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English in Mexico:
EFL teachers' perceptions of the value, the threat and ELT

by

Elizabeth Jessie Noseworthy

a thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August 23, 1995

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"English in Mexico: EFL teachers' perceptions of the value, the threat and ELT"

*submitted by Elizabeth Noseworthy
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts*

Thesis Supervisor

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25 August 1995*

Abstract

For Mexico, English is an essential tool for modernization. It is a link to the world and more particularly to Mexico's northern neighbour, the USA. The demand for English has resulted in a rapid expansion of English language teaching. This thesis investigates the attitudes of EFL teachers in Mexico, exploring their perceptions of English and English language teaching. EFL teachers in Guadalajara were surveyed and interviews were conducted with selected EFL professionals. The investigation focuses on teacher perceptions of the value of English in Mexico and the place of cultural teaching in EFL classes. Results indicate that EFL teachers are faced with a role conflict: on the one hand, they are providers of instrumental knowledge for access to a global economy, and, on the other hand, they acknowledge their roles as informants of American cultural norms and values. This paper sets out the data collected in Mexico, argues the conflicting duality of the role of the EFL teacher, and suggests alternatives.

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List of Acronyms

EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIAL	English as an International Auxiliary Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
EIL	English as an International Language
IATEFL	International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
Lidile	Licenciatura en la Docencia del Inglés como Lengua Extranjera
LWC	Language of Wider Communication
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NS	Native Speaker
NNS	Non-Native Speaker
PROULEX	Programa Universitaria de Lenguas Extranjeras
SEP	Secretaría de Educación Pública
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Tan lejos de Dios y tan cerca de Estados Unidos
[So far from God and so near the United States]

- Mexican expression accredited to Porfirio Díaz,
Mexican President, 1876-1911

CHAPTER 1: *ENGLISH AND MEXICO*

Introduction

[I]t is quite clear that ... English is an international language in that it is the most widespread medium of international communication, both because of the number and geographical spread of its speakers, and because of the large number of non native speakers who use it for part at least of their international contact. (Brumfit, 1982, p.1)

In the past several decades English has acquired status as the international language of science, technology, trade and commerce. Today, English is used for communication between nations for which it is a first or official language as well as communication involving nations for which English is a second language or a foreign language. Due to historical circumstances, many nations outside of the English core have designated English as an official second language where it is the language of courts, government and/or education. These are sometimes referred to as the ESL (English as a Second Language) nations. English is also the language of wider communication which links nations who use English for international purposes only; these are referred to as EFL (English as a Foreign Language) nations. Because English is recognized as the global

language, it has become an important commodity as an additional language.

English has gradually assumed the role of lingua franca, replacing French as the language of international diplomacy. Of the six official languages of the United Nations, English is the preferred choice of 69 member states while only 44 members use French, the second most popular choice.¹ It is estimated that English is the first language of more than 300 million people and a second or official language for an equal number of users (Flaitz 1988, p. 6). As early as 1975 it was estimated that of the 152 nations of the world, 21 claimed English as a sole official language and another 17 gave it the status of co-official language (Fishman 1977, p. 7).

The rise of English in many ways parallels the rise of earlier lingua francas. French became dominant during an era when France was a powerful and influential nation. The replacement of French as the ruling world language by English coincided with the increased dominance of the United States in international economic and military affairs. Since the turn of the century, English has become the language of access to international trade opportunity, tourist dollars and scientific and technological information.

Many nations require English solely as a foreign language for international contacts: it is the communication link with core English nations as well as ESL and other EFL nations. For EFL nations English is the bridge to global information. Because of its

status as a language of access, English is the foreign language most often used by Latin American countries. As these nations have become more and more involved in global commerce English is seen as a necessity.

Mexico is one of the EFL nations that has found it necessary to use English. English comes to Mexico mainly through bilateral economic contacts, pop culture and professional literature. Because of Mexico's geographical and economic ties to the USA, and because of Mexico's rapidly expanding economy, English is given a prominent place.

The Spread of English to Mexico

The topic of the spread of English in Mexico is of particular interest in the 1990's: in this decade Mexico has increased its international relations, which include the portentous signing of the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) in 1994.

Mexico is an EFL country: English serves as a link for international communication and for communication with foreigners in Mexico. Although English is spreading in Mexico, it is not a threat to Spanish. Spanish is the official language of Mexico. Spanish itself is a world language, with a well established literary history, ranking third in the world in number of speakers (Smith 1983, p. 2) and one of the six official

languages of the UN. However, English is becoming increasingly evident and is a required additional language for many careers and advanced studies.

English has an established place in Mexico. Many Mexicans use English daily in their workplaces and studies. Waitresses, taxi drivers, and vendors frequently have a functional knowledge of English and students of the Department of Tourism, University of Guadalajara, are required to study English for the duration of their four year training program. Upper management in businesses with international links use English in negotiations and many secretarial positions advertised in El Informador, Guadalajara's daily newspaper, list English as a qualification. In universities and colleges students read English in order to get access to literature in science and technological fields. English journals are available in libraries and English articles are prevalent in science journals published in Latin America.

English also has a prominent place in pop culture. Young people appear to prefer English music over something with a more Latin flavour as American and European pop music wafts from patios and car windows. English infuses pop culture by way of films, television and T-shirt logos. Advertising also spreads foreign terms such as "Burger King" and "Quick Wash". Supermarket items provide a steady stream of English as many imported products come in monolingual English packaging: the Mexican term for Corn Flakes is "Corn Flakes".

English is an important additional language in Mexico. It has spread through international contacts and is increasingly required in the workplace. The spread of English to Mexico has been augmented especially by Mexico's links to the USA.

Mexico - US Ties

English has spread to Mexico largely due to her economic, cultural and geographic ties to the USA. Mexican-US relations go back, at least, to the beginning of the conquest of the Americas by Europeans but, unfortunately, much of the history has been a story of conflict, most often with Mexico emerging on the losing side of the battle. The USA has continued to be the wealthier and more influential partner.

Economic Links

In recent efforts to revitalize and broaden the Mexican economy, the government has implemented a number of structural changes in trade regulations, including, in 1986, the accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, leading to an extensive trade liberalization process. Consequently, import permits were eliminated on all but 325 of the 11,950 trade items. Official import prices have been eliminated and the 5% import development tax has been dropped. Import duties were lowered from a

maximum 100% in 1982 to 20% by January, 1988 (Verut 1990, p. 3).

Although the opening of the market has been beneficial to Mexico in that exports are increasing annually, imports are also increasing, cutting into the market for locally produced goods. While Mexican exports increased by 10.7% from 1988 to 1989, imports increased by 23.9% for the same period, having already jumped 48% between 1987 and 1988. During 1989, imports of consumer products increased by 82% and this trend has continued into the 90's (Verut 1990, p. 4) However, largely due to the number of American companies operating assembly plants in Mexico, particularly in the production of computers, Mexican exports to Canada outweigh imports from Canada.² The same cannot be said of the American import/export situation.

Tables 1 and 2 illustrates how, rather than diversify her market, Mexico has become increasingly dependent on the USA as her major trading partner. In 1990, over 70% of Mexico's trade was with the USA, while for the US, Mexico represents a relatively minor partner, accounting for 6-8% of imports and exports for the period of 1989-1993.

Table 1. U.S. Exports and Imports 1989-1993 [in millions of \$US]

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Total Import	473,211	495,311	487,129	532,665	580,511
General Imports from Mexico	27,162	30,157	31,130	35,211	39,930
Total Exports domestic & foreign)	363,812	393,592	421,730	448,164	464,767
Exports to Mexico (domestic & foreign	24,982	28,279	33,277	40,592	41,636

Statistics taken from U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1994. (114th edition) Washington, DC, 1994, 823-826.

Table 2. Mexico's trade with the USA [% of total Mexican trade, 1980-90]

Category	1980	1984	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Export	63.2	58.0	64.7	60.4	60.4	70.0	73.1
Imports	65.6	62.4	65.8	66.6	66.6	70.4	70.8

Statistics taken from Wilkie, J.W., Contreras, C.A. and Weber, C.A. (eds) Statistical Abstract of Latin America. Vol 30, Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1993, 850.

In 1993, 82.9% of Mexican exports went to the U.S. and 69.5% of imports came from the US. The US is also the largest foreign investor in Mexico (United Nations 1993). The trade relationship becomes even less balanced when we consider that many of Mexico's exports are actually produced by multinational or American companies as opposed to Mexican owned operations. This factor contributes to the

spread of English in Mexico as American managers and trainers are imported and conferences and training projects are carried out in English.

Apart from the bilateral trade of goods, there has traditionally been a migration of workers from Mexico into the USA. Many Mexican families, especially in northern Mexico, depend on seasonal and short term employment in the southern USA. This movement of manpower brings American dollars and the American language across the border.

Personal and Cultural Ties

The economic superiority of the US and her geographic position vis-à-vis Mexico, have led to two important links which contribute to the presence of the USA and English in Mexico. First, because the USA has been a haven for Mexican workers, in Mexico today there is a substantial population of migrant workers who have experienced life in the USA and have a functional knowledge of English. There is an even greater population which can claim to have relatives residing north of the border. Many Mexicans feel a strong personal tie with the southwestern US and keep up close contacts with relatives there. Still others were born there and consider themselves Mexican-American or Chicano.

