak:

[L]All of this leads to the extinction of Arabic our maternal language, our mother tongue, hence to the degeneration of our Arabic identity, and this is how we are neglecting the importance of the Arabian civilization throughout the history, and forgetting the 'golden age' of our civilization.

The student is referring to earlier ages when the Arab culture was at its peak and Arab identity was highly regarded. The nostalgic flashback is to times when the Arab was not associated with terrorism but with the invention of the alphabet and to medical discoveries and was not a second class citizen, not a follower but a world power.

For others, however, identity loss was acceptable:

[E1]Some people might say that too much English makes us lose our identity. I for one believe that English is the bridge for cultural interaction it's the bridge for us in the middle east to learn more about the West and also for the West to learn about our culture.

For this student, identity loss is not an issue, particularly when it facilitates international *cultural interaction* and two-way communication which make it worthwhile.

More typically (78% of participants), however, others bemoaned a template identity that is being promoted through the imposition of Western culture through popular culture.

*[I2]Rachael: Of course
They're imposing it
Like in one of Eminem's videos
The Real Slim Shady
They're all the same [O.K.]
And the real slim shady
please stand up [yeah]
so if they're all the same
that would be a dull world
..... They're going to Kaghakhstan
and Iraq and
and all over the world
world domination*

The media itself is able to entrench this template identity on the residues of the national identity through the medium of the English language. Thus, in the following excerpt, we note how Arab identity is changed through the impact of the Western media.

[F3]Hanadi: *The Arabs now
they watch a movie
whatever
everything
they try to act like the movies*

[Eliane: *Friends*
Hanadi: *in particular*
Eliane: *everyone watches Friends*
Hanadi: *like if you watch Friends
and you ~~compare~~ it to our life
how its becoming
~~everything~~
one is becoming
they're starting to act in a way like that
in the Arab
not long ago like 20 30 years ago
people wouldn't think the same way
act same as we are
like*

[Eliane: *Even the way we dress*
Hanadi: *yeah exactly*
Eliane: *I think the bad thing*
Hanadi: *jeans the baggy jeans
I think girls and girls
The way they act now
Is completely different from
How it was*

Researcher: *And how is that related to language?*

Naim: **culture** *culture
not only language*

Hanadi: *its related to Western media
with Western culture
I mean when you see a child
what he is exposed to
all these English movies
with English culture
and that's **the West** definitely
not Arabic culture
When they see for example
movies
and when they **go out**
and **see** how people are dressed
or how people **are**
it's different*

What is notable about Western culture transformation of local identities through the media is its pervasiveness. It seems like Arabs are either trying to be Joey or Rachael in *Friends* and to do that, they are either following or imitating. Why Arabs imitate and follow, remains the question. Even though the students complain about the media promoted template, it reflects a desirable culture and lifestyle as compared to the Arab culture and context which students perceived as inferior.

In fact, the Arab identity in this context is perceived to be looking for a model, something to emulate and follow. The American cultural and linguistic supremacy on the other hand imposes itself as that object of emulation. However, the price is bewilderment and loss of self alignment. Malak, Sara and Dalia reflect this loss and disenchantment with the Arab culture which does not seem to provide a palpable alternative but concurrently does not complement the Arab identity, hence turmoil.

[F1]Sara: *I mean we are all looking for a model
And going towards this model
but we have to keep our national identity
I.....*

Malak: *we are totally lost
because we want to be attached to our culture
but we are not
and practically
we don't want the Arabic culture our generation*

Researcher: *because of the Western culture?*

Sara: *Yeah*

Malak: *Yeah*

Sara: *But in another way
you can't adapt it completely
because inno [that is]
you wanna act
act like those Americans
but you're in Lebanon*

Researcher: *And the language?*

Sara: *Ma [but]like I said
when you speak in English
you're acting like*

Malak: */like you **belong** to that culture*

Sara: *Yeah*

*Like you **belong** to that culture*

Malak: *Yeah like when you learn a language
You are adapting to that culture*

The theme of discontent with the inconsistencies in the current situation is a major theme in the students' framework: there is discontent with what the Arabs are nowadays as well as with the somewhat conservative culture that clashes with the more appealing Western culture; these two opposite forces in students' lives pull them in opposite directions.

Another related major theme is that of the Arab as an imitator. The Arab imitates for several reasons from the students' perspective. The most frequent reasons professed by the students are the feelings of inferiority and disenchantment. The Arab is perceived as being disillusioned and impotently *going with the flow*. Thus, Arabs follow because

[F8]*we are like a river
driven*

*I mean all of them
all of the people are rowing in this.....*

I presume the words the speaker was looking for were the *subordination of Arab Identity*. Typically, participants causally linked subordination of Arab identity with the imitation and following of the West.

Secondly, people normally imitate those who are superior or more powerful. That is why, according to Marie-Therese, Arabs imitated the Americans: they were the most powerful nation and people and Arabs wanted to be like them, looked up to them.

[I2]Marie-Therese: *being the so-called strongest country in the world*

*people look
always **look up** to them
and for example weeee **Arabs**
we try try to **be** like them
[but.....]
although many people try no to
say that
but they **do**
uhhhhm*

Researcher: **Why** are we trying to be like them

Marie-Therese: *because uhhhm
It's called the **strongest** world uhhhhhhh
the **strongest** country in the world
so you **always** look up to the strongest person
or the most **famous** person
so that is why we do ~~the~~ same (matter of fact)*

Researcher: *and how is that related to English being the
also the language of communication in the world*

Marie-Therese: **That** might be why people tend to know English more
America

*being the strongest country
You wanna try your best to **be** like them
So you **speak** their language
And you **become** uhhmmmmmmmm
More widely able to ~~communicate~~
because many people
try to be **more** American
they they uhhmmmmmmmm
they try to **forget** they are arabs
they try to be more
like the American people
without the Arab origin*

Obviously, it is not becoming to be an imitator to the extent of denying what one is, explaining the self-distancing from this act by use of the third person plural. The Arab inferiority comes at a price though since participants felt stripped (*naked*) and in the dark (*shadow*):

[I2]When you lose the economy
 And you
 and you as a naked
 Or in the shadow
 The country **in** the shadow
 Everyone wants to be an allied to the most powerful country
 So he'll give in and the the language
 And when he does
 He's gonna
 Because now he is depending on
 Them to supply him
 So really the most powerful
 On the economical level
 Everybody has to learn the language.

Thus explicitly, the English language is indirectly forced on the mediocre Arab identity (*Everybody has to learn the language*) which needs to follow the USA if it is ever to have any hope of being something. The fact remains, that the Arab identity is poor (*naked*) and the Arab countries are *in the shadow* where they need the West for the fruits of progress: technology, education, information, and so on.

Thus, participants believed that people, particularly Arabs and specifically Lebanese, imitated the Americans because they were the most powerful people and they looked up to them.

[I2]Mayssam: We've changed the way we **dress**
 Now we **all** dress like Americans
 The way we **talk**
EVERYTHING
 Our **lifestyles** even
 What we **eat**
 Our fast food and stuff
 It's **all American**
 Researcher: What do you think that is related to
 Mayssam: Them being the most powerful country
 Researcher: And how is language related to all of that?
 Mayssam: Imagine yourself wearing a *sherwal*
 And speaking English [O.K.]
 I don't think it's wrong or anything
 But **people** would look
 Look at it
 in a **different** way
 inno look at **him**
 he's speaking english [mockingly]

Obviously, for Mayssam, people imitate the powerful and that changes their behavior in almost all areas, gradually transforming their identity, Americanizing them. Noticeably traditional /national clothing (the *sherwal*) clash with the image of someone who speaks

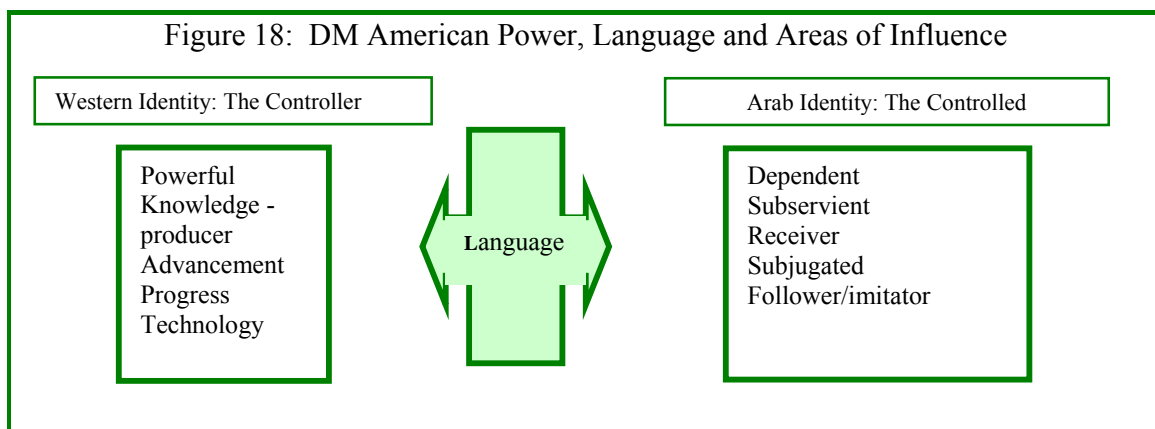
English, implying the perceived inferiority of the national identity. The Western lifestyle and identity seem to be preferred to the Arab one, and thus Arabs imitate the better and become Americanized.

Another impact of this inferior imitator role is indifference. Talking of the negative cultural changes resulting from Westernization and how that impacts what an Arab is, Feryal concludes that she stopped caring:

[F5]Feryal: *We're becoming
we stopped caring as much*
Celina: *Yeah true
we're just going with the flow
we just wanna have fun*

This, however, was not a typical expression of the reaction to the impact of Westernization.

Figure 18 summarizes The DM for this perception of Arab identity.



In another group, emulation leads to advancement and merging with number one.

[F8]Hasmick: *They [imitators] think they can reach the economic power*
 Researcher: *Who is they?*
 Hasmick: *The people who follow globalization
can reach the power of the Americans
and as you can say
popularity of the Americans
so you might as well follow*
 Researcher: *so.....?*
 Susan: *by imitating them*
 Researcher: *By imitation?*
 Susan: *Yeah*
 Reasercher: *So it's imitation*

Everybody imitating number one.
 Hasnick: *and become like number one*
 Hannad: *Number one wants to play number one*
 like what is the most acceptable currency
 Researcher: *Euro now*
 Hannad: *It's like if you want to do business with us*
 you have to know English
 and besides of that
 you want to watch TV
 you have to know English
 if not you change the channels

In still another group, this was expressed as follows: *We tend to imitate the other languages and look up to them because they are equipped to make discoveries.* The superiority here is in knowledge and technology, another frequently repeated theme.

In summary, the Arab culture and identity are violated by American culture and global identity, and while Arab culture is replaced by American / Western / global culture, Arab identity relegates itself to the role of deferential powerless follower.

5.8 The Indispensable Role of English

Irrespective of its advantages or disadvantages, the English language is acknowledged as indispensable. It can annihilate cultures and languages, homogenize identities, and dominate nations, but it remains mandatory or, as one student states, *absolutely imperative.*

The reasons why the language cannot be abandoned in spite of all the drawbacks are all the advantages it provides. It is a language necessary for advancement: [L]*This language is a must for development and improvement. Everything is written in English. It is also mandatory for business,* a necessary element on anyone's CV for employment and life in general:

[L]English language has become a vital part of our everyday life, since it's required in every place you want to work in, and it brakes the impossibility of communication with foreign people. In other words, you can't live without English anymore.

How indispensable the language is can be inferred from what students argue a person would lose or be like without the language:

- [E1]Not knowing how to speak English means being cut off from the rest of the world
[.....]English is a critical skill to master for ignoring it would mean having no link to the rest of the world
- [F7]If you don't know English
you don't know anything
yeah
like if you don't know math.
- [L]You will be an underprivileged outcast.
- [E2]One might find himself kind of illiterate if he's not acquainted with this worldwide language which requires urgent learning for it. Other consequence is that everything today is being dealt using English language, so it's so much easy to study anything with Eng in your current country, and travel to a foreign country, and you can easily find a job.
- [I2]Racha: I would be shut down
From the world
Because the uh
Internet is is
A big hit now
because /
I **never** go to sites that are in French
And also other things
And **the news**
Maybe **CNN**
Maybe **BBC**
everything
I can't get what's going on
Researcher: Uhm... so it's to access
But you've got news in Arabic
Racha: Yeah but not the **same** news
Researcher: How does it differ
Racha: **THEIR** views
Because C NN is different from
Al Jazira [Right]
And you need to see both sides [O.K.]

A person is *cut off*, *underprivileged*, *unlucky*, *missing out*, *an outcast*, and *illiterate* without English, typically because English *links* people to the world, *takes you anywhere*, provides equal opportunities, *privileges* the speaker, and provides job opportunities, all of which make English a must. It makes the speaker's perspective multidimensional. Simply put, English, with its advantages and disadvantages, is indispensable.

5.9 A Bogus Dilemma: a Quandary

With so many major advantages and disadvantages, one wonders how students could reconcile such incompatible but fundamental concomitant attractions and repellants in their life. The TL and TLC infringe on the native language, culture and identity and permeate Arab minds. On the other hand, it is the lingua franca that satisfies the need for international communication, thus advancing business, work opportunities, science and

technology, and education. Most importantly, they advance the student's personal, social, and professional prospects.

The answer to that dilemma is very simple. For the students there was no paradox as is evident from the excerpt from Bassem's essay:

[E2]English, being such an important and dominating languages will lead to the quick cultural and political, social, economical invasion of the big the two big countries. The third world countries will eventually forget their cultures, traditions, and history and abide by the English ones, or also they will stay behind. However, a language spoken by the majority of countries such as English will open for us a way to working abroad or even attract foreigners and tourists maybe are starting to speak English on a regular basis, forgetting their roots and main language. It is very useful to learn English and use it, however not in a way that will make people forget their identity.

On the scale, there is the loss of culture and language on one side and pragmatism and opportunity on the other. The only restriction set for choosing the latter is not forgetting one's identity.

Thus, there being both numerous advantages and disadvantages is not a real conflict because from the students' perspective there was no either-or option:

[L]There are many consequences for the growing importance of the English language. Some people might be overwhelmed with its importance and forget about their national language which would affect the unique culture of every nation. This might also lead to world domination by the English leading countries by influencing everyone with their culture and gradually deleting every other culture in the world. Nevertheless English is a very important language to learn due to its many benefits in bringing people together.

This level of acceptance could be linked to the turbulent history of Lebanon in the 20th and 21st centuries with its wars, assassinations and internal political strife. This choice seems 'the lesser evil.' The Lebanese cannot afford to renounce its benefits.

The DM typical of students' writing is very clearly presented here: English, linguistic domination, cultural standardization or domination, political control, benefits, global unification. These are all linked in such a way that the benefits outweigh the disadvantages resulting in a taken for granted acceptance and embracing of the English language, without which access to social goods, including jobs, education, knowledge, etc is restricted or as one participant says, [F9]*Inno khalas [that is, enough].... It's the flow. Finally English is now a global language and we have to deal with this fact.*

Another student's response justifies this resignation to self-interest, powerless impotence:

[F9]She is right, we're being selfish because inno[that is] when you see America and you see yourself we don't have enough power to go against it. You think about your future and you just go. We cannot afford not to go.

So having to study English is *a3di* [nothing out of the ordinary].

Even if the student writings and interviews showed recognition of English linguistic and cultural hegemony as an impending danger of which they were apprehensive, they all concluded on a positive note. Thus, for some students the DM for the power of English could run something like this: Power of USA, language of access to other cultures, LF, important tool, threat to local languages and cultures but still opens doors. The threat seems to be subordinated to the advantages.

The measures of attenuating the consequence of this inconsistency presented are, first, to upgrade the Arabic curriculum in Lebanese schools (*schools and university should focus more on our language so people do not forget it*) and, second, to uphold one's identity as indicated by Bassem above. In other words, we try and remedy the consequences of this de facto imposition where the necessity of a key to communication outweighs the threat.

This concomitant but paradoxical acknowledgement of American cultural and linguistic hegemony but appreciation of the value of English linguistic proficiency was typical of all students.

5.10 Student Attitudes and Motivation

Naturally, how students perceived the role of the language in the world impacts their attitudes towards the language and their motivation to study it.

5.10.1 Student Attitudes towards the TL

Students' attitudes towards the TL could be inferred from two major sources: perception of the role it plays and perception of the damage it has done to the Arabic language and culture. The students' lexical choices in the discussion of the role of the English language clearly reflect their mostly positive attitudes towards English as discussed earlier. Table

9 presents a selection of typical words or phrases that intimate student attitudes towards the TL. The attributes apply to the individual or universal level and sometimes to both.

Table 9: Student Perception of TL

Communication Metric System		Self Protection & Enhancement		Knowledge Medium	
Personal	Universal	Personal	Universal	Personal	Universal
Key into communication	Standard language	Opens	Means	Tool	Means used to transport information and spread studies universally
Tool of communication	Standardized code without which understanding would be much more difficult	Bridge	Bridge	Device	Role for the advancement of humanity
Connects	Reference in communication	Passport			World's international business language
Like a compass when you get lost; you will just use it and you will surely find someone to communicate with.	A tool which increases social bonds between different nations and cultures	Weapon			Most important contemporary language
	Unified the world	Survival kit			
	Basic necessary device in communication all around the world	Compass			
	Connects	Door			
	Breaks cultural barriers	Key			
	Eliminates obstacles and the barriers between different people				

Many of the student perceptions of the TL were discussed under the sections discussing the role of the language and its advantages and disadvantages (5.6 and 5.7). In summary, on the positive side, the TL opens the door of opportunities, makes possible intergroup communication, and facilitates life in many ways. On the negative side, the TL makes possible the domination and subordination of the world, destroys local cultures, languages, and pollutes national and personal identity. In short, it dwarfs the individual and his/her community.

The other perceptions of the TL that will be discussed in this section are its detrimental relationship with Arabic, and its superiority to others languages.

The TL was favored on all levels and thus decreased the value of the Arabic language by comparison. Surprisingly, even though the literature notes a preference for Arabic in personal communication, students' perceptions revealed that this was changing with English becoming the language for personal and interpersonal communication:

[I2]Racha: *It's probably **dominating** other languages
because now you can walk around AUB
I think it was in Outlook [university student publication]
they said it uhmm
everyone is speaking English
it's dominating
you can rarely see people
like
speaking Arabic **purely**
without any like O.K.s, and **likes** and **maybes***

Researcher: *You see that as negative?*

Racha: **YEAH**

Researcher: *How, tell me*

Racha: *because we're losing **our** language
most of my friends are taking intensive Arabic
and they're failing it
and that's **A3AIB** [a shame]
That's **shameful***

Researcher: *Are those the friends that lived abroad*

Racha: **No No**

*They're **Lebanese***

Researcher: *Lebanese?*

Racha: **YES!**

That's very

*I find that **very** shameful*

*But they're **not bothered** by that fact*

The attitude towards the TL in relation to Arabic is somehow downhearted because the TL has resulted in the marginalization of Arabic and to its becoming the second language. In addition, its infiltration of Arabic is a cause for apprehension and shame.

On another level, almost all students perceived the TL as superior to the Arabic language as is obvious from the international linguistic mediator role it plays and from all that it makes possible. This, however, did not seem to result in negative attitudes towards the language itself which was perceived as performing a useful indispensable role and which was also seen as distinguishing them as superior and professionally desirable. The TL was also perceived as superior to French:

[E]I spent my whole like studying French and now I regret doing that because it's a hard and dead language that is being replaced by English. English is an easy language and understandable. That's what makes it a great one.

Thus, the author builds significance for the English sign system; the French is made *irrelevant, hard, dead*, whereas the favored English sign system is relevant, superior, *easy and understandable*.

This favoring of a sign system coincides with the favoring of American reasoning processes where students perceived their being educated in an American institution more advantageous than being educated in a French university because in English *[E2]everything is straightforward and when you are studying in English you go straight to the point and that is something very important, very practical*. Thus, the logical reasoning associated with the language also enhanced it and was preferred to other forms of logic.

Clearly, the positive attitudes throughout were tainted; however, the students consistently perceived the TL to be independent of the negative association with the TLC, the USA, and its foreign policy, a *neutral territory*:

[F9]Salloum: In has nothing to do with America

*Louai: Because language does not have
only relations with the country*

*Tamara: An American sings
and he has a good voice
you say he has a good voice
not because he is American you say.....*

5.10.2 Student Perception of TLC

One major stance expressed in relation to the United States was antagonism and resentment for its foreign policy and what was perceived as hegemony. In fact, in response to the question of free association with the word American, Racha replied as follows:

*[I2]Racha: all the waarrs
America thinks it's the police
It's not its job to regulate the world
O.K. it's a big country
It's a powerful country
Whatever
Mind your own business
It's **not your job** to go to Iraq*

*O.K. Saddam Hussein was a bad guy
 But it's not **your** job to
 Get rid of him
 or implement the reggimmeee that **you** want
 or you find proper [O.K.]
 to this country
 and
 Britain isn't much better
 because
 It..... it..... uh.....
allowed the Israelis to go to Palestine
 If you **like** them
 Why don't **you** get them to you country
 It wasn't your job*

For Racha, power and superior status do not justify what is perceived as political favoritism of Israel, intervention in local politics and imposition of regimes based on personal needs; thus, her expression of resentment towards American and British foreign policy is explicitly blameful. It was mentioned earlier that history was not on the side of American policies in the region and recurring failed interventions (i.e. Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran) were consistent. It was also mentioned that the US foreign policy in the region was not even-handed in its favoring of Israeli interests. This is clear in this excerpt.