Second, the US has been able to build a commercial cultural industry which surpasses that of even her most wealthy competitors. The huge exportation of American cultural products keeps America in the forefront of Mexican pop culture. The majority of movies playing in the mainstream cinemas are American with Spanish subtitles. Mexican films, on the other hand, are shown mainly by alternate cinemas and film societies. Mexico's proximity to the USA, means that not only are American films and compact discs readily available, but that many Mexicans tune in to American cable and broadcasting stations. Moreover, the fact that Mexicans have family ties to the USA gives them a particular interest in American news and politics, especially as they pertain to Hispanics in the USA.

English has spread to Mexico through personal, cultural and business contacts with the USA. The economic links are responsible for the increased demand for English language training. The need to learn English is a consequence of international trade links, foreign commercial investments and the development of the tourism industry. The particular commercial ties to the USA heighten the need for English. Economics dictates that English is the foreign language to be learned by Mexicans.

English and Education

The global nature of English and, more importantly, Mexico's particular ties to the USA have given English a prominent role in Mexican education. EFL has been a regular school subject in public schools for some time. Virtually all public secundarias (junior high schools) and preparatorias (senior high schools), teach English. Although English is not strictly mandatory, a foreign language is and, in almost all cases, English is the only language available. Fishman (1977) estimated that in 1970, 100% of secondary students in Mexico were studying English as a school subject (p. 23). While this may be a slight exaggeration, it is certainly not far off the mark in the 1990's.

English is widely offered and it is safe to say that parents want English for their children. Private schools, like public schools, are required to teach a foreign language at the secundaria and preparatoria levels, but a private school of any reputation will offer English in all grades, often in a semi-immersion program. The association of English with the USA is evident in private bilingual schools with names such as Lakewood, John F. Kennedy, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt. One need not be mislead into thinking that these schools are operated by Americans - on the contrary, the majority are Mexican owned and operated, using American sounding titles to enhance the prestige of the school. (field notes from a conversation with Marco A. Fragoso, Director General of Roosevelt School)

The increasing importance of English to Mexico has led to the recent expansion of EFL teaching at the adult level. For example, PROULEX (Programa Universitaria de Lenguas Extranjeras), the EFL wing of the University of Guadalajara, increased its enrolment from approximately 600 students in 1989-90 to over 2000 students in 1993-94. Sra. Muñoz, Academic Coordinator, explains that the school, which now operates at four different campuses, has not been able to expand fast enough to fill the demand. Although the school's name refers to "Lenguas Extranjeras", English is the only language offered (Muñoz interview). PROULEX is one of the largest language schools in Guadalajara. It is by no means the least expensive and, as with most of the private language institutes, it serves not only adults but many young people whose parents are more than willing to pay the fees for EFL classes in an attempt to get a head start on life in a rapidly expanding economy.³

Many young people and adults from various sectors of the economy are involved in EFL study. The Guadalajara Yellow Pages advertise more than 65 schools and institutes which offer either bilingual or English programs as well as many others which offer courses in tourism, international communications and secretarial studies, most, if not all, of which will involve the teaching of EFL.

Implications

The economic ties between Mexico and the US and the imbalance of power between the two nations forces Mexico to learn the language of her dominant partner. This situation, where the economy of one country is dependent on another and, therefore, is subject to the demands of the stronger partner, can be considered economic imperialism. As pointed out by both Phillipson (1992b) and Kachru (1986b), economic imperialism creates an avenue for linguistic and cultural imperialism or dominance. Phillipson argues that English linguistic imperialism occurs when "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages." He adds that *structural* refers to material properties such as institutions and financial allocations whereas *cultural* refers to immaterial or ideological properties (p. 47). One needs only to glance around a bank in Guadalajara to be reminded of the connection between economic and linguistic dominance: flyers promote the use of travellers cheques, available in either American dollars or British pounds. The graphic on the flyers presents a sample cheque with all wording in English except for the signature "Banamex, Banco Nacional de México."

In Mexico, which is presently under great pressure both from within and without to modernize, democratize, and increase its overall standard of living, foreign language teaching and education in general play a vital role albeit an expensive one. An

editorial from a local newspaper in Guadalajara illustrates Mexico's aspirations and her looking northward to her competitors for standards:

Por otro lado, en el transcurso de la reunión, se plantó el reto abrumador para nuestro país, que representa preparar, y disponer de cuadros muy amplios de profesionalistas de alto nivel, para poder hacer frente a la urgencias de México contemporáneo y del futuro inmediato, sobre todo al considerarse que en naciones como Estados Unidos y Canadá la actual planta laboral está formada en más de 60% por egresados de la enseñanza superior: porcentajes ante los cuales la realidad mexicana queda prácticamente borrada, desvalidas y virtualmente fuera de competencia... (EL INFORMADOR, 14/03/94)

[On the other hand, an overwhelming challenge was presented as a mandate for our country, it is to prepare a wide range of high level professionals who will be capable of confronting the present needs of Mexico and those of the immediate future. Above all, we must consider that nations such as the United States and Canada have a work force of which more than 60% are graduates of higher education: percentages which, when compared against the reality of Mexico, making us practically erased, disadvantaged and virtually unfit to compete....](EL INFORMADOR, 14/03/94)

Despite looking north for standards, Mexico has truly a love-hate relationship with the USA. The following quotes from the Durango representation at the XIV *Asamblea Nacional* illustrate the contrast between Mexico's sentiments toward her Latin American neighbours and her northern trading partner:

Relaciones con América Latina y el Caribe Movimiento por la Paz y Desarme

- Es deseable que se busque el bienestar social conjuntamente con los países vecinos de América Latina y El Caribe, solidarizándose en la búsqueda de la paz, el desarme y el progreso internacional.

Nuestro país debe buscar que se fortalezcan la unidad y la solidaridad entre todos los países de América Latina.

. . .

Relaciones con Estados Unidos de Norteamérica

- Nos pronunciamos porque las relaciones de México y Estados Unidos de Norteamérica sean de tal naturaleza que se impida el interés de esta potencia mundial por intervenir en los asuntos internos de nuestro país. Más bien, deberán ser de respeto mutuo y de cooperación, sin comprometer nunca la soberanía nacional.

(Memorial Documental 1990, p. 66)

[Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean for Peace and Disarmament

- *It is desirable that we search for social well-being in conjunction with the neighbouring Latin American and Caribbean countries, building solidarity in the search for peace, disarmament and international progress.*

Our country should aim to strengthen the unity and solidarity among all the countries of Latin America.

. . .

Relations with the United States of North America

- *We pronounce that the relations between Mexico and the United States will be of such a nature that it will impede the interests of this world power to intervene in the internal affairs of our country. Rather, they should be of mutual respect and co-operation, without ever compromising our national sovereignty.*

(Memorial Documental 1990, p. 66)]

Mexico faces a disturbing dilemma in her relationship with the USA. On the one hand Mexico looks to the north for a model of development and is largely dependent on the USA as her most valued trading partner, yet she resents American meddling in Mexican affairs.

Mexico's recognition of her cultural fragility, in the face of modernization is evident

in the following quote from the *Programa Nacional de Educación, Cultura, Recreación y Deporte*:

El gran desafío a que se enfrentará el país en los próximos años será el de dar al desarrollo una dimensión cultural, para satisfacer las necesidades de la población en este aspecto y fortalecer los rasgos distintivos de nuestra identidad nacional. (Educación Y Cultura. 1988, p. 69)

[The greatest challenge that this country will face in the next years will be to give development a cultural dimension, to satisfy the needs of the population in this respect and to strengthen the distinctive characteristics of our national identity. (Education and Culture. 1988, p. 69)]

For Mexicans English is a tool not unlike other technical skills, however, it is also linked to economic domination and the threat of cultural invasion. Where we in the English Core often view foreign language learning as a luxury, for developing nations it is a necessity. In Mexico the spread of English must be viewed as a result of global economic and political events instigated and controlled outside of the Latin American context. The spread of English and ELT (English Language Teaching) must be viewed as part of the complex cycle of economic, linguistic and cultural dominance.

To investigate the spread of English in Mexico it was decided to focus on EFL teacher attitudes toward English. Although ELT is only one element in the overall spread of English in Mexico, EFL teacher attitudes are of key interest. EFL teachers are entrusted with the overt dispersion of English. Their role is to offer students this important tool of progress: they are a bridge between English and Mexicans. As

educators, they have minimal control over the spread of English through the mass media and consumerism, but they may be able to take direction within their field. By exploring the EFL teacher attitudes and their implications, we can gain insight into ELT and how it fits into the overall spread of English in Mexico. Research in this area encourages a more informed and responsible approach to ELT. Also, we can reasonably assume that teacher attitudes have some influence on the way that hundreds of thousands of EFL students in Mexico view English.

EFL teaching is one of the avenues which has facilitated the promotion of English as both an essential tool for developing nations as well as a carrier of certain English cultures. It is this dual nature of English, and the way in which the line between its two facets is blurred, that is of concern in this paper. This thesis looks at the way in which the two facets of English are evident in the attitudes of EFL teachers in Mexico.

Mexico's situation calls for special consideration because of its proximity and special ties to the most powerful English nation. As an EFL country, it is unlikely that Mexico will develop her own variety of English or that English will replace Spanish. Mexico will continue to look northward for standards of English and EFL teaching, a phenomenon not very different from that occurring in other spheres in Mexico, such as business, technology, education, and even government.

Research Questions

Very little research has been carried out on the spread of English in EFL nations such as Mexico. A great deal has been written on the global impact of, and attitudes toward, English and the social, political, cultural and economic issues which surround the spread of English. Most of this research however has focused on African and Asian nations, especially former British colonies, and more recent works have looked at the spread of English in Europe.