In fact, current intervention in local governance, mainly the war on Iraq, was resented by students at large and served to mar the TLC's image for the students who markedly claimed American policies were in a sense dictatorial, interventionist, and imposed, for they had the power to *decide everything for them* [the dominated]. Ultimately, they are

*[I2] Stealing the world resources
 brains
 everything.
 It's not fair.
 They have no right.*

The Arabs' attitude towards the American government is implicit in the repeated reference to the American government's *bad intentions* towards the world at large. The government is considered hypocritical because

*[F7] They came to Iraq
 they were like
 yeah we're gonna fix it
 and everything
 now they don' leave
 there is war
 but it is for their own good they're staying there.*

*They just want go get the world
for themselves.*

This cynicism and ambivalence in reference to the American government is unequivocal and is representative of the context. Perceptibly, in all the interviews conducted shortly after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the feelings of resentment were even louder and clearer than they were in the earlier interviews. Blame was attributed explicitly to the USA, which was perceived as Israel's ally. Discussing pictures of Lebanon among which were two attributing blame to the USA for July 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon (see Figures 1 and 2) students said

*[F6]Walid: YES, in a way or another
it is responsible
because the bombs **WERE made** by the USA*

*Layal: All the people agree
that it was the Israeli / American war
against the Iranian war here
made by Israel*

*Walid: Yes, Israel and the USA
they are like the same
or they are united*

*Abdallah: After all they **ARE** the same*

Students expressed resentful attitudes towards the USA since the war directly impacted Lebanon and the USA was judged as a partner in crime, not a bystander. This, again is typical of the context in which the USA and Israel are believed to have a symbiotic relationship.

Another variable in the determination of attitude toward the TLC was the belief in the superiority of the TLC which was accompanied by a dejected feeling of inferiority and a tinge of bitterness.

*[F8]Susan: they are killing us in Iraq
In Afghanistan
And we're using their language*

Researcher: Do you feel bad about using their language?

*Susan: No No Inno [that is]
I feel **inferior**
they are taking over us
in every aspect o life
economic wise
social wise
eh..*

Tatiana: But the English language is not entirely American

Hasmick: yeah

*Hannad: Yeah but it's **their** language*

Tatiana: It **became** their language
It wasn't
Amira: it's their language **now**

Reconciling acknowledgement of this superiority, the feeling of inferiority, and the assaults on all levels must be difficult for the students. In a few incidences, it produced feelings of fear. One must ask whether this superiority and dominance are grounds for resentment of the USA.

[L]Personally, I like my own mother language to be the Global Language. But then the American's have worked very hard to get where they are. So I envy them, of course, but I have only my people to blame.

This taking of responsibility for the second-class status and renouncement of the victim status were not typical, however.

It is not just third world countries that are being violated and dominated but developed countries as well. The excerpt from F8 above reveals how even England was divested of its language which was appropriated by the USA. When asked to freely associate what came to mind in relation to the word England, Magdi expressed the belief that even England had submitted to American power and lost not only its language but also its status as a world power:

[I2]Researcher: O.k. England
Magdi: England?
Loss
Resercher: Loss??
Magdi: Yeah
Loss
It was the **empire**
Which which never
The **kingdom**
Where the sun never set
They had countries all around the world
Researcher: and now?
Magdi: They lost **everything**
They lost
1990
Hong Kong
And now they're **followers**
Researcher: Who do they follow?
Magdi: America
they gave you the English language
but now it's the **American** language

The negative attitudes were markedly more pronounced after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as were the negative free association with the word *America* more frequent.

The inclusion of words like *soldiers*, *mass destruction*, *pro-Israeli*, and *Bush*, were much more frequent, while the associations with Britain included some positive associations as *equality*, but also words like *follow America*. In fact, students generalized the resentment of this American hegemony to other countries but disassociated not only the language but also the American people:

[F7]Carole: *Of course*
It's growing [Anti-Americanism]
*All all **over** the world*
And Europe
*The English **hate** the Americans*
*The French **hate** the Americans*
*The Germans **hate** the Americans*
 Researcher: *And what do **you** think?*
 Carole: *That's weird though*
Why are they still dominating
That's weird
 Yasmine: *I can't... I can't*
*I don't think you can **hate***
the people
I mean just because their politicians
Their president is doing all the bad things
*You know we **don't** really know*
What is going on over there
 Carole: *It's not about the Americans*
like the American people
it's mostly the American policies
American act
 Yasmine: *Yeah*
But they're not made
by the people
 Abir: *No it is made by the people*
Inno [that is] we saw in Afghanistan
Palestine Iraq
They re-elected them again
 Carole: *You know*
*When there was stuff goin on in **Palestine***
*The **Americans** went on strike*
*The **British** went on strike*
*And here **nobody** or back home*
Nobody even moved
Because here the politics is sooooooooooooo

This excerpt clearly reveals attitudes towards the TLC where awareness of anti-Americanism, resentment of imposition of power, as well as antagonism from intervention in local political affairs was palpable issues alongside appreciation of the TLC's innocence and concern. Abir's intervention that the American people were accountable for their leader's acts was quickly countered by Carole's justification that the attacks stirred more opposition in the streets of the USA than they did in the Arab world. President Bush is held accountable, not the American people, even though Abir blames

the American people for reelecting him. Yasmine later summarizes this almost unanimous stance:

[F7] *I hate what the politicians are doing
I wouldn't hate people because they're American.*

Notably, in the interviews after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (2006), many participants linked anti-Americanism with blind obedience to a political party and its leaders.

[I2] Naim: *there is [a wave of anti-americanism]
Like **this** yaani
And they just **followers**
They **follow** what did the leader of their country says
Like eh inno [that is]
When they are **in a hizb** la nkool [in a political party, let's say]
Inno el hizb **ma** baddo [that is, the party doesn't want]
Dod il American [against the Americans]
Not knowing eh
They'd be blinded
Just like anti-anti-American*

The situated meanings of *this* in the second turn of this excerpt clearly signals what anti-Americanism is for Naim: indiscriminate. This is a literal translation from Arabic where *this* connotes lack of logical reasoning and random behavior [*just like that*]. Thus, anti-Americanism becomes the direct consequence of blind obedience to a party's dictates, which also does not seem to be very logical for Naim as the rejection of everything American is explained by *ma baddo* [the party doesn't want]. The party arbitrarily rejects everything American. The slanted language here clearly signals Naim's own political alignment which opposes such a stance. It was noted earlier that Lebanese politics divided the Lebanese into two main camps: March 14 (supporters of the government) and March 8 (the opposition). The author's reference to the *followers* signals his political affiliation (March 14) through the reference to the followers' indiscriminate and blind obedience (to the opposition's stance of anti-Americanism).

In summary, the students' attitudes towards the TLC were rather negative when it came to their foreign policy and intervention. Concurrently though, America was also the *land of opportunity*, which they regarded as superior:

[F8] *We are **developing**
they are **developed**.*

In short, this antagonism was independent of the language and its people who were mostly innocent of their government's behavior.

5.10.3 Student Motivation to Study English

Quite a few students mentioned that they studied English because it was a required course. However the majority of the students either did not mention obligation or added other reasons to compulsion (all focus group interviews, 10 individual interviews, and 129 written samples). Students' perception of why they were studying English overlapped with the advantages they saw the language playing and could be categorized as follows.

5.10.3.1 Academic Pursuits

Students were motivated to study English because their academic development and advancement was recognized as being in English. [E1] *If I don't know English I can't study the major that I want. I can't be studying physics without knowing English.*

Specific academic skills were also perceived as being English related:

[E1] *I am studying to help me through my academic years, since it's a must to have more than just basic English skills in order to do a research or write an analysis about an experiment you did.*

Students seemed to feel academic life was an incubator stage where they acquired the required capital, primary among which was English, to later be released into the global world and market.

[L] *In my opinion, learning English is a must if a person intends to travel all around the world, have relationships with others, open a business abroad or even work in a foreign company. ...I felt that English was necessary to complete my education. This language will help me widen my horizons and enlarge my opportunities for further studies and business.*

In fact, many students (89%) noted the TL was their medium for better education, even if that relegated Arabic to one hour a day which was thought to be unfair to the language. However, the opposite is also believed to be unfair. Speaking of one of the few local schools where the language of instruction is neither English nor French but Arabic, Makassed, Rachael says,

[I1] *But now my cousins are in Makassed they learn math and sciences in Arabic I was wondering*

that is no fair either.

Her cousins lost access to *The Science Guy*, an educational program that Rachael felt presented information in a much more interesting manner than local programs. Rachael expected to educate her children in a French or English school, even though earlier in the interview she had complained about how Western media was changing Arab identity and how the language was marginalizing Arabic. Traditional teaching strategies in Arabic schools were among the reasons for that but mostly it was because Rachael felt learning English was not optional.

English being the access language for information, knowledge, and recent publications was another incentive for studying English:

[E1]English allows me to talk to people abroad understand the billions of articles on the internet and study science the way the world's leading scientists are studying it.

Needless to say, this goes in line with students' perception of the globalized world as a race with which they had to keep up (see section 5.10.3.5).

Moreover, some students (83%) expressed the belief that education in English and in Western institutions was superior to that in Arabic and in Arabic institutions, thus signaling a preference for education in Western institutions and languages as evident in the following quotes:

[E1]Personally, I am studying English simply because I am a arab citizen living in our arab world which could be described as behind the Western world especially in educational fields, that is why studying in Western university and in English language can be described as a higher level concerning the quality of education compared with the education in our native arabic language and universities.

I am studying English because I believe that English is of no less importance than any other major taught at college. Moreover, all majors depend on English language because they are simply taught in English. Without learning good English you can never achieve success in the major you're studying nor in finding a decent job that suits your degree.

Thus, because academic pursuits necessitated proficiency in the English language, students perceived it as one of the incentives to learn the language.

5.10.3.2 Personal Capital Enhancement

Access to the global workplace requires an advanced personal capital (see section 5.10.3.3). Therefore, students perceived English as a necessary addition to their personal capital which would enable access to social goods.

[L]Personally, I do it [study English] to get a good grade on my transcript that would later improve my chances in finding a job in the future, cause today it has become such a necessity where most nations use it as a standard language. However, thinking about it from another view learning a new language would certainly widen my horizons and I would get a new vision and most importantly I'd be better educated.

Besides a degree from a reputable university, personal capital enhancement could include updated knowledge, broadening of horizon, and consequently coping with this fast-paced demanding lifestyle and world.

Updated knowledge is essential in a globalized marketplace and this is not only achieved through academic education but also through being up to date with new inventions, discoveries and technologies which are accessed through English:

[E1]For me, English is a "must" in my life, and academic future, for in order to me to be 'up-to-date' with every thing new, I need to know another language, and that language is English.

Logically, keeping up (see section 5.10.3.5) with all that is new broadens one's horizons. Because English was the international language of communication, work, and scientific and technological development, many students claimed they studied English to broaden their horizon.

- *[E1]Finally, the English language is important in our life in the future to expand our horizon in work of knowledge.*
- *[E2]To open my mind and access information necessary for a good job.*

This again is related to accessing information which is predominantly in English.

Other students see the world as a struggle or challenge they need to cope with and the English language is a necessary coping mechanism.

[E1]I study English to coope [cope] with the world today, English is used in work, in movies, in the news. If I ever have to work in the U.S. or any other place I must have good english skills in order to be at a good level. Studying and practicing English is the way to develop these skills. I must study English because it is the most used language in the world; futurwise being English.

From this students' perspective, a good level is required to be prepared to coope with the world today. The student looks at English proficiency as an entrance exam signaling

possession of the required elements for success in this world. The world is equated with the global or Western world and not with the respondents' own local environment.

Moreover, the future is in English. The use of the world *cooperates* signals difficulty and turmoil. Another student refers to English as putting him in a *good labor position* while still another student studies English because it is a very important language and

... [L]adding it to my knowledge can only help me knowing that one day I will be behind a desk reading a fax, I will be glad to have learned the language of Shakespeare.

The use of *adding it to my knowledge* clearly signals English as an investment in his knowledge, an increase in his social goods. Thus, the acquisition of English increases his personal capital which, in turn, enhances chances for increase in social goods (*can only help me*). English brings in returns and that is why many students studied it.

Indeed the following excerpt demonstrates students' perception of the magnitude of the English language:

[E1][1]In my opinion, English is such an important language for the following reasons. [2] My communication with my friends is in English. [3] Ninety percent of the books that I have read in my life were in English. [4] Browsing through the internet is done in english manuscripts are in English. [5] My passport is in English. [6]English language has taken over the world as it is the first language internationally and people all around the world are being taught English, if not as a first language then as a second language to prepare them to the outside world.

This paragraph is marked by a repetition of the same sentence structure in sentences 2 – 5 where a heavy subject is followed by the verb and the prepositional phrase *in English*.

The composite subjects consist of what is done in English, the main information, which require more than a simple noun or actor. The repetition of the same sentence structure serves to emphasize the established nature of the action. After the emphatically repetitive sentence structure, the participant, English, becomes the actor, the subject, and takes over the world, an expression usually involving control of a patient, which here is the world.

The subordinate adverbial clause that follows links the two clauses causally; the importance of the English language is attributed to its international status and its instruction in all schools. Likewise, it is taught in schools because of its status. The last part of sentence 6 signals the purpose of instruction in English as being preparation for the outside world. The learner is acquiring skills that will enable him to be released into the workplace which, as we have seen elsewhere, involve both communication with foreigners and travel.

Thus, the role of the English language for the students was incontrovertibly superior to all other languages and a fundamental qualification for everything in life. In short, English provided one with the required skills to change one's predicament:

[F9]Louai: *Yeah because inno [that is]
to try to change
you have to have the skill to change
If you will be.....
You will have a power in your hand
Baddak tseir mneih [you have to become good]
La tikdar itghaier [to be able to change]
Iza baddak itghaier [if you want to change]*

5.10.3.3 Access to Global Workplace

Many students (6 focus group interviews, 8 individual interviews, and 49 written samples), predominantly students in business communication, acknowledged English proficiency as a requisite tool for access to what they regarded as the global workplace which was rich with opportunities as opposed to the local workplace which was stagnant. Thus, their motivation to learn the language was primarily regarded as an investment in personal capital which would enhance future work opportunities or as one student calls it *I3det al shoghol* [work kit].

In fact, there seems to be a global workplace and English was necessary for access and integration. Thus Saheb notes how English proficiency would open the doors of opportunity and is thus mandatory: [E1]*Having the English language in our world as the most spoken and used one globally proved to be an asset as it opens doors to opportunity and success.* It is compared to a passport which opens borders to different countries and allows entry to foreign countries where job opportunities abound. Logically, one of the ways this could be done is the language's ability to ease the transition for the traveler because it makes him/her fit in. Thus, one student states that,

[E2][e]*ven though I am French educated, I chose to study english because I am convinced that this language will offer me a lot of opportunities in the future. Anywhere I go or no matter where I travel, it would be easy for me to fit in the new place. It's a passport that allows me to have a lot of job opportunities anywhere.*

The awareness that English dominated the international workplace and, hence, was necessary for international business transactions and communication was a major incentive

to study the language: *[L]Because I am planning to become a business man so I can enter the international market where everything in it related to the English.* The perception of the global market is very distinct in the students' rationalization of why they studied English, and the key, or passport, allowing entry is the English language.

[L]I personally choose to study English because it is necessary for integration in the professional world nowadays. Also many people In Lebanon speak English when they're together and I'd like to participate in their conversations.

This was more evident for business English students who typically believe that oral and written communication skills, naturally in English, are the passport to the global workplace to which access is determined by whether or not one is linguistically equipped:

- *[L]I am personally studying English to improve my writing and talking skills which are my passport for communication in the future. Nowadays, someone who doesn't know english doesn't have a place in the business world. The consequences of this wide spread of English is going to be felt in the business world since the globalization will increase the world wide competition because everyone understands what is going around in each part of the world.*
- *[L]Thus I am studying English for exactly this purpose, where in my future career I won't be facing any problems in communication, especially that I am a business student and I will be working in that field that demands lots of oral and communication skills to be able to share ideas with people from abroad countries. So English being such an important language would oblige everyone wishing to integrate in today's advanced world to learn this language which would help him increase his knowledge about himself and others and widen his thoughts.*

These two excerpts clearly reveal business students' perception of the importance of the language and the relationship between business, a need for international communication skills, and integration with the world community. English was somewhat a business reference point that has the ability to include and exclude because the global business workplace requires communication skills which the students take for granted are in English.

English was also a means of escape from the limitations of the local job market with its restricted job opportunities. In fact, it is a *door* enabling them to find jobs beyond the limited Lebanese boundaries:

[L]Concerning me, being a business student, I am personally studying english because I consider it a duty to be more correct, a door that would open for me the ways to international success, In other words, I wouldn't have to be bound by the work opportunities given in Lebanon; instead I would try my best to find a prestigious company abroad which would help me prosper in my work field. I would say that English would be one of the factors helping build a good future.

In this perception, Lebanon is limited and does not allow for access to social goods which can be reached through the same door that opens to the international job market: the English language. Similarly, another student states that, through English instruction, he

[L]seek[s] new chances for me beyond the lebanese scope and to create new opportunities that would lead me to the road to success. The English language is one of the key issues that would help fulfill my ambitions and reach to the highest possible levels.

For the same reason, another student asserts that

[L][a]s a business student, English is a very powerful tool to go global, and open to me a bigger horizon to work internationally to find a job in another country. For me business cannot live without English, neither does other jobs as engineers, politicians, etc...

In all focus groups and 10 individual interviews, this need to escape the restrictions of the local job market resounded as a major incentive to study the language and often it was coupled with feelings of turmoil and guilt.

[F8]Hannad: *It's easier*

Mario: */ It's easier*

But this is your country

Susan: */yeah but you know*

You know

How many unemployed

What the rate of unemployment we have here

Or in Jordan or anywhere

So why do you want to come back

When you have an easy way

Just go

And get a lot of money /

Mario */go to other countries*

Arabian

Why don't we go to Arabian countries

[Hannad: *You'll come back and start from scratch*

] Susan: *It's not solving the problem*

When you go to the states

You get more opportunities

Uh health insurannnnncee

Mario recommends work opportunities in the Arab world, possibly the Gulf which many fresh graduates resort to for employment opportunities. Probably going to an Arab country is preferable to going to the USA because it is an Arab country, it is close, and it provides work options. This view, however, was not typical. The more typical perception was Farid's who repeats a common saying, [F3]*Il Franji lal akel, il arabi lal kalb, wa il inglizi la jaibtak*, meaning *The French [language is] for the mind, the Arabic*

[language is] for the heart [and] the English [language is] for the pocket. Thus the English language is the means to fill your pockets.

5.10.3.4 Communication

One of the major roles the English language was accredited with was its role in communication. This was also identified as a reason for which students were studying the language and markedly for Business English students who revealed sensitization to the import of good communication skills in the workplace. Communication skills were equated with English communication skills, naturally since English is the world language:

[L]As a business student in Lebanon learning english is an advantage. It opens a horizon of opportunities to work abroad. Though the subject can be tedious and boring at times, the communication skills learned would be needed in the real world.

The use of the adjective *real* before *world* is significant because, again, it identifies the post-incubator world as the international workplace, not the local one. Another student refers to English writing skills as *my passport to the world*.

[I]As a result to the importance of English in our world, I decided to continue my university studies in English since ... in the outside world not all people talk Arabic or French or even Spanish. The only key to understand each other is English especially that I am a business major and my future job requires the ability to communicate with other companies in Lebanon and abroad. Also, I am planning to live in the united states when finishing my studies because the most important companies are located there. Consequently, the english language is becoming more and more important in our daily life, but this concentration on one language will cause the indifference towards their own language and cultures, as they are becoming more amore attached to this foreign language.

For this student, the motivation to study English is fueled by its being a key to international communication which is requisite in the international workplace. In short for most Business Communication students, the business world is an international business world and it is a place to be *entered*. Entering it is made possible through English, the global language for business communication which has become [E1]a requirement: *I think that the business world today can only be entered by someone who speaks English. English is not only the language of some countries. It is the world's language.*

Unexpectedly, five students claimed they also studied English for self expression. It was as if the English language were the best medium for communicating both with themselves and with others.

- *[E1]I find myself in English. I can give, feel, and interact with other people through English. It seems a lot easier to express oneself through this language. For example, I find emotions, sympathy and expression of feelings a lot easier to express in English rather than my native language which is Arabic.It makes me confident about my personality, not afraid about expressing any thought that goes through my head, I guess I'm studying English to supply my future search with future careers with more hope and luck. To be bilingual is a weapon that finds the proper ways not to hit the wall of isolation from reality and lose any sensible touch of communication with different societies.*
- *[E1]To express myself. The more I learn about the English language the more ways I discover to say what I have to say.*

5.10.3.5 Integration with World Community

Students clearly perceived a global world community and voiced a need to integrate with the global workplace community and the English language was the medium. The English language is again perceived as a tool that enables access to and integration with the global world community through its facilitation of communication. Many students (80%) expressed this global integrative goal behind their studying English:

[E1]The English language helped in the globalization we are living in our time and is going to lead to a global country someday in the future when all borders would fall due to not only globalization but also due to the globalization of our cultures. I am studying English to keep up and to be part of what will soon change the world and the concept of country and borders.

Keeping up, a major factor in being a part of this globalized world, is a major incentive for studying English and, as noted elsewhere, improves access to knowledge and information as well as entrance to the global workplace. As a result of globalization, the author sees the world becoming a *global country*, not simply a global community with one national language, English, and one global culture, implicitly the Western one. Wanting to join in functions as an incentive for learning English. However, the world is perceived as a fast developmental process leading to a new form of globalization in which the whole world is literally one country. This process is a race in various developments and if one does not maintain the required skills and competencies, s/he will be left behind, will not *keep up*.