The spread of English to Mexico is of particular interest because Mexico is in a unique situation among EFL nations: in Mexico English serves as an international language yet her close proximity and ties to the USA complicate the situation.

Mexico is a nation particularly vulnerable to the influences of the USA and the spread of English, evident in the rapid expansion of EFL programs in Mexico and the abundance of English usage in pop culture, which radiates mainly from the USA. The attitudes of EFL teachers, their perceptions of the place of English in Mexico, accentuate the complexity of the situation. EFL teachers are the instructors of both a tool for global communication and the language of the USA.

This paper focuses on an exploration of EFL teacher attitudes in Guadalajara. With a population of approximately three million, it is the second largest city in Mexico. The investigation involved the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. An

examination of the data will address the following primary questions, as set out at the initial stages of the project:

- 1) Do Mexican EFL professionals view English as an international lingua franca, necessary for access to modern science, technology and the global economy, and/or as the language of the USA?*
- 2) Do Mexican EFL professionals view English as a tool for career advancement of students, particularly in light of the NAFTA signing?*
- 3) Do Mexican EFL teachers view English as a prestigious language in Mexico?*
- 4) Do Mexican EFL professionals see American English as more relevant to their needs than British English?*
- 5) Do Mexican EFL professionals see American culture as a threat to Mexican culture?*
- 6) Do Mexican EFL teachers believe that the ideal EFL teacher is a native English speaker?*
- 7) To what extent is American culture a component of EFL texts and curricula in Guadalajara?*

Mexico's EFL field is largely a satellite of ELT centered in Britain and the USA. Mexico is an ideal market for textbooks imported from the USA and Britain and Mexico looks to the US for English language standards and to Britain for teaching methodology.⁴ These circumstances evoke further questions of concern in the EFL

teaching field: If English is to be a universal lingua franca, what standards of English should be promoted? To what extent should EFL professionals promote English as an international language as opposed to the language of a few powerful nations? To what extent are EFL materials permeated with cultural norms and values of the USA and/or Britain? In a world where English is a universal language does the term "target culture" have any meaning? Who knows best how to teach English - English native speakers or qualified non-native speakers? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in this paper.

Thesis Overview

The thesis will consider the language attitudes of EFL teachers in Guadalajara. It will explore teacher perceptions about the role of English and issues around language teaching. The paper will also discuss EFL textbooks in use in Mexico. The findings of this project indicate that a) EFL teachers perceive English mainly as a tool for career advancement of students and economic progress for Mexico, as opposed to a language of culture or prestige, b) they feel a strong obligation to teach American culture as an integral part of their EFL program, and c) there are two approaches to cultural content in EFL texts, one which is international and the other American.

The paper will consider why teachers do not make a clear distinction between EIL

(English as an International Language) and English as it is tied to one nation. Teacher perceptions may be partially due to the fact that EFL teaching materials are set against an American background. Furthermore, the interpretation of the maxim which asserts that the teaching of language and the teaching of culture are inextricably bound has facilitated the cultural imperialism evident in the EFL field. It is a widely held principle which flies in the face of Mexico's desire to assert her cultural sovereignty. It is also a factor in the propagation of the myth that native English speakers are, by nature, superior to non-native speaking teachers, especially at advanced levels, and that native speaking expertise drawn on in the form of imported methodology and texts is superior to local contributions to the ELT profession. The domination of the EFL field by an elite group of EFL professionals from core English nations, particularly the United States and Britain, has, to the advantage of these two nations, blurred the lines between EIL and English as the property of specific nations.

I have organized this thesis around the questionnaire which was administered to EFL teachers in Guadalajara. Not all topics which were addressed in the survey will be dealt with as some are less important to the overall thesis. Issues confronted in the survey will be discussed with references to the literature in the field and qualitative data collected in Mexico. Chapter 2 reviews the literature appropriate to the specific topics to be addressed; Chapter 3 outlines the methods of data collection; Chapter 4 outlines the education policy for English and deals with the value of English in Mexico, including its prestige or lack thereof, and its role as an international

language, a key to modernization, and an opportunity for career advancement; Chapter 5 addresses the threat of English including the perceived impact of the spread of English and of American culture on Mexican culture; Chapter 6 deals in issues related directly to the teaching of English. These issues include the preference for native or non-native speakers of English as EFL teachers in Mexico, the perceived importance of teaching culture, and what Mexican EFL teachers mean by "teaching culture"; Chapter 7 concludes the paper with a discussion of the major concern regarding EFL teacher attitudes - the perception that they, as EFL teachers, are obliged to be carriers of American cultural information.

1. The six official languages of the United Nations and the number of member states which use each are as follows: English, 69; French, 44; Arabic, 22; Spanish, 20; Russian, 3; Chinese, 1. (Müller 1992, p. 4.)
2. Canada and Mexico have traditionally been strong trading partners. In 1989 Mexican imports from Canada were valued at Cdn \$638 million, while Mexicans exported Cdn \$1,707 million to Canada in that year. Mexican exports have risen drastically in the last half decade as figure for 1993 indicate: Mexican exports to Canada, Cdn \$3,709 million; imports from Canada, Cdn \$824 million. (*Statistics Canada*, 1993)
3. Results from the EFL teacher survey conducted for this project were as follows:
17) As a parent I would want my children to be Spanish/English bilingual.: strongly agree - 57.5%; agree - 34.0%; neutral - 6.5%; disagree - .7%; strongly disagree - .7%; no response - .7%.
4. One articulate teacher summed up nicely the role of the English language and cultural institutes: "What is the purpose of the *Anglo-Mexicano* and the *Mexicano Norteamericano* (the major British and American cultural institutes)? To sell books, propaganda, promotion, selling courses - it's commercial...."(field notes)

CHAPTER 2: *THEORETICAL CONTEXT*

In order to understand the spread of English in Mexico and attitudes toward English, it is necessary to consider theories of language spread and the status of English world-wide. The following chapter will present such theories and discuss the views of English as a neutral means of communication and, conversely, as an arm of imperialism. Finally, as a background to the ELT issues explored, theories relating to the relationship between language and culture and the issue of native vs. non-native speaking expertise in the ELT arena are introduced.

The Spread of English

Language spread as a topic of sociolinguistic attention is a relatively new area of study, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1982 with Cooper's Language Spread: Studies in Diffusion and Social Change. Cooper defined language spread as "an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communications network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function," (Cooper 1982, p. 6). Cooper goes on to claim:

Although we speak of language spread, the expression is of course metaphorical. Languages do not acquire speakers. It is speakers (or readers and writers) who acquire and use languages. When we refer to language spread, then, we are referring to the spread of behaviours. (Cooper 1982, p. 6)

The extension of the definition adds a human element, a view of language spread which considers not only the conditions which permit language spread but also its effect on the user, the recipient society. It opens the doors for consideration of the role played by the attitudes of individuals and societies and how these attitudes shape the spread of language.

Language spread has very often been a result of, or a reaction to, imperialism, whether it be the political imperialism which brought European languages to Africa and Russian to Eastern Europe, the counter revolution which attempts to revive Swahili in African nations, or the more subtle neo-imperialism which carries languages via foreign investment, economic and trade routes in absence of political takeover, as is the case with the spread of English in Mexico. As Cooper and Seckbach (1977) put it:

Bread-and-butter considerations can provide a powerful incentive to learn a language. Lingua francas, for example, often spread along trade routes and radiate from market centres, ... When knowledge of a language becomes associated with material benefits, and when people have the opportunity to learn it, they are likely to do so. (p. 212)

Or, in the words of the Mexican expression, "Con dinero baila perro" [*For money the dog dances*] (field notes).

As the world economies have become increasingly intertwined and English has become the principal language of commerce, sociolinguists have begun to explore and define its spread. In 1985 Kachru outlined a model of English language spread which posits three different categories of world English. These categories are based on the functions English serves as well as patterns of spread and acquisition; the model consists of three concentric circles, referred to as the *inner* circle, the *outer* (or extended) circle and the *expanding* circle (Kachru 1985, p. 12). In 1990, Kachru presented a representation of the model which included not only the three main circles but others, receding within the inner circle (See figure 1).

Kachru defines the Inner Circle as those regions where English is a primary language, such as Britain, the United States, Canada, etc. These nations can be considered the core English speaking nations from which English spreads to the Outer Circle. In particular, the major centres for English have been Britain and the USA. Britain's colonial policy ensured that countries in the Empire became versed in English as it was the language of the courts, government and education. In many former British colonies English is a second language, used as a link between different ethnic groups within the country and may also still retain status as an official language for legal dealings and education. In recent decades, as the USA has become the world's leading

figure 1. (Kachru 1990, p. 4) [Kachru included population figures for each country.]

economic and military power, its language has spread world-wide. English has become the language of technology, science and commerce and serves as an international link for many nations. The Outer Circle encompasses those nations for which English is a second or official language, used for both intranational and international communication. Kachru includes Nigeria, India and Singapore in this category.

The third circle, the Expanding Circle, includes nations for which English is solely a foreign language, used in international relations and serving no intranational communication purpose except for contacts with foreigners such as tourists and business people visiting the country. Kachru lists as examples, China, Israel, Japan and Korea. Kachru defines the perception of English in the Expanding Circle as a "vehicle for entering the twenty-first century" (Kachru 1986, p. 136). English in the Expanding Circle is a key to modernization and progress. It is a necessity for economic development and globalization. It is the bridge to science, technology and commerce; all in all, prosperity.