The *keeping up* requisite associated with integration with the world community was very common in students' writing through the frequent usage of the phrase to *keep up*. Their perception of the global community and workplace was one of competition, and rapid development which necessitated constant upgrading of skills:

[L]If you want to fit in the world with all the changes that are occurring, you must at least understand this language.

This requires keeping up with the global worlds' informational requirements:

[L]For me, English is a 'must' in my life, and academic future, for in order to me to be "up-to-date" with every thing new, I need to know another language, and that language is English.

In fact, one student confirms that he is studying English

[E1]in order to be up-to-date with everything from new innovations & science around the world & be able to deal with people abroad.

For that, English was requisite because it was the language through which knowledge could be accessed. More significantly,

[E2]developing countries 'need' to learn English to keep up with the technological development in the world today. In addition to that, one is ought to learn this language in order to be able to keep up with the world today.

Thus, implicitly, the developed world is perceived as being superior in several areas and to belong to the global community and workplace, or to be plugged in, one needs to own English.

Another student expresses similar perceptions:

[E2]Finally, I feel proud to be able to use the English language in all its forms because I know that without having and mastering this language, I will be limited in my near future to a very small domain. That is why, to reach the international level, I have to have acquired the English language very well. Thus, I am personally studying English, other than I am forced to do it in my university, because I really think that it's a major plus to reach the worldwide level. Last but not least, I can conclude from my environment that English is the mean to reach your goals and everything you want and without it you have nothing.

The student here speaks of an international and *worldwide level*, beyond Lebanon, which may not be reached without English. Thus, for some students the integrative and instrumental orientations were linked and coexistent:

[E1]I need it in my studying and in my future work. In addition to that improving my language skill in English would be a good benefit which helps me communicate with most people worldwide nowadays.

5.10.3.6 Life Ipso facto

87% of the students also explicitly or implicitly claimed they studied English because they had no choice because of English language dominance since English was the world's international language. The accrued benefits make it mandatory: *I would have taken English either way, but not for the love of it, for its importance and benefits.* Thus English becomes life's ipso facto. After an elaborate discussion of the cultural and linguistic damage resulting from the role of English, one student capitulates and says:

[E2]In spite of all that, English will continue to develop and spread, whether it was beneficial or harmful, we will learn it. But moderate learning and preserving our roots are the best way to keep in touch with the world and being faithful to our Heritage.

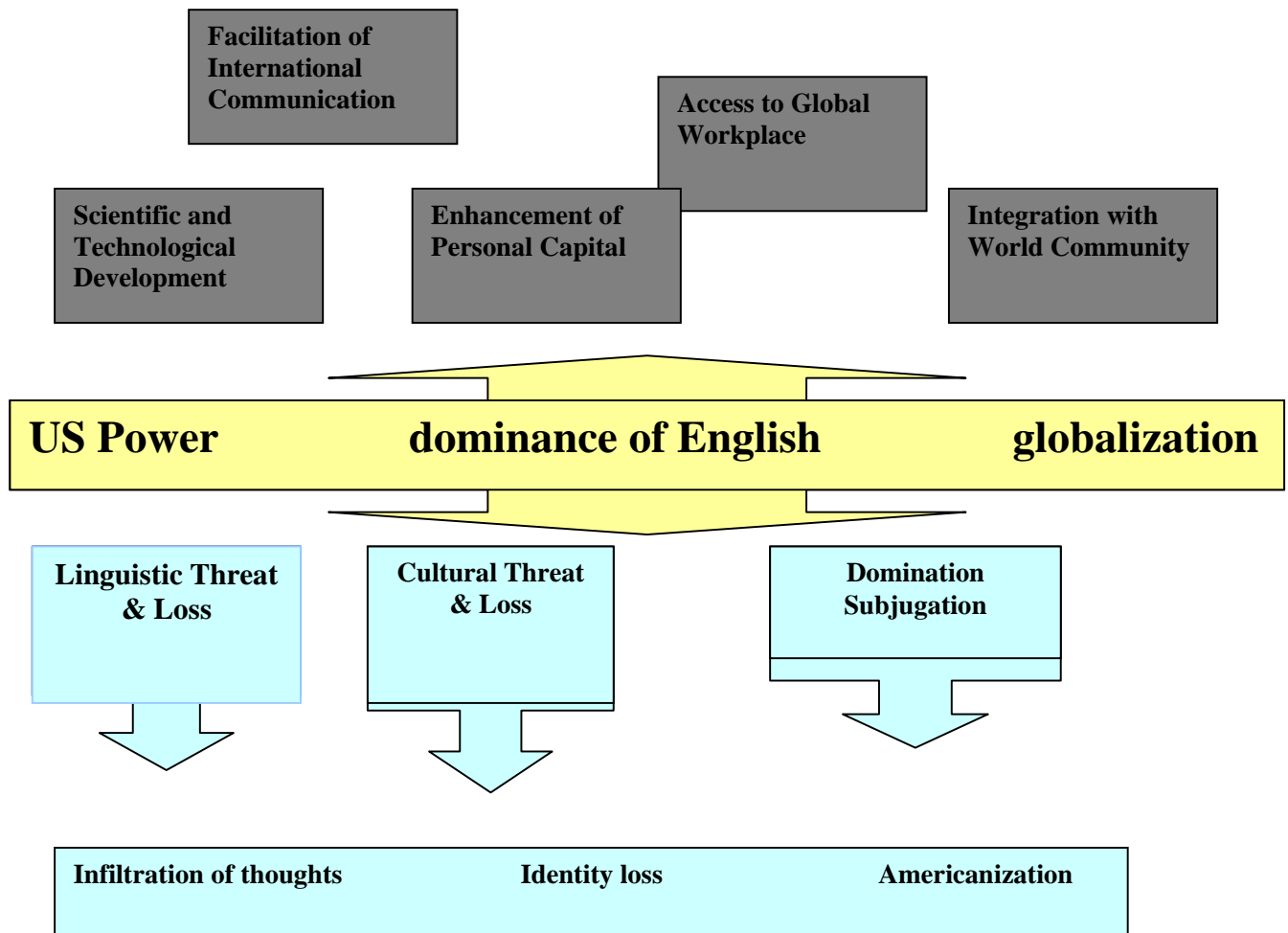
Its status as the international language of communication leaves no choice but to accommodate to this dominance and to cut one's losses wherever possible. One student adds: [E1] *I have been taught English ever since I was little and have it all around me ever since then.... It has made my life easier.* English is a part of one's reality, but this consistent presence is not resented. Thus, a frequently voiced perception was of English as a must in this current world ([E1]*In my opinion, learning English is a must*) and this was more so for business English students. Thus, it made pragmatic sense to learn the language:

... [E2]because despited it being a requirement for my major at A.U.B., it is very beneficial and I use it in my everyday life. I am also very positive I will continue to use it for the rest of my life, whether it be in university or later on when I get a job, or even if I want to travel to other countries, it will always be very useful, if not necessary.

Simply put, students were studying English because it was directly linked to chances of success and the reasons for that may be explained by the metaphors used in combination with why students were studying the language: English was *a key, a passport, a bridge, a tool*, and so on that enabled students to ... *have a better chance at succeeding in my life.*

Figure 19 summarizes the General DM for student perception of the relationship between the TL, TLC, and the students' context:

Figure 19: Summary DM for Student Perception of the Relationship between the TL, TLC, and Context



Chapter 6: Conclusion and Implications

This chapter will answer my research questions by first considering the findings and research methods and research questions and will conclude with suggestions for future research.

6.1 Background

My findings signal several observations concerning the context. Primarily, the student context reflects basic inconsistencies and contradictions revolving mainly around Western identity and culture in contrast to Arab culture and identity. This is problematic, particularly in the context of incompatible discontent with and yet need for the West.

Also of significance in relation to the background is the degree of disenchantment with Arab countries, culture, and identity students expressed which I found alarming. In light of these findings, it is safe to state that dissatisfaction with the context is a core contributor to student motivation in that it produces a need to escape the milieu.

6.2 Research Methods

The research methods chosen should be evaluated. First, I must confirm that my belief that different information would be generated through the use of both individual and group interviews was legitimate. It was actually worthwhile to probe individual perceptions in the individual interviews and to probe the rich relationships of ideas and links that students formed in the group interviews. Indeed, the amount and depth of information generated would probably not have been achieved if gathered through a quantitative study, nor could it have been predicted by the researcher nor factored into the interview schedule. The use of qualitative data disclosed areas relevant to language learning I was unaware of, such as the impact of the dominance of the TL on native identity. The insight into student perception of Arab identity was invaluable. However, most certainly, the amount of data was massive and data analysis did require much more time than it would have in a quantitative study.

Nonetheless, qualitative data should be collected through use of available technology which facilitates recording and transcription of data. Moreover, I may have gained further insight into my respondents' perceptions had I video recorded the interviews.

The written sources were also very useful. Because the prompts were general, I could ascertain that my categories were meaningful. I particularly found the corrections students made to their text very significant. Moreover, the different types of data also served as a means of triangulation.

Follow up interviews, however, would have been useful. I suspect that even though the contextual meaning seemed to corroborate my interpretations, students may not always have intended the grammatical choices, as indicated in the data analysis section below.

6.3 Data Analysis

I found Gee's framework for data analysis very useful particularly in relation to DMs and Conversations which made me aware of the larger context relevant to student responses. Nonetheless, I wonder how sensitive students are to the import of their lexical and grammatical choices and whether they are intentional. We have to remember that students' repertoire of lexical choices as well as familiarity with different grammatical structures are limited and therefore our explanation of their choices may not be well-founded. Again, that is why follow up interviews would be useful.

6.4 Research Questions

My research questions were mostly answered in a satisfactory manner. The answer to the question of whether students were motivated to learn English is affirmative. English was the perceived means for gratifying their need to integrate to a global community from and through which affluence and promise would accrue.

In response to the question of what motivates students to learn English, my study confirms that the role it plays as a LF is central to enhancement of personal capital and hence access to the global workplace and integration with the world community. Among

the major reasons behind these motives is escape from the limitations of the local context and workplace. Indeed students perceived English as their passport to a new and more promising future, a future outside Lebanon. Most importantly, the answer to the question of how students regard the English language was mostly positive since it was the tool for attainment of positive things. The question on how English being a world language affects student motivation to learn the language is also associated with its LF role. This was central and served to override the negative impact of its dominating role.

Gardner's definition of motivation (1985) includes action to achieve the language learning goal. Nevertheless, my personal 25-year-experience with these students informs me that this motivation is passive, for minimal effort is expended in the learning process. Indeed, students' attitude is more of "It's just English," a required course they need to pass to complete graduation requirement. I suspect that Dörnyei *et al*'s (2006) explanation of poor student performance explains this lack of investment. Lebanese students may not have a well developed salient ideal L2 self which stipulates the internalization of being proficient in the language, an ought-to self that needs to be proficient, and meaningful L2 learning experience. The main issue I believe is in the internalization. These students do have an ideal self that is proficient and know they ought to be proficient (they have high pragmatic incentives). The learning context (as related to the classroom) is positive. Students probably have not completed the internalization process. Moreover, even though the classroom context is purportedly acceptable, the general context is not.

Students' perception of the TL is mostly positive, typically in relation to its global role as a LF; however, many students echoed the Ecology of Language Paradigm in their perception of the organic link between language and culture and their fear of the impact of English dominance on the native language and Arab identity. How truly they valued Arab identity, however, is questionable since the Lebanese youth clearly emulate western behavior and clearly express an integrative motivation which is so strong that they plan on actually becoming a part of the TLC. Nonetheless, this is for instrumental purposes and the impact of the TL on Arab identity is indeed a concern for these students.

The pragmatic advantages of the role of the language tended to overshadow these disadvantages. Thus, their perceptions were mostly positive, particularly with regards to the role of English as a world language. Most importantly, however, in their perception, global English provided them with the qualification and the means to surmount the limitations of the social context. Graddol's prediction (1997) that English will lose its gatekeeper powers is roundly rejected by the participants who believe that English will continue to determine where they stand on the socio-economic ladder.

The answer to the question of whether there are negative attitudes towards the TLC is affirmative and accentuates the impact of the context. The students clearly expressed negative attitudes towards the TLC often to the point of exemplifying Huntington's clash of civilizations (section 1.2). Clearly, there was evidence of resentment of interference in local and regional politics. The Conversation of West versus East is undeniably a major component of their perception of the TLC. However, the answer to whether the political context characterized by anti-Americanism and suspicion of the West impacted the motivation to learn the language was a definite no. Arguably, this is due to pragmatic reasons where the role of the LF made it not only compulsory but also desirable. Hence, my findings both contradict and corroborate Lamb (2004), questioning the relevance of favorable attitudes towards the TLC. The attitudes are significant, but, again, pragmatism and self promotion supersede all other concerns.

My findings concur with the literature in the field in some other significant areas. My study validates the conviction that integrative and instrumental orientations and motivations are no longer clearly distinguishable. Students' integrative motivation is so closely linked to instrumental motives that distinction between the two is blurred. In fact, examining Figure 19, one notes that integration with a world community is matched with instrumental motives (i.e. access to employment opportunities and social goods). This may be due to the changing needs in a globalized world where English language proficiency has become a basic skill rather than an option.

Abu-Rabia & Feuerverger's (1996) conviction of the importance of the sociopolitical context in relation to language learning is upheld. Even though my study queries a relation between attitudes towards the TL and TLC on language motivation, when the stakes are as high as they are in Lebanon, there may come a time when the pragmatic motives are neutralized. I, therefore, believe there is a need to constantly investigate the impact of such attitudes which may be indirect influences on motivation.

My study also showed the participants' agreement with Phillipson (2001) that the application of LHR could be problematic as an attempt to enforce usage of the native tongue could result in 'English-speaking- have-nots' (189). Nonetheless, the majority was concerned about how English was taking over other areas formerly the domain of Arabic. The salvation of Arabic was not to be at their personal expense.

My findings confirm Abu Rabia's (1996) significance of language as related to identity and self-esteem. My study clearly demonstrates a problem with student self-perception in relation to both the TL and TLC. This I believe is at the core of my findings. The statuses of the English language and the TLC with all the implication of that power were perceived as dwarfing Arab identity and thus the self-esteem of the participants. It is my belief that this is directly related to the feeling of helpless impotence that characterizes the participants' self perception.

However, my study also contests some of the findings in previous research. House (2003) and Shaaban & Ghaith (2002) discuss how different languages serve different purposes and roles for speakers. My findings signal a shift in the role of the Arabic language as the predominant language for personal and social communication. My sample showed that English reigns in areas of both personal and social expression in spite of some reluctance on students' part. Resentment of English for its power includes some grudge for the marginalization of Arabic. In other words, Arabic has lost its vital role as the medium for interpersonal communication and cultural conversations, as a national and personal identity marker, and as a medium of entertainment; likewise, English has also overtaken French's cultural activities role. For these students, English was everywhere and in everything around them. This demise of Arabic's role, and most

notably as an identity marker, could potentially result in negative attitudes towards the TL which could hinder language learning.

My findings do not corroborate the relationship between popular culture, the media, leisure time activities and positive attitudes towards the TL (Forsman 2000; Sjöholm 2004), as students mostly voiced negative attitudes relating the influence of these forces to cultural and linguistic damage. Nonetheless, their appropriation of American pronunciation, slang, and appearance make me wonder whether there is a distinction in these students' minds between what is and what should be and whether they are voicing the latter. Specter's (1998) avoidance of native speaker fluency is certainly not characteristic of my students; on the contrary, students sought to perfect native speaker accents.

My findings roundly contest many scholars' (e.g. Lamb 2004 and Widdowson 1994) conviction that with globalization, association of English with a specific TLC is tenuous. For these participants, the English language was not linked to an abstract indistinct world community but unmistakably to a specific TLC and, more specifically, to the American people. This is significant since it signals different perception of the TL and TLC in different parts of the world. It also underscores the need for ongoing consideration of the attitudes towards the TL and TLC even though in this sample the language was notably free from the negative associations made with the American political leadership. The belief that the TLC is no longer a distinct entity may translate into oversight of potentially influential variables impacting attitudes and their impact on language learning.

Syed speaks of "membership in at least two worlds" (2001: 130) and Arnett (2002: 777) of *bicultural identity*. My findings also question the validity of how equal the membership is. True, there are some traits of Arab identity rooted in Arab culture; nonetheless, with Arab culture becoming so diluted and with its being perceived so negatively, coinciding with such high integrative motivation to a world community, one wonders whether a *global* identity is indeed overtaking the possibility of a bicultural identity. My sample reflected a need to escape the restrictions of an Arab identity and

notably identified with a global identity that was mostly modeled after an **American** identity as reflected in the media. Thus, based on my findings, speaking of a bicultural identity, even though desirable, seems idealistic.

My findings also contest the appropriation and resistance that many scholars, such as Widdowson (1997) and Canagarajah (1999), argue for and with which they rationalize the impact of global English. My study demonstrates limited and superficial appropriation with participants mostly emulating the TLC's behavior and ideals. In fact, appropriation is mostly absent and imitation is predominant since the Arab identity followed without resistance. It could be said that appropriation and resistance have themselves been appropriated by instrumental motives and integrative motivation but to the world community. However, arguably, the degree and colossal price of globalization and cultural effacement are grounds for concern, and whether this will result in return to the grassroots (Huntington 1993) remains to be seen.

6.5 Implications

The implications of my study for language learning relate to both students and teachers.

6.5.1 Implications for Students

The implication of my study on students is in the obvious need for application of critical pedagogy (Canagarajah 2002a; Wallace 1999) which works on the students' self-perception. What I will call the *Arab identity inferiority complex* is a major issue that needs to be addressed and problematized. The students need to be made aware of the victim status they resign themselves to and to take charge of their own status, something only two students did, while the rest attributed blame to others. This signals the need for student empowerment, accountability, and constructive self-enhancement. On another level, I believe that my study suggests the need for instilment of more constructive problem-solution strategies.

The Lebanese English language speaker is restricted to the parameters of center usage and rules which are considered as the unconditionally correct usage and rules irrespective of whether this allows for his/her full expression needs. *World Englishes* would be considered incorrect English and Lebanese English substandard. Critical pedagogy is necessary to make students aware of alternative textual norms that could better express the students' values (Canagarajah 2002a). Students need to be made aware of viable options and limitations for written as well as oral expression. Rather than conforming blindly to the L1 as the normative standard, students should be encouraged to experiment with language and to appropriate language to express their own positions and interests. Moreover, through critical pedagogy, students should be made aware of the ideological charge language carries and how that affects their thoughts.

6.5.2 Implications for Teachers

Even though investigation of the teacher's role was not part of my research, there are some insights worthy of mention. Among these is the uncritical adoption of Western pedagogy. It confirms the need for a critical pedagogy which does not uncritically accept the received pedagogies but is aware of the covert ideologies and their potential impact on the students. One of the major reasons for considering the application of a critical pedagogy is the empowerment of teachers and students as communicators. Moreover, a critical perspective would help avoid adoption of decontextualized forms of communication such as Ritzer's (1996) *McCommunication*, Cameron's *verbal hygiene* (1996) and Fairclough's (1995) *technologization of discourse*. In fact, this study explains much of my own behavior as an educator.

There is a need for a relativistic as opposed to normative approach (Canagarajah 2002a: 12) where teachers "take into account the students' own explanations and orientations into account in their own cultural and linguistic traditions, to explain their writing practice" adopting a *difference-as-resource perspective* (Canagarajah 2002a: 12-13)

Teachers should be made more confident in their pedagogy and should be resistant to *anglocentricity* and *professionalism* (Phillipson 1992). This empowerment of teachers is

necessary so they are not “the dupes of overpowering social structures and events, but active, reflective agents in the ongoing construction of social reality” (Block and Cameron 2002: 4). Some administrative changes would be necessary because in Lebanon the outdated myth of the native speaker superiority remains, notably at the detriment of the local teachers and hence the students.

Another issue I feel warrants attention is the lack of confidence in the skills of teachers and local books. The production of local books could address some of the problems of using books produced in the West. However, teacher preference for Western books noted by Shaaban (2005) should be countered by Ghaith & BuJwade’s (2006) recommendations for training and upgrading the CERD textbook authors’ skills rather than dismissing them as unsuitable. This would serve the purposes of increasing teachers’ confidence in their skills and may improve content since it is the teachers that are more in contact with the students’ interests and weaknesses. The locally produced text may better address local issues and needs.

It is also necessary for teachers to foreground ideologies in texts and make students aware of them to counter globalization trends because “issues of power have become more subtle and dispersed” (Canagarajah 2002a). Teachers should include a more critical but tolerant approach.

6.6 Future Research

An area worthy of future investigation is the relationship between resentment of American power, popular culture and the Lebanese emulation of the west, and Arab identity. Even though most respondents expressed resentment for the changes to Arab culture and the Americanization of the world, for the hegemony of American power, it is paradoxical that they followed and identified with American culture to a great degree. My study identified pragmatic reasons as overriding other concerns. However, the other reasons behind this younger generation’s emulation and identification with an American identity and culture and how this relates to both self perception and language learning should be further investigated, particularly when the attitude towards Arab identity is so negative. In fact, the literature on Islamophobia and anti Arabism is remarkably abundant. To what extent this paradox impacts language learning warrants investigation.