Randolph Quirk (1985) draws a similar distinctions among three major categories of English usage in the world. There are the ENL (English as a Native Language) countries such as the US, UK, Australia and South Africa, ESL (English as a Second Language) countries where English is a second language, used for communication between groups within a country such as India and, thirdly, there are the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries where English functions as a link to ENL, ESL and other EFL regions but is not needed for intranational communication.

In using broad general stratifications to label the functions and patterns of dispersion of English we must be cautious not to ignore the uniqueness of specific regions. The uniqueness of each country's situation is overlooked by an Inner Circle view of language spread. Kachru and Quirk both categorize English usage and receptiveness

largely according to the region's historical relationship with Inner Circle nations: the Outer Circle are the former British and American colonies and the Extended Circle have no historical political ties to the Inner Circle. Kachru's concentric circles, imply a hierarchy of English language usage rather than equal ownership of an international lingua franca. The terms Quirk uses, native, second, and foreign, also imply a hierarchy rather than equal ownership. These are Inner Circle views of English language usage. They do not zero in on the particular culture, geography, or economic structure of the society being addressed. For example, to assume that functions of, patterns of dispersion of, and attitudes toward English in Mexico are similar to those of Japan, another nation of the Expanding Circle, is to ignore obvious differences between Mexico and Japan, in culture, economic status and geographical and economic situation vis-à-vis the USA.

It is the Expanding Circle, and particularly Mexico, which is of interest to this thesis. There are some important distinctions between the Outer and Expanding Circles. Kachru suggests several crucial distinctions: in the Outer Circle, where English is used for communication across ethnic or religious groups within a nation, or as a primary language of education, a local variety of English may develop, such as Nigerian English or Indian English, which Kachru refers to as "World Englishes". These varieties become acceptable models not only for informal communication but as mediums of nativized literary traditions in various genres such as poetry, novels, essays, and short stories. These varieties, sometimes referred to as institutionalized

varieties, may be accepted as teaching standards. Kachru promotes the acceptance of such varieties and the recognition that nativized varieties of English are used to communicate the speaker's ideas and opinions from his own cultural perspective. English in the Expanding Circle, on the other hand, functions mainly as a link to the outside world, and it is these users who strengthen the claim of English as an international language. However, in such a situation English does not replace the native language and a nativized variety of English will likely not develop: teachers and students continue to look to the Inner circle for standards.

Kachru notes that the Outer and Expanding Circles cannot be clearly demarcated from each other as they share certain characteristics and language policies of such countries may change from time to time (Kachru 1985, p. 14). Nevertheless, the distinction between the two circles is important and Mexico must be considered in the Expanding Circle or as an EFL nation as English there is strictly a foreign language used for international communication or contacts with foreigners within Mexico. It is not a required language for communication between Mexicans.

The spread of English has resulted in the spread of ELT world-wide. As Stevens (1980) notes:

Within the general context of the recent and massive global expansion of the use of English . . . there has occurred during the same period a great increase in the demand for instruction in English as a foreign language. (Stevens 1980, p. 105)

ELT is based on the demand for the tools which can bring prosperity. In Sibayan's report on the extensive language attitude survey conducted by the Language Study Centre of the Philippine Normal College in 1968, the link between preferred language of education and economic reward, in the context of modernization, is delineated:

... choice of English over the vernacular or Filipino is a practical response to the situation in which the exigencies of modern life faced by the Filipino demand the use of English and in which its choice as a medium of instruction is dictated by such necessities....the language that will ensure the greatest measure of success, especially as pertains to the economic area of life, will become the people's choice as far as the education of their children is concerned. (Sibayan 1984, p. 85-86)

The current language needs of Mexico are shaped by the global economy as well as by her special relationship with the USA. The spread of English is facilitated on both accounts. The spread of ELT in Mexico is a response to the perceived need of English and the rewards which it can bring.

EIL: A Neutral Tool ?

In 1977, Joshua Fishman claimed that English as an LWC (Language of Wider Communication) was a neutral language:

It is part of the relatively good fortune of English as an additional language that neither its British nor its American fountainheads have been widely or deeply viewed in an ethnic or ideological context *for the past quarter century or so*. (Fishman 1977, p. 118)

According to Fishman, the lack of "ethnic and ideological encumberedness" is due to the association of English world-wide with "de-ethnicized, and de-ideologized *process variables* (such as modernization, urbanization, technological know-how, consumerism, and a higher standard in general) than to any ethnicity or ideology viewed as particularly English or American," (ibid., p. 119).

Kachru (1984) refers to the neutrality of English as a bridge between groups in India: "Whereas native codes are functionally marked in terms of caste, religion, region and so forth, English has no such markers, at least in the non-native context," (p. 185). In Indian English words are often used in discourse which is principally carried out in another language. This code-mixing allows the speaker to avoid lexical items that are specifically marked, thereby neutralizing identity.

Larry Smith (1983) suggests that EIL is a neutral code, unencumbered by cultural and ownership links to Britain, the USA, or any other national group which uses English. Smith's claim is stated more as a plea for neutrality than as an assertion of its present status. Smith proposed that "English can and should be de-nationalized" (p. 3) and that speakers of English must be encouraged to express their own emotions, political opinions and ideas through the medium of EIAL (English as an International Auxiliary Language), devoid of the cultural and ideological encumberedness associated with English.

Perhaps there is some truth to Fishman's 1977 claim of neutrality of English in reference to nations of the Outer Circle which have made English their own and Kachru makes a legitimate point about English as a levelling medium of communication in India. However, in the 1990's in Mexico, English is associated with modernization, technological know-how, consumerism and a higher standard of living all of which are synonymous with the American image, reeking of American ideology. This was no better summed up than by a Mexican youth who exclaimed, as we disembarked at the newly renovated Dallas Fort Worth Airport, " Ey, sienten el olor a progreso!" (Smell that..That's the smell of progress).

In 1987, ten years after his initial claim about the neutrality of English, Fishman modified his position. In an article entitled "English, Neutral Tool or Ideological Protagonist?", Fishman states:

In the context of the original generalization, the purportedly tool-like image of English as an additional language was derived primarily from an examination of the contemporary Third World, particularly of that part thereof where no other lingua franca had previously struck deep roots. In that context it seemed that neither British imperialism nor American capitalism nor the democratic ethos shared by both of these major English mother-tongue countries were barriers or bridges with respect to the spread of English. (Fishman 1987, p. 1)

English as a Instrument of Imperialism

It is used as a library language, medium of science, technology, and international trade, and as a contact language between nations and parts of nations. It is also seen as a vestige of British colonialism and as an arm of American cultural imperialism. (Shaw 1981, p.108)

There are those who argue that English is anything but neutral. Phillipson, in his 1992 publication, Linguistic Imperialism, labels the promoters of English in the Inner Circle as imperialistic and opportunistic. He argues that they use the promotion of English as a lingua franca to facilitate, not cross cultural communication, but the spread of American and/or British ideology and culture, bringing about social change, priming foreign markets to consume British and American goods and increasing dependency.

Cooper (1989) argues that foreign language importation instigates cultural diffusion:

Today there are few societies in which the influence of other societies is not present. In no social institution is cultural diffusion more evident than in language. Bilinguals, serving as agents of language change, introduce elements from one of their languages into another, influencing those monolingual speakers of the second language with whom they are in contact. (Cooper 1989, p. 166)

He also comments on the imperialistic nature of the spread of English:

Indeed the spread of imperial languages, particularly English, as a language of science, administration, and international trade, is one of the most striking legacies of the modern colonial era. (op. cit.)

Cooper (1989) reviews the history of theories of social change and notes that today most theorists reject the notion that social change is an inevitable evolutionary process. He argues that human influence "can change the course of history through cultural diffusion including the spread of new norms and values, and collective action," (ibid., p. 169). Furthermore, Cooper notes that a modern evolutionary school has emerged which views change as "stages of economic growth" such that modernization is confined to economic development which is based on attainment of "modernity" as defined by Western standards. These standards become not only the model but the method of development. In other words, pursuit of modernity demands a supply of Western technology, textbooks, medicines and consumer items. English can be viewed as one of these items.

Today sociolinguistics is taking a closer look at the social change which sparks language spread, as well as its social and cultural ramifications. Recent works such as Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism have shed light on the link between the spread of English, the economic imperialism which often ushers it in and the linguistic and cultural imperialism which may accompany the spread. Phillipson points out some of the aspects of the imperialistic nature of the spread of English, such as the detrimental effect on local culture, the psychological effects on people when English takes

precedence over their local tongue in many important spheres of society, and the subordination of non-native English speakers to native speakers, who are considered experts in the usage of the language and in the teaching of it.

He points out that much of the literature dealing with the spread of English is written from a monolingual perspective, by Britons and Americans who have neither the experience of multilingualism nor the insight to view issues from the perspective of those for whom English is an imposed language. Phillipson stresses the dangers of monolingualist control over such spread:

The English language has become immensely powerful, but it is arguable that the monolingualism of the Anglo-American establishments blinds its representatives to the realities of multilingualism in the contemporary world and gives them a limiting and false perspective. . . . Yet these are the people whose language is spreading world-wide and whose universities produce an increasing number of 'experts' on language teaching.
(Phillipson 1992b, p. 23)

To illustrate the monolingual perspective of the ELT profession and its disregard for local languages, Phillipson outlines the key tenets set at the *Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language*, Makere, Uganda, 1961:

- English is best taught monolingually
- the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker
- the earlier English is introduced, the better the results
- the more English is taught the better the results

- if other languages are used much standards of English will drop
(Phillipson 1988, p. 349)

Research on bilingual education and theories of language learning have shown that all of the above principles are fallacious yet they thrive in the ELT field and are professed by many teachers and administrators. These tenets, which have been disseminated from the centre, need to be analyzed by ELT professionals in ESL and EFL settings not only in an attempt to improve EFL training but to consider the sociological and economic repercussions of these tenets. Phillipson (1988) partially blames ELT for the imperialistic nature of the spread of English. He points out that trends in teaching methodology and very often EFL textbooks are disseminated from the centre to the periphery.