This could include an investigation of the impact of demotivation and political affiliation. As noted earlier, anti-Americanism in Lebanon is more pronounced in certain political and religious groups; therefore, it would be insightful to explore whether difference in attitudes towards the language is dependent on political / religious group belonging and how that affects the motivation to study and probably more importantly use the language (WTC). However, this would require participants' categorization by religious and political affiliation which I believe would be problematic in the Lebanese context. If a delicate means for such categorization is devised, the findings of such a study could be very significant.

A major area that requires further probing is whether the TL is indeed taking over all areas of communication as the majority of respondents feared. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether Shaaban & Ghaith's (2002) categorization of language use still holds. The English language seems to be replacing all other languages in most domains. My sample consisted of students at the American University of Beirut. To what extent and for which purposes do other segments of the Lebanese population communicate in English? Does English have the upper hand in the typically French universities or circles in Lebanon and if so in what areas?

Finally, research into what would make students exert effort proportionate with their expressed motivation and awareness of the necessity of the language would be useful for the actual classroom context. It has been argued that participants are aware of the import of the language. It would be worthwhile to conduct a study in which more immediate and effective motivators are identified and translated into practical recommendations for the classroom teacher.

In conclusion, research on attitudes and motivation in language learning should be ongoing, particularly in conflict zones like Lebanon. With so many rapid and often turbulent changes, many of which do not favor positive attitudes and enhance language learning, attitudes and motivation in language should be regularly re-examined.

Appendix A: Interview Schedule

- 1. English: What words / ideas come to mind?**
- 2. What role is the English language playing in the world today?**
- 3. How do you feel about that?**
- 4. Do you feel it is important to study English? Why?**
- 5. Why are you personally studying English?**
- 6. What would you lose if you didn't study English?**
- 7. What is the importance of studying English?**
- 8. I am going to say two words and I want you to say the first words that come to your mind**

America / American

England / British

}

What comes to mind?
- 9. How do you feel about speaking English?**
- 10. Do your feelings about Americans and the British affect your feelings towards the English language?**
- 11. How do you feel about English being a world language, about its importance?**
- 12. Does anti-Americanism in the Arab world affect your wanting to learn the language? / If you were to study English now, would the current political occurrences affect the way you feel about the language? About learning it?**
- 13. What is the relationship between language and thought? Do you feel that language controls thoughts?**
- 14. Do you feel learning English shapes / affects your thoughts?**
- 15. How do you feel about that?**
- 16. Do you feel the status of English in the world today is a form of linguistic imperialism?**
- 17. When you have children, would you put them in American or French schools?**

Appendix B: Interview Participants' Linguistic Background

	P	G	LSE	LPE	PHL	SHL	THL	PFL	YOE
Focus 1	1	F	E	A	A	E	FR	FR	7
	2	F	FR	E	FR	A	E	FR	7
	3	F	FR	FR	A	FR	A	E	9
Focus 2	4	F	E	E	A			A	11
	5	M	E	E	A	E		A	13
	6	M	E	E	A	E	FR	E	12 +
	7	M	E	E	A	E		A	12
	8	F	E	E	A	E/FR		A	12
	9	F	E	E	E	A		E	13
Focus 3	10	M	A	E	A	E	FR	A	15
	11	M	E	E	E	A	FR	E	10
	12	M	FR	FR	A	FR	E	A	6
	13	F	A	E	A	FR	E	FR	7
	14	M	A	E	A	E	FR	A	15
	15	M	E	E	E	A	FR	E	10
Focus 4	16	M	E	E	A	E	FR/I	E	12
	17	F	E	E	E	A/S		E	12
	18	F	E	E	A	E		A	12
	19	M	E	E	A	E		A	12
Focus 5	20	F	E	E	A	E		A	12
	21	F	FR	FR	A	E	FR	A	6
	22	M	E	E	A			A	12
	23M		E	E	A	E		A	12
	24	F	E	E	A	E		A	12
Focus 6	25	F	E	FR	AR	FR	A/E	E	12
	26	F	A	FR	A	FR	E	A	6
	27	M	E	FR	A	AR		A	15
	28	M	E	FR	A	E	GR	A	10
Focus 7	29	F	A	E	A	E		A	5
	30	F	E	E	A	E		A	12
	31	F	A	E	E	A	FR	E	15
Focus 8	32	F	A	E	A	E	FR	A	14
	33	F	A	E	A	FR	E	A	14
	34	F	A	FR	A	E	FR	A	12
	35	F	E	FR	A	E		E	13
	36	M	E	E	AR	A	E/S	E	14
	37	M	E	FR	A	E		E	14
Focus 9	38	M	A	E	A	E		A	15
	39	M	FR	FR	A			A	6
	40	M	E	E	A	E		A	15
	41	F	FR	E	AR	FR	E	AR	9
Indivl	42	F	E	E	A			A	15
	43	F	E	E	R	A	E	R	12
	44	F	E	E	A	E		E	12
	45	F	E	E	A	E		E	12
	46	M	FR	FR	FR	A		FR	15
	47	F	E	E	A			A	12
	48	M	E	E	A	E		A	13
	49	F	FR	E	FR	A	E	FR	7
	50	F	E	E	E	A		E	13
	51	M	E	E	A	E		A	12
	52	M	E	E	E	A	FR	E	13
	53	M	A	E	A	E	FR	A	15

P: Participant

G: Gender

LSE: Language of secondary education

LPE: Language of primary education

PHL: Primary home language

SHL: Secondary home language

THL: Third home language

PFL: Perceived first language

YOE: Years of English

FR: French

S: Spanish

E: English

A: Arabic

AR: Armenian

I: Italian

R:

GR: German

Appendix C: Participant Biographic Data Form

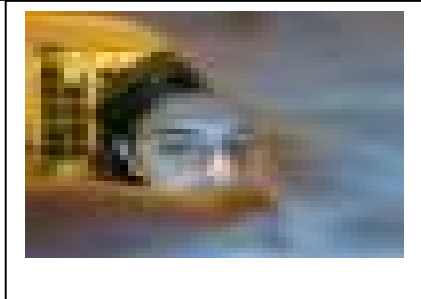
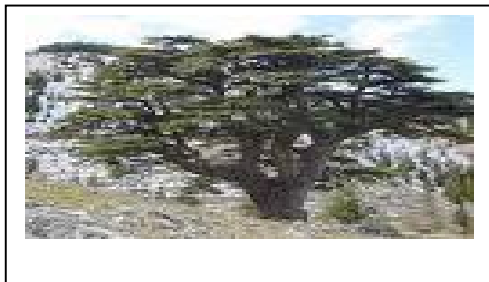
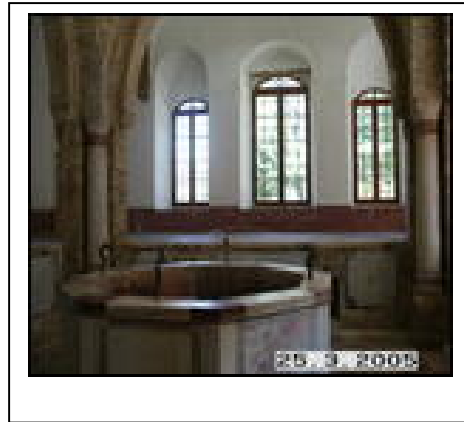
Name: _____ email _____ Focus Group No. ____

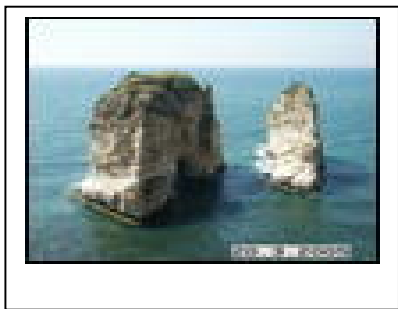
Date: _____

Directions: Please fill in the blanks with the requested biographic data.

1. Current course with Sinno _____
2. Male _____ Female _____ Age: _____
3. Language of primary education: _____ English _____ Arabic _____ French _____
4. Language of secondary education: _____ English _____ Arabic _____ French _____
5. For how many years did you study English at school? _____
6. Which English courses did you take at AUB? _____
7. Languages spoken at home (Please rank from 1 – 4 one being the main language spoken at home. Do not place a number before any language not spoken at home.)
____ English
____ French
____ Arabic
____ Armenian
____ Other (Please specify _____)
8. How would you rank your English proficiency?
____ Excellent
____ Very Good
____ Good
____ Poor
____ Very poor
9. Which language would you say is your first language? _____
Second? _____
10. Why are you studying English?

Appendix D: Interview Pictures





Appendix E: Theme Color Codes

Role of English

intrinsic

+ US supremacy

+ US tool

+ globalization

Advantages of Supremacy of English /ELF

Need
fulfillment

communication

Bus See Tech LF

Gatekeeper/
opener

Disadvantages of Supremacy of English

domination

Ling/cult threat
Americanization

TL & thought
control

Identity
obliteration

Perception of TL & TLC

Descriptors

Anti-
Americanism

Motivation

Academic

Capital
enhancement

Access to global
workplace

communication

Integration world
community

Ipsa facto

Appendix F: Focus Group 6 Interview [October 12, 2006]

Picture Discussion:

No Discussion // prompted

Abdallah: We discuss them together?

Researcher: Yes... yes

Abdallah: eh.....

Walid: They are having a party

Researcher: I want you to discuss them amongst you

Lamia: This describes eh

Lebanese night life

Walid: Parties.... The young....

Abdallah: Yani compare theeeeeeeee signs

With the building

Walid: well Eh....

Abdallah: It is contradictory

Lamia: It is **very** contradictory

Layal: Yes..... eh.....

There is many contradictory

Lamia: How is the... .. Victory

if you have all this

destruction

destruction in the background

eh.....

It cannot be

Abdallah: Yes eh as she said...

Yani all the picture

Eh has in detail the destructed

Opposition and the signs... ..

The signs eh... ..

Walid: /indicates victory/

Layal: /It shows

Walid: indicates victory

and the building indicates

Lamia: /the opposite/

Layal: /yeah the opposite

Abdallah: Indicates... ..

Indicates the both extreme positions

The one who made destructions

And the one who is claiming he

He... who is claiming he has the victory

From not

On the level of material things

Layal: and he is **blaming**

Researcher: who is he blaming

Abdallah: america!

Layal: After all
 All this...
 What is it that was made in the USA

Abdallah: They are **blaming**... the USA

Walid: what is it

Abdallah: It is political... ..
 It's political

Walid: meaning

Lamis: more than... it's REAL

Abdallah: It makes a difference.

Researcher: meaning what?

Lamis: meaning that it is
 Inno yanni

Abdallah: Israel and the USA are like
 The same or
 They are united/

Layal: /after all they ARE the same/

Abdallah: /No
 It makes a difference
 Because inno
 if made in USA
 because there is nowwww
 USA is the only monopoly in the world
 So if ... if... ..
 If it is acting acting in that way it
 It will be very hard for other people to be able to
 Give them all the support to... ..

Researcher: Do you agree that it is made in the USA?
 Abdallah you said it is not important
 But do you agree that it is made in the USA?