ELT professionals have viewed their field as an apolitical, technical business. They are unaware of the global power structure which underlies the spread of English and its role in maintaining dependence and sustaining inequitable international relations. Phillipson (1988) suggests that ELT professionals' ignorance about the political nature of their work is largely due to the inadequacies of training:

The professional training of ELT people concentrates on linguistics, psychology and education in a restricted sense. It pays little attention to international relations, development studies, theories of culture or intercultural contacts or the politics of sociology of language or education.
(Phillipson 1988, p. 348)

Like Phillipson, Pennycook (1989) emphasizes the non-neutral, politically charged nature of the spread of English. Pennycook argues two basic claims about education including the teaching of English: "First, that all education is political and second, that all knowledge is "interested" (p. 500). He qualifies his use of the term political as not just the narrow concerns of governmental or administrative decision making but all societal relations of power, particularly where fundamental inequities exist. Furthermore, Pennycook stresses that second language education is inherently political as language itself is a highly political concept, inseparable from the issues of bilingualism, minority education and internationality.

Pennycook, like Philipson, criticises the imperialistic nature of the spread of English and of ELT. He notes that international relations, in general, have been characterized by a one-way flow of prescriptive knowledge, rather than reciprocal relations and that this is particularly true of English language teaching world-wide.

Gerry Abbot (1992), who coined the acronym TENOR (Teaching of English for No Obvious Reason), insists on the imperialistic nature of the ELT 'expertise' which is often out of touch with the realities of education and the needs in societies which receive ELT 'expertise'. Abbot, too, notes the one-way flow of information from the centre to the periphery and suggests that bodies such as the British Council, IATEFL and TESOL would do well to ask experts from the periphery to address linguists from the centre.

Phillipson, Pennycook , Abbot, and Widdowson (1982) have brought to the forefront the non-neutral way in which English spreads and is perceived. It carries with it imperialistic overtones, cultural baggage and ideology, which radiate from the dominant English centre to the periphery.

ELT world-wide is manipulative in several senses: (1) Expertise, trends in methodology and production of textbooks are largely dispersed from the English core to less powerful regions. (2) The content of texts as well as myths about ELT are inherently Anglo-centred, laden with Anglo perspectives and values.

The ELT profession has not given due consideration to the psychological and cultural effects that accompany foreign language spread. It has ignored implications which affect the teaching practice. ELT has continued the myth of the supremacy of the native speaker and suffers from a lack of investigation on uniqueness of learning situations and the appropriateness of cultural content for particular regions. ELT has not considered the impact of the imposition of ESL methodology and texts from core English nations into an EFL situation, such as has often been the case in Mexico.

The Politics of Language Spread

English and ELT are an important commodity for core English countries. The spread of English is by no means simply the work of well intentioned educators offering a valuable skill to open doors of opportunity. On the contrary, the rapid expansion of the EFL teaching arena is laden with political and economic motive and ramifications. The battle between Britain and America for clientele in foreign countries is an ongoing one. The battle took off in the 1950's when Britain made particular efforts to expand her ELT globally and was soon afterward confronted by competition from the USA. The Report of the Independent Committee of Enquiry into the Overseas Information Services (Drogheda Report) of 1954 states that:

The aim of the Information Services must always be to achieve in the long run some definite political or commercial results. Overseas propaganda which meets a demand without producing some ultimate political or commercial benefit for this country represents so much public money wasted. (Drogheda Report 1954: 6 as quoted in Phillipson 1992b, p. 145)

A 1956 report by the Official Committee on the Teaching of English Overseas, clearly recognized the efforts of the USA to promote American English as a threat to Britain's economic and political interest (Phillipson 1992b, p. 150).

A more recent statement by the Director General of the British Council expresses the same sentiment:

The English language is a major national resource, and we would do well to keep 'a controlling interest'. (Francis 1988)

Barry Tomalin, Head of Marketing, BBC English, reported in 1993 that the export of English language services had risen to sixth-place in the export industries of Britain, contributing 2 billion pounds annually to the British economy. The BBC's "Follow Me" course, produced in 1979 and shown in 80 different nations is, according to The Economist, "the most widely followed teaching course in history" (Tomalin 1993, p. 4) and while the Americans are competing with the UK, Britain, due to its head start in the business, still holds a slightly larger part of the English language market than the Americans. In Mexico, for example, there are presently more Americans than Britons involved in the EFL teaching profession but there are more texts imported from British publishers than from American. Although Americans have easier access to teaching positions in Mexico, The British Council and British publishers have a strong hold on the textbook/listening tapes market. In order to capture the American market, British companies such as Longman, Oxford University Press and Heinemann now produce American English versions of their materials (Tomalin 1993, p. 6).

Wallerstein, in an article in Mextesol Journal, (1984) delineates the political nature of EFL teaching and its role in facilitating economic domination:

English in Latin America serves the communication needs of the multinational corporations we mentioned before, serves to train an obedient workforce to produce, and willing consumers to buy. (Wallerstein 1984, p. 5a)

The Spread of Culture

Two conflicting pedagogical views exist in teaching EFL (English as a foreign language) abroad. One, promoted chiefly by native English speaking teachers, is that English teaching should be done with reference to the socio-cultural norms and values of an English speaking country, with the purpose of developing bilingual and bicultural individuals. The other, advocated by the host country where English instruction takes place, is that the teaching of English should be independent of its nationally-bound cultural context, with a view to creating bilingual yet not necessarily bicultural people. (Alptekin and Alptekin 1984, p. 14)

As the issue of the English language imperialism has come to the forefront, sociolinguists have considered how the spread of English impacts on the cultures of ESL and EFL countries. Bower (1992) argues that the spread of English in Europe has brought with it the spread of cultural and political ideas:

One of the striking features of the expanded demand for English which has followed political change in East and Central Europe has been its simultaneous emphasis on both the functional and cultural values of language. With new freedom of association there is an immediate need, of course, for English as the dominant language of commerce and industry, of information technology, of diplomacy and international collaboration. At the same time, across Europe, there is an eagerness to reinvest in the cultural exchange, which multilingual education facilitates, and to use access to English as a language of the open society in order to underpin the process of democratization. In this context, English has a political and 'cultural' as well as a functional value. (Bower 1992, p. 29)

The link between language and culture has been explored by numerous anthropologists and linguists. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf claimed that:

The background linguistic system (in other words the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental stock in trade. (Whorf 1956 p. 212-14, quoted in Brown 1986, p. 46)¹

Brown also stresses the innate link between language and culture:

Culture is really and integral part of the interaction between language and thought. Cultural patterns, customs, and ways of life are expressed in language; culture specific world views are reflected in language. (Brown 1986, p. 45)

Brown's connection between language and world view is supported by examples which are neither ground breaking nor surprising: "Eskimo tribes commonly have as many as seven different words for snow..while certain African cultures in equatorial forests of Zaire have no word at all for snow," (p. 45). One needs question whether such a shallow interpretation of "cultural specific world view" accurately sums up the complex nature of the relationship between culture, thought and language usage as well as the complex nature of culture itself. Also when we apply such maxims to the teaching of EFL we must consider the capacity of both thought and language to project beyond the individual's immediate environment, and the analytical nature of human thought as well as the adaptability of human language.

The link between language and culture has lead to consideration of the role of culture

in second language learning. The connection between second language learning and target culture has been made by psychologists such as Gardner and Lambert, whose research linked success in language learning with affinity for the target culture (Gardner 1985). Schuman's explanation of "social distance" and the role it plays in positive language learning experiences supports claims that less social distance or proximity between learners and target culture will result in higher success in acquisition (Schuman 1976). Studies identifying affective factors which contribute to successful L2 (second language) acquisition have been taken to imply that positive attitudes could be stimulated by exposure to the target culture itself or, at the least, information about the foreign culture.

Culture and language have been inherently linked and successful second language learning has been shown to be related to affinity for the target culture. These assertions have led the foreign language field to the notion that the teaching of culture is an integral and decisive element of ELT. This has translated into textbooks and curriculum which haphazardly present titbits of "English" culture as a background. Alptekin (1992) notes that not only are EFL textbooks full of unnecessary cultural information, but that the writers' perspectives are also unavoidably culturally based:

... EFL textbook writers, like everyone else, think and compose chiefly through culture specific schemas. Because native speakers have face validity in EFL circles (Alptekin, 1990; Phillipson, 1990) most textbook writers are native speakers who consciously or unconsciously transmit the views, values, beliefs, attitudes and feelings of their English-speaking society - usually the United States or United Kingdom.² (Alptekin 1992, p. 138)

Dunnet, Dubin and Lezberg (1986) also suggest the cultural limitations of EFL texts:

But it is more often the case that typical English language instructional materials communicate cultural messages from a one-dimensional point of view. Social scientists point out that it is as impossible to escape from one's own culture as it is to get out of one's own skin. So, it is probably to be expected that textbook writers continually convey culture-bound ideas in at least every other exercise of each lesson. (Dunnet et al. 1986, p. 153)

Other linguists recognize the superficiality of most cultural content in EFL texts.

Prodromou (1988) describes the content as "a black and white cardboard cut-out world" (p. 76). Pattison (1992) notes the complexity of cultures and argues that to assume that EFL teacher can teach culture is an unrealistic expectation:

Social scientists do not attempt to describe complex cultures, and language teachers are ill advised to rush in where they fear to tread. (Pattison 1992, p. 294)

Brøgger, a professor of American cultural studies in Scandinavia, sums up the problem of cultural studies as a background to language learning. While he supports integrating cultural studies in university foreign language programs, he is concerned about the "laissez-faire" approach which is characteristic of this "hotchpotch teaching" (Brøgger 1992, pp. 16-17). Despite his misgivings about the usual approaches taken to cultural teaching, he poses the question "What sort of cultural material should our students of English have as the object of study in order to best promote the learning

and understanding of the language?" (ibid., p. 101). His solution is to look more deeply at the mainstream ideology of either the USA or Britain as a background to foreign language learning. Brøgger implied that EFL learning, at least at the university level, should help students to understand the mentality of Britons and/or Americans. Unfortunately he makes no mention of English as an international language nor of the fact that English can be and is used to express ideas from many varying cultures. The fact that the departments of British and American cultural studies have often been referred to as the study of "Civilization" (ibid., p. 12) may shed light on the prestige position of these two cultures to the exclusion of other English speakers.

Abbott (1992) takes the issue a step further, accusing the ELT field of cultural imperialism. He provides a ten point checklist which characterizes the "anglocentricism" of ELT today and adds a warning about the culturally bound nature of the field:

I would also want to include other constraints, especially cultural ones. Because it is the European/North American sphere of ELT that is dominant, 'communicativeness' itself being an anglocentric product, some ELT practitioners have felt themselves involved in a kind of creeping cultural imperialism in which inappropriate changes are made without due thought. (Abbott 1992, p. 23)

Alan Maley (1985) asks whether English can exist independently of its cultural

context and asserts that it can and does in many instances. He cites the English language publications in China and radio broadcasts in the USSR (Maley 1985, p. 32). Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) differentiate two contrasting approaches to EFL presentation, pointing out that in Japan and China, for example, English is generally taught as a functional tool, as a codified system for use in international communication with curriculum devoid of specific English nation cultural elements. On the other hand, elsewhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America, EFL texts and curriculum have been based in a specific English culture and there are currently attempts to de-Anglo-Americanize EFL programs (Alptekin and Alptekin 1984, p. 15-16). However, these efforts are relatively minor in contrast to the abundance of English language media available in nations of the Expanding Circle. The overwhelming influence of popular English cultural products, English journals, textbooks and ESL and EFL materials imported directly from core English speaking nations far outweigh the impact of locally made foreign language products in developing nations.

Apart from the ethical questions associated with using EFL classrooms as media of British and American cultural spread, there are at least four very practical questions which arise: 1) "...which culture has the rightful claim to ownership of English?" (Widdowson 1993, p.8), 2) Does "target culture" have any meaning where English is being studied as an international lingua franca? 3) As there is an increasing emphasis on learner-centred curriculum, how can an approach which denies the learner the

opportunity and occasion to express his own cultural needs and ideas in English be justified (Brumfit 1980, quoted in Alptekin and Alptekin 1984, p. 17)? 4) In nations where English is taught on a mass scale, can local teachers, most of whom have never lived in an English environment, be expected to teach English culture?

Widdowson is not alone in questioning the validity of the term "English culture". As Melendez (1993) and Alptekin (1990) point out, the notion that there is somehow a unitary English culture is a myth; what the EFL field has generally referred to as English culture is that of the mainstream Caucasian population in either Britain or the United States. Furthermore, even this has been presented in a stereotypical, simplistic manner.

Brumfit's concern is with the strange paradox whereby, in mother tongue language development, educators emphasize the importance of the student's ability to express himself while EFL programs are based on the student's ability to comprehend and express ideas about a foreign culture of which he has little if any experience (Alptekin and Alptekin 1984, p. 17). "EFL must see itself as an educational, not merely a technical, concern," (Brumfit 1980, p. 98).

Adaskou et. al. (1990) have documented some of the problems with integrating cultural content into EFL classes. In the late 1980's, a group of Moroccan educators were faced with the task of designing a new three year English course for secondary

schools and one of the main goals was to design a text with "appropriate" cultural content. A consideration was, that of the 2,500 secondary English teachers, only a minority had ever visited English speaking countries, and many were uncomfortable with the task of presenting the foreign culture. This, along with other sound reasons for the avoidance of Anglo-cultural elements in the program, resulted in a text in which foreign culture was kept to a minimum, with over 90 percent of geographically specific content situated in Morocco and more than half of the characters Moroccan (Adaskou et al. 1990, pp. 8-9). It was felt that local teachers were unqualified to teach English cultural content and, as Melendez points out, when teachers are expected to do so, the content of their courses is limited to the specific cultural elements presented in texts and mainstream media such as Hollywood movies and television. (field notes)

Kachru (1990) argues that English is adaptable and can serve as an international language. This perception necessitates downplaying the link between English and any specific culture:

It seems to me that the strength of English is not its culture specificity with reference to Britain or AmericaThe strength of English lies in its multicultural specificity, which the language reveals in its formal and functional characteristics, as in, for example, West Africa, South Asia, and the Philippines. (Kachru 1990, p. 13)

Kachru advocates that varieties of English be recognized as acceptable; the next step

should be the recognition of a non-culturally based International English. Smith (1983) argues that we rethink how we teach English as an International Language. He stresses that ownership of the language must be shared and that English as an International Auxiliary Language (EIAL) need not reflect the culture or ideology of a specific mother tongue nation.

No one needs to become more like Americans, the British, the Australians, the Canadians, or any other English speaker in order to lay claim to the language. To take the argument a step further, it isn't even necessary to appreciate the culture of a country whose principal language is English in order for one to use it effectively." (Smith 1983, p. 2).

Johnson (1990) proposes that the teaching of EFL as an international language be distinct from English for intranational purposes. He stresses that such a language would be clearly differentiated from either an L1 or an L2, and although it would have a cultural base, this base would be limited and the target culture would be the culture of international communication. He quotes Hamp-Lyons, "it is no longer true that to learn (English) one must learn the culture"³ (ibid., p. 305)

Native vs. Non-Native Expertise

The teaching of 'target culture' as part of teaching the target language has persisted not only because educators feel it is essential but, in the case of EFL teaching, because the 'expertise' in the field has largely been monopolized by native English speakers from two powerful English speaking countries. Phillipson claims that the "native speaker ideal dates from a time when language teaching was indistinguishable from culture teaching" (Phillipson 1992a, p. 13). The ELT field has traditionally perpetuated a two-part fallacy about the native speaker as expert: first, expert in the development of methodology and second, expert as teacher.

Despite the fact that foreign and second languages have been successfully acquired and used in nations all over the globe for centuries, these two groups of English speakers, the Americans and the British, which have, ironically, been noted for their monolingualism and intolerance for second language learning, persist in presenting themselves as ELT experts. The fallacy that native English speakers are by nature endowed with expertise in the teaching of the language has been perpetuated by linguists, such as the British linguist Randolph Quirk:

...the latest ideas in English teaching. Where best, after all, to get the latest ideas on this than in the leading English speaking countries. (Quirk 1990, p. 8)

As Phillipson points out, the motivations for this "unscientific and inappropriate" (1990a, p. 12) notion have often been based in anglocentric views which have not only proposed that English be taught by native speakers, but have sometimes gone as far as to suggest that the proper teaching of English was to be handled by those with the British RP (Received Pronunciation) accent (Phillipson 1992b, p. 194). Today there is controversy over this once unquestioned assertion. Kachru (1990) argues that as nativized varieties of English develop, they can best be taught by local people and that adherence to a strict native speaker standard is not only unnecessary, but inadvisable. The cause of the native speaker teacher of English is still upheld by many both for practical reasons of maintaining standards for international communication and for less practical reasons such as maintaining ownership of English and control of its spread.

Peter Hubbard, in his article based on observations and discussions with Mexican EFL teachers and student teachers, puts forth the following claim:

If English is truly an international language, then it no longer belongs to native speakers of Great Britain or the United States, Canada or Australia. By the same token, native speakers of English are not automatically entitled to exclusive rights in the question of how their language should be taught. (Hubbard 1994, p. 1)

With so much emphasis on acceptance of varieties of English, Rampton (1990) suggests that the ELT profession discontinue using the terms "native speaker" and

"mother tongue" all together and replace them with the term "expertise". He claims that the supremacy of the native speaker keeps the UK and the USA at the centre of ELT and that the concepts mother tongue and native speaker, "mix up language as a means of communication with language as a symbol of social identification" (ibid., p. 99). The search for expertise, on the other hand, focuses more on teacher achievement and certification rather than on native language. Rampton also points out that it is sociolinguistically inaccurate to assume that people belong to only one social group, and that social communities are far more complex. Language is acquired according to the requirements of the social setting. This being the case, both native English speakers and non-native speakers could have equal expertise in the language of international commerce, for example.

Medgyes (1992) acknowledges that a non-native speaker can never achieve native speaker competence but can bring other, more important, advantages into the classroom. He lists six benefits: 1) Only the non-NEST's (Native English Speaking Teacher) can serve as imitable models of the successful learner of English; 2) Non-NEST's, having consciously studied the language, can teach learning strategies more effectively; 3) By the same token, Non-NEST's can provide learners with more information about the English language; 4) Non-NEST's are more able to anticipate language difficulties; 5) Non-NEST's can be more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners and 6) Only non-NEST's can benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue (Medgyes 1992, pp. 346-7). All of these points were touched

on by non-NEST's in Mexico during the collection of data for this project.