Abdallah: Somehow... .. someday

Walid: YES in a way or another
 It **is** responsible
 Because the bombs
WERE made in the USA

Layal: All the people agree
 that it was the Israeli /American war here
 against the Iranian war here
 by Israel
 or they are united

Walid: After all they **ARE** the same

Researcher: O.K. O.K.
 You can put the pictures away.
 I am gonna say a word and I want you to say anything that comes to your mind
 Anything
 English

Walid: technology
 Technology

Abdallah: literature

Researcher: anything else?

Abdallah: poetry

Layal: songs

Walid: English people

Lamis: American English

[ALL LAUGH]

Researcher: What role did English play in the world today

Walid: the easiest way to communicate
in the world today

Researcher: you see

The way I would like to do this

Is to have **you** discuss the topics

Amongst you

not give **me** the answers

Walid: It's the easiest way to communicate with people

Abdallah: people that come from different cultures

Different backgrounds

It is a **common** language

Lamis: /language

Walid: Yeah

Researcher: so then what do you see the role of the English language in the world today

Walid: The USA being

Lamis: the strongest country

Walid: the emphasize

As a forced

As the over-emphasis

And the companies

UNCLEAR BECAUSE OF OVERLAP

Abdallah: Laiki iddet al soghl yanni

Accessory

Researcher: so you are comparing it to a work kit?

You have to

{ALL AGREE}

Have English to

Abdallah: to be a strong entity

You have to have many

many strong things

Culture

strong things

strong language

strong background

Walid: maybe maybe

Some of these

You cannot work without English

Lamis: [not clear]

Walid: yanni you can open a small shop

[UNCLEAR]

Walid: It's a key yaani [that is]

Abdallah: with the expansion also of the internet

Lamis: French also

Researcher: French also

Lamis: But not as much as

Walid: the globalization yani

No

Until now we still have some colonization

All over the world yanni

Layal: Not as much as English

Walid: America the US

Researcher: colonization?

What do you mean?

Walid: Yes.....

The power of other nations

The United States

It is still controlling other nations

So to be able to communicate eh

Its presence is obliging other people
to learn English today.

.....

Like Lebanon here

It was French colonization

They used to speak French

It was a French colonization

Therefore, now English is dominant

Abdallah: it's a KEY yanni

Researcher: So... ..

Walid: ~~Yes, now~~

If you want to see how English language is important

You have to compare it with another language

Like Arabic for example

Why don't like people

The do business talk

In Arabic

Lamis: Bitlaa raeis al jamhourieh

Ala tareik

Biyehki bil inglisi

Abdallah: it's no

It's not

professional

Walid: ~~it should be~~

because

Abdallah: NO I don't think like this

It's not professional

It's not professional

Walid: It's a language

But it's not maybe
 Known
 Or used
 Lamis: not used well
 Abdallah: eh but can you imagine yourself
 Sitting in a meeting
 Kala was kolto
 Walid: Yeah if you are in the arab world
 You have to ignore English eh...
 Ignore business
 Abdallah: Laa, not for
 Walid: how can we talk
 Like with friends
 we sometimes talk in Arabic
 We find it much easier and eh
 Reliable yanni
 Abdallah: Laa really
 Researcher: to talk in Arabic?
 Walid: yeah yeah yanni
 I find myself more funny
 Lamis: Yeah with me too
 I can't joke in English
 Walid: yeah not more funny
 Yeah yeah
 I find it easier to ask for something
 Lamis:
 Abdallah: Arabic
 Layal:
 Walid: to get out the Arabic language
 It's impossible yanni
 Ana I can't imagine a politic
 Imagine a political inno
 Inno a Lebanese political
 Who is speaking in English
 You are an arab person
 You should speak in Arabic
 Why when they come to Lebanon
 They speak in English
 Abdallah: I believe language has
 An emotional state
 also
 not just like it's a way to
 eh... communicate with others
 It's a way to... eh...to...
 Maybe... eh... exchange emotions or something
 Researcher: So Arabic is the way to exchange what
 And English is the way to exchange what?
 Abdallah: It's only business language

Researcher: English is only a business language?

Walid: yeah

Abdallah: yes

Researcher: there's nothing else inno

Lamis: No

Walid: If you

If you hear a

Qaseideh line

Arabi

And a poet in English

Inno it really has more meaning

In arabi

Researcher: Abdallah, Lamis, Layal, what do you think?

Abdallah: because they use so many hard level Arabic words

Walid: uhum... it's the cultural

If you read so much

You will be able to but

If you read so much poetry

In English

You will

Abadallah: eih...bad

Walid: Baedni la halak am bikra

Poetry bil English

Wa ma am bifham sho am yehkoo

Abdallah: Yes bas you have the

You have to

Walid: keep in mind

This is the difference

Researcher: Is this because your linguistic skills?

Lamis: it depends on the language

Walid: both

Researcher: [summing up] So you feel the English language plays an important role but not for everyday

Walid: not for everyday

For certain... eh...

Abdallah: My neice... her mom talks to her only in English

She barely knows a couple of words of Arabic

She is 3 years old

Researcher: and

Abdallah: her mom is trying to

Ger her used to the English

Researcher: at the expense of her own language?

Abdallah: **NO NO NO**

But I mean

She is not fluent in her Arabic

But she's gonna learn in school

But eh... some... some

Researcher: What do you think of that?

Walid: Ana I would divorce my wife if she would do that

Researcher: because?

Walid: Because she should learn **ARABIC**

And English

But Arabic as the main language

Layal: if you don't have a strong

Arabic base

You can't

Lamis: you will obviously lose

Because Arabic is

a difficult language

Abdallah: But nothing you learn at home

It's the slang

Is gonna do you any good at school

Layal: eh, that's true

{.....}

Abdallah: what bothers me is... ..

The base of the language

Will not be as strong

Abdallah: Bil Akes

Bil Ammeh...?

She's very good

Btehki il fosha

She doesn't know any

Walid: Nobody

Talk at home il fosha yanni

{.....}

Researcher: So how do you feel about the role of the language?

Abdallah: It's good because we know it

Researcher: Ah... O.K. yeah

Walid: It's a good thing

Bit exaggerated the role of English

People are using it **WAY TOO** much

I mean

Especially in Lebanon

I mean

Everywhere you go to schools

People talk in Arabic

And French

But most of the people talk in English

Ahyou barely find

You rarely find

a group people sitting and talking Arabic

... ..

Abdallah: Nowadays you can find

Find groups talking

Arabic and English

At the same time

Lamis: Yeah yeah

Walid: Eh they use three languages in one sentence

Researcher: Is that good or bad?

Lamis: for what

Walid: English is only important because you can work
Or you can do business
Through using English language
Yanni it's the key to start

Abdallah: / working

Researcher: Working?

Walid: But it's not good
If you eh....
Want to use it for another
Eh.. ...

Researcher: So English is mostly for work...

Walid: Yes

Researcher: And how do you feel about English being the key language?

Walid: I'm o.k. with it because I speak it
But if it was French yani
I know nothing about French
It's very... ..

Abdallah: It's fine yes

Lamis: Ana I like English
I enjoy using it
So I have no problem

Layal: I speak French
But I'm o.k. with it

Layal: I made French baccalaureate
It's the same... both

Researcher: laugh

Researcher: English being the world language
The key
How do you feel about that

Layal: French is better

Researcher: Is it important to study French

Lamis: every where you go
It's convenient you use English

Abdallah: yeah

[Unclear]

Walid: Yes
You need to have the opportunity of other languages
Yani the world
Is not only English
Yani
We have Japanese
Chinese

Arabic Spanish Italian
 ... I know nothing about them
 Researcher: so... ..
 Walid: I like to learn other languages

English is a MUST

Abdallah: yeah
 Lamis: Yes
 Layal: Eih
 Walid: to get into the business world
 Abdallah: yeah

Walid: You haaave to learn English

Abdallah: yeah I believe
 If you taught us only the basics of language
 Of everyday language
 The basics
 Just to let you talk
 And eh
 Practice it
 Researcher: and practice it...
 Abdallah: and practice it
 When you have the base
 You can ... eh
 Improve... eh
 Researcher: So you feel there is too much emphasis on English?
 And would like to see less?
 Abdallah: yes
 And the way they teach it
 I mean I don't think that all these naaaames
 And stooooories
 Things we learn in school
 Are not important
 {.....}
 Abdallah: honestly
 In the last 3 years of school
 They just had nothing
 So
 Researcher: just to fill iin the gaps
 Abdallah: Yes
 {Researcher: summary}
 Researcher: and why are you personally studying English?
 Abdallah: there's no something good
 Walid: /Yanni English 208
 is not teaching us only how
 you talk English
 it's teaching us how to
 Conduct meetings
 How to eeehhh
 Like ACT

Or with other people
 Behave with other people
 Yes
 Researcher: Is that good?
 Walid: Of course
 {.....}
 Researcher: America American
 Lamis: soldiers
 Layal: people... .. superpower
 Abdallah: great economy... .. mass destruction
 Walid: soldiers... ..Bushpro-israel
 Researcher: English England
 Walid: equality
 Lamis: Bad language
 Abdallah: follow America
 Layal: London Big Ben
 Researcher: Why is it a bad language
 Lamis: not the English
 But the English English
 Researcher: English English?
 O.k. not American English but british English
 Why bad language?
 Lamis: I hate it
 Abdallah: the pronunciation
 Walid: the pronunciation
 Lamis: I **HATE** English English
 Layal: they they are rough
 Lamis: yeah... .. so mean
 Researcher: The British are mean?
 Lamis: yeah... they are aggressive
 Researcher: and does the way you feel about the Americans and the british affect the
 way you feel about speaking the language?
 Lamis: No because yani...
 If it affects me
 Wouldn't be here
 No because
 Researcher: you have a choice
 Abdallah: They **don't** have a choice
 Researcher: Well you can go to il Arabieh or lilbnanieh
 {.....}
 Walid: What?
 Abdallah: Not American people the policy
 The foreign policy
 Researcher: so there is a difference between the American people and the policy
 Walid: yes
 Abdallah: yeah
 Lamis: Not only in America
 In all the countries there is a difference

Researcher: so do you feel language has anything to do with it?

Walid: neutral territory

Researcher: Neutral territory... .. language is a neutral territory?

Walid: yes... ..

But what makes a difference

Is that they are using the outside power to enlarge the opportunity of the language

Researcher: are using the outside power to enlarge th...

Walid: yeah

The foreign power

To dominate other people

Yani

Also in the language

Researcher: they are using the language to do that?

Walid: No they are using that yani

And in somehow

They are in somehow improving their language

Abdallah: language is a door

To the globalizing economy

Lamis: its they key

Walid: By the way

America is dominating not only by
like weapons

or their strength they have
but by the education they have

English language has been spread by education

By the power of education

In that America yanni like

What do we know

The research they do

You have the NASA there

You have eeeeehhhh

Yanni everything technology is.

Researcher: from

Walid: yeah is from

America

So its normally yanni

To eh eh

use the English language here

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