English nations have a great stake in the EFL teaching profession. When native speaking English teachers are imported into EFL classes, they not only assure the maintenance of a standard English (although this itself is questionable as their English may vary), but they help to create a market for Western textbooks, cultural items and consumer goods as well as political and economic ideology.

Summary

English is the international language of diplomacy, trade, commerce, science, technology. English has also been labelled the "language of power and prestige", "a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress" (Pennycook 1994 p. 13), a "vestige of British colonialism" and "an arm of American cultural imperialism" (Shaw 1981, p. 108). It has spread to all corners of the globe through business and academic endeavours, pop culture and ELT.

The spread of English and the expansion of ELT is of concern to sociolinguists such as Phillipson, Kachru and Pennycook, who tie ELT to the spread of British and American culture and values. They point also to the way in which English is a valued commodity in many developing nations and how many ELT publishers have

developed global markets for ELT materials without consideration of their appropriateness for the recipient nations.

ELT is expanding rapidly in Mexico. It is an EFL nation where English is seen as a key to modernization and ELT is a core component of a modern education.

1. Whorf, Benjamin Lee, (1956). Language Thought and Reality. Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press.
2. Alptekin, C. (1990). A look into the use of native-speaker teachers in EFL programs. TEFL Turkey.
 Phillipson, R. (1990). English Language Teaching and Imperialism. Tronninge, Denmark: Transcultura.
3. Hamp-Lyons, E. (1983). Motivation for learning English as a world language: integrative and instrumental. World Language English, 2, 145-49.

CHAPTER 3: *METHOD*

To investigate the dual nature of English, as both an international lingua franca and as the language of the USA, and to understand how the EFL field contributes to this dual status, it was decided that the investigation should focus on the attitudes of EFL teachers in Mexico. By gaining insight into the attitudes of EFL professionals, we can better understand the way that the ELT profession affects attitudes as well as what perceptions of English are being promoted in EFL classrooms.

The investigation of EFL teacher attitudes in Mexico was carried out over a fourteen week period through the Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas, a department of the University of Guadalajara. Approximately half of the subjects for the investigation were drawn from the teacher training program at the University. This four year program, which leads to the degree of Licenciatura en la Docencia del Inglés como Lengua Extranjera (Lidile), is the only program in Guadalajara which grants a professional degree in EFL teaching.

The students and professors of the Lidile program became my research assistants,

often giving me suggestions as to where to conduct research outside the University, and introducing me to contacts in schools and institutes in Guadalajara. Several professors volunteered to be interviewees for my research and 72 of the 89 students (who I will refer to as *student teachers*) completed the EFL teacher questionnaire. While many of the student teachers have a limited experience in the ELT field, others have anywhere from a few months to several years teaching experience and all except the first year students are required to take part in teaching, planning and critical analysis of classroom practice at the Programa Abierto de Lenguas, an EFL school set up by Lidile specifically for practice teaching. The student teachers offered me insight into the ideas and concerns of young teachers entering into a rapidly expanding profession. Through the questionnaire data, taped interviews, informal conversations and classroom discussion, I was able to get a sense of the way in which the politics of ELT affects these teachers.

Through my contacts at the Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas, I met with two classes of EFL teachers who were enrolled in a two hour a week EFL methods course at the University. These teachers volunteered to be subjects for my questionnaire and also assisted me in making contacts outside the University. As the majority of them were practising teachers, I was able to visit some of their schools and engage in detailed conversations with them outside of the university classroom. As with the Lidile student teachers, these upgrading teachers and their professors were extremely helpful and cooperative.

Quantitative Data

In order to reach a larger number of teachers than would be possible with interview data alone, it was decided to survey groups of teachers and student teachers in Guadalajara using a questionnaire.

The Preliminary Questionnaire

Prior to construction of the main questionnaire, a brief preliminary questionnaire was designed and implemented to gain a better picture of EFL teaching in Mexico. The preliminary questionnaire consisted of five questions designed to investigate the extent of and approach to EFL teaching in Mexico, the perceived importance of English and the relationship between the importation of English cultural products and the maintenance of Mexican culture. Except for the first question, "Did you study English in Mexico?", all questions were open-ended (See Appendix A). The preliminary questionnaire was administered to four Mexican nationals studying at Carleton University.

The results of the preliminary questionnaire, as well as discussion with the four students, indicated that there was a strong desire to learn English, largely motivated by economic concerns. The issue of American influence on Mexican culture was also

relevant as three of the four respondents indicated that the importation of American cultural products did pose a threat to Mexican culture, but there was also a sense that at least three of the students had faith in the imperviousness of their own well rooted culture, a theme which resurfaced often in discussions and further surveys of teachers in Guadalajara.

The Main Questionnaire

Based on these preliminary questionnaire findings and a literature review of sociolinguistics and the politics of language spread, a longer questionnaire was designed for use in Guadalajara. It was decided that attitudes would be investigated in the following areas.

- 1) Attitude toward Americans
- 2) Interest in Foreign Languages
- 3) English as a Key to a Modern Mexico
- 4) Integrative Orientation
- 5) Instrumental Orientation
- 6) English as a Prestige Language
- 7) English as an International Language
- 8) English as the language of science and technology

- 9) American versus British English
- 10) NS versus NNS as teacher
- 11) Parental Encouragement
- 12) English/American Cultural Imperialism
- 13) Attitude toward learning English
- 14) NAFTA

After consideration of methods used in previous attitudinal studies (Cooper and Fishman 1977, Gardner 1985, Flaitz 1988, Ramage 1990, Shaw 1981, Sibayan 1983, Hofman 1977) a questionnaire consisting of statements which would be rated on a five point Likert scale was developed. Some questions were adapted from studies by Flaitz, Gardner and Ramage; 37 items were constructed to investigate the 14 areas outlined.¹ Two open-ended questions were added to get details on issues that are associated with the politics of English language teaching in Mexico. Those are: 1) what teachers perceive as the reasons for the study of English and 2) whether teachers see a relationship between the spread of English and the spread of Anglo culture in Mexico. The questionnaire was constructed in English and translated into Spanish.

Piloting the Questionnaire

The main questionnaire, in its Spanish form, was piloted with six Mexicans who were students at Carleton University, two of whom had been subjects for the preliminary questionnaire. Although these students were not EFL teachers, they were able to comment on the comprehensibility, appropriateness of wording and relevance of issues.² Follow-up discussion with the Mexican subjects resulted in only minor changes to the questionnaire (See Appendix B and Appendix C).

The Subjects

Subjects for the survey in Guadalajara consisted of three main groups: 1) 72 students enrolled full-time in the four year EFL teacher education program at the University of Guadalajara (Lidile). I shall refer to this group as **student teachers** in that they were students of EFL teaching, who were involved in practice teaching. Many of the student teachers were employed part-time in ELT; 2) 42 part-time students who were employed as EFL teachers in various sectors and were enrolled in a two hour weekly class in EFL methodology at the University of Guadalajara (these I will refer to as **upgrading teachers**) and 3) 39 practising EFL teachers representing nine different secundarias and private language institutes in Guadalajara. This group will be referred to as the **practising teachers**. The student teachers and upgrading teachers were

surveyed during class time while the practising teachers were surveyed during visits to each of nine schools and institutes (See Appendix D). These were referred by EFL teachers or chosen at random from the numerous schools and institutes which teach English in Guadalajara.

The questionnaire included in Appendix C is a copy of that given to the student teachers. Questions 6 and 7 of the covering page, which were used to gather information on the extent and types of EFL instruction student teachers had received, were not included in the questionnaire for upgrading and practising teachers, for fear of my intentions being misunderstood as judging the quality of the teacher qualifications. In all other respects the questionnaire administered to all three groups was identical.

Of the 153 EFL teachers and student teachers surveyed, the vast majority, 144, were Mexican nationals, 2 listed their nationality as Mexican Americans, 4 as Americans, 2 claimed to be North Americans and 1 Salvadorean. The age range was from 18 to 65 years; due to the large number of subjects drawn from the Lidile program, slightly over 51% of the sample are under 25 years of age (See Table 3). While this is not representative of the general population of EFL teachers in Guadalajara, their opinions may shed light on the attitudes of a new breed of professionally trained EFL teachers.³ Subjects consisted of 100 females and 52 males, which is representative of the higher numbers of females than males employed in the ELT field (See Table 4).

AGE	n	%
< 25	79	51.6
25 - 29	27	17.6
30 - 39	27	17.6
> 39	16	10.4
no response	4	02.6
total	153	100

Table 3. Age range of subjects.

Gender	n	%
Male	52	33.9
Female	100	65.3
No response	1	0.6
total	153	100.0

Table 4. Gender of subjects.

Qualitative Data

To complement the questionnaire results, twelve EFL educators and administrators in Guadalajara were interviewed. These interviews, which were audiotaped, were designed to pursue in more detail the topics covered by the questionnaire. For example, having completed the questionnaires with the student teachers and having done a rough preliminary analysis of the results, I interviewed two of the fourth year students, asking them to elaborate their ideas and to interpret results. Likewise a similar interview was done with an upgrading teacher and with a practising teacher. The other interviews were conducted with administrators and key figures in the ELT

field in Guadalajara and/or Mexico.

Early in the interview process it was decided to investigate several topics in more detail and to tailor the interviews around these issues, adapting interviews to draw on the experience and expertise of each interviewee. Topics chosen for closer scrutiny through interviews were: a) The roles of English in Mexico, b) the extent of EFL teaching in Mexico, c) native versus non-native expertise, d) the relationship between the teaching of language and the teaching of culture, and e) the future of EFL teaching in Mexico. (See Appendix E for a complete list of interviewees)

To broaden the qualitative data, and to shed further light on issues that were developing, a number of schools and language institutes were visited. As the investigation continued, focus narrowed to the issues of the relationship between the teaching of English and the teaching of Anglo culture and what implications these would have in an EFL situation. Questions about native and non-native English speaking teachers were also pursued, as this directly relates to the teaching of culture in EFL classrooms. These two topics were the focus of informal conversations with many teachers and administrators inside and outside the Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas. Most of these conversations took place in offices and classrooms of language institutes or secundaria schools, and provided the researcher with opportunities to see these institutions and, on several occasions, to observe classes in progress. Field notes were taken during 21 of these conversations. Some of these

professionals had taken part in the questionnaire survey (See Appendix F for a listing of schools visited).

As a means of gathering data on the cultural content of EFL classes, a number of textbooks were examined and their cultural content discussed with teachers and/or directors (See Appendix G). Three book presentations, hosted by Oxford University Press, Heinemann Press and Fernández Publishers, were attended and copies of several texts either in use in Mexico or soon to be released for distribution, were obtained.

In addition to school visits and publishers' presentations, qualitative data was collected through short interviews with representatives of the Secretaria de Educación Pública, to gather statistics and policy information, and with Liliana Alcántara G, Manager, Western Mexico Offices of Oxford University Press, at her office in Guadalajara. Field notes were taken on these interviews.

1. Questions 1, 2, 14, 22, 26, and 27 are adapted from Gardner 1985, question 9 is adapted from Flaitz, and questions 10 and 30 are adapted from Ramage.
2. This piloting was particularly helpful in that the questionnaire had been translated by a Cuban national and there was concern that some wording might be inappropriate for a Mexican audience.
3. The Lidile program was founded in 1987, an indication of the recent move in Mexico to have EFL teaching recognized as a profession distinct from other

specializations in education and to build up a contingent of properly trained professionals in the field.

CHAPTER 4: *THE VALUE OF ENGLISH*

In recent decades English has become increasingly important to Mexicans. English is offered in virtually all secondary schools and there is expectation of upcoming legislation which would require that English be offered in the primary grades. Private language institutes have blossomed and EFL teacher training programs are on the rise. The four year EFL teacher training program introduced at the University of Guadalajara in the mid 1980's is flourishing with increasing numbers of applications each year. The survey of EFL teachers allows understanding of the roles of English in Mexico and its importance.

The following chapter looks at the value of English as perceived by EFL teachers in Guadalajara. In exploring the value of English in Mexico, I will look at the degree to which teachers perceive English as a necessity. The chapter will discuss the prestige of English in Mexico, drawing a comparison with the status of another world language, French, which is honoured with a very prestigious position. The value of English is also discussed with reference to the two major dialects of the language, American English and British English: teachers were asked which is more important

for Mexico. This chapter explores what teachers see as the roles of English in Mexico today and the emphasis placed on English as an instrument for employment in an increasingly global economy.

This chapter outlines the value of English: it is viewed as a crucial requirement for Mexico's admission to the contemporary global economy as well as a must for individuals seeking employment in various sectors in Mexico. The data indicates that for EFL teachers English is not an object of admiration, or a marker of elitism: on the contrary, it is an impersonal tool which has gained immense value for its practical usage.

An analysis of the survey data brings to light the two faces of English in Mexico: it is viewed as a language of global communication and, more specifically, as the language of the USA, therefore the required vehicle for communication between Mexico and her primary economic partner.

English for All?

English is presently taught in secondary and high schools in Mexico, is increasingly becoming a required subject in university departments and is taught to tens of thousands of young people and adults in colleges and language schools. More than a

decade ago, Rogers (1982), in his article entitled "World for Sick Proper", raised some thought provoking questions about the teaching of English on a large scale in Third World and developing countries. He suggests that the wide scale teaching of English in public schools not only raises false hopes but results in wasteful spending of precious public funds. Should English be an obligatory subject in public schools when reality dictates that only a small percentage of these students will gain benefit from the knowledge of English? Rogers suggests that the perceived need for English influences public policy regarding English programs. A brief overview of the policy of the Secretaria de Educación Publica (SEP) will help us to appreciate the perception of English as a vital part of education in Mexico.

The school program in Mexico is divided into four levels: 1) Prescolar; 2) Primaria, a six year program in which children normally enrol by the age of 6; 3) Secundaria, a three year program and 4) Preparatoria, a three year program which is required for university entrance. Although some decentralization of education has begun, curriculum and programming policy is still dictated from Mexico City.

Foreign language studies are mandatory at the secundaria and preparatoria levels, a policy which applies to both public and private schools. While English is not specifically mandatory, it is the only foreign language offered in the vast majority of cases. At present over 90% of all secundaria and preparatoria students are studying English as part of their regular school program (SEP Jalisco, Statistics Division). One

SEP employee suggested that the figure could be as high as 98%, particularly in the large urban centres. Furthermore, the demand for English has resulted in most private primaries offering English language instruction.

Two questions on the survey dealt with the necessity of English language teaching in Mexico. Teachers were asked to rate the following two statements on a 5 point Likert scale: *"All Mexican school children need to learn English to prepare for the future"* and *"English should be taught only to those students who definitely need it for a career."* A third item, *"As a parent I would want my children to be Spanish/English bilinguals"* also sheds light on the perceived importance of English. The vast majority of EFL teachers surveyed agreed that all school children in Mexico should be given the opportunity to learn English.

Results

A large majority of EFL teachers surveyed were in favour of English being taught to all school students regardless of career choice, with strongly agree being the most frequent response to the statement *"All Mexican school children need to learn English to prepare for the future"* and almost 85% of respondents in disagreement with the idea of teaching English only to those who need it for their chosen career (See Tables 5 and 6).

3) All Mexican children need to learn English to prepare for the future.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	3	2.0
disagree	5	3.3
neutral	19	12.6
agree	44	29.1
strongly agree	80	53.0
TOTAL	151	100.0

no response = 2

Table 5. Attitudes toward the universal teaching of English.

6) English should be taught only to those students who definitely need it for a career.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	63	41.7
disagree	65	43.0
neutral	16	10.6
agree	4	2.6
strongly agree	3	2.0
TOTAL	151	100.0

no response = 2

Table 6. Attitudes toward the universal teaching of English.

It is evident that EFL teachers view English as an important commodity for all children; over 90% of the respondents agreed that they would like to see their own children become bilingual (See Table 7).

17) As a parent I would want my children to be Spanish/English bilinguals.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	1	0.7
disagree	1	0.7
neutral	10	6.6
agree	52	34.2
strongly agree	88	57.9
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 7. Teacher preference for English for their children.

Discussion

EFL teachers strongly agree that English should be an obligatory subject in secundaria schools in Mexico; in discussion with teachers it became apparent that most would like to see English taught in all grades. Two of the main reasons given are 1) English is a key to a good job, and 2) English is necessary for tertiary education because textbooks, particularly in the sciences, are often available only in English. In reality, however, only a small percentage of the secundaria students will work in positions that require English or will go on to tertiary level education. Could not the time and money be spent more effectively?

There are arguments for and against the universal teaching of EFL. Rogers (1982) is concerned with wasting public funds, especially where resources are so limited that

the EFL teaching is ineffective. He is also concerned about the false hopes which are created by the promises of English.

While it is true that money is presently wasted on poorly implemented programs and that perhaps only a small percentage of Mexican children will ever require English for career purposes, many teachers would like to see EFL expanded to the primary level if it could be done effectively. Several arguments are presented: (1) the younger the student, the more facility he has for language learning, (2) a good foundation in primary would prepare the child better for EFL in secundaria and, (3) most importantly, because many children do not study beyond primary the opportunity should be provided at this level.

Although overall school enrolment figures in Mexico have been increasing in recent years, both due to population explosion and the availability of education, the total school attendance figures drop significantly from primaria to secundaria levels and from secundaria to bachillerato (high school).¹

The third argument makes sense in Mexican terms where the use of English is not restricted to highly professional positions. On the contrary, because of the migration of Mexican workers to the USA, increase in foreign industry, and rapid expansion of tourism, many workers in lower skilled positions will benefit from some knowledge of English. As Prodromou (1988) argues, restricting English teaching to only those

students who reach tertiary level education may be undemocratic or elitist.

Because English is needed in a variety of low skilled jobs, there is good argument for the teaching of English at the primary level. This point was illustrated to me in conversation with a waiter in Chapala, who told us how he would be able to support his eight children only through primaria. In a town which depends on tourism, these children could benefit from EFL instruction.

Teachers' emphasis on the need for every child to learn English stems from the high instrumental value of the language. In keeping with Prodromou's argument, the universal teaching of English in Mexico signifies the non-elitist status of English: it is a democratic response to career preparation. Some would argue that the emphasis on the necessity of English for employment is exaggerated, but EFL teachers insist on the essential nature of this communication tool.

The Prestige of English

Language prestige is difficult to define. If a language is highly valued does this give it a position of high prestige in society? Haarmann (1986) points out that the level of prestige of a language is derived from the roles that a society assigns that language. In many former British and American colonies English has become the language of

the courts, education and literature, giving it an important and prestigious position in society. Kachru (1984) links language prestige with the power a language has when it is associated with these spheres.

The situation in the Expanding Circle, however, and particularly in Mexico, calls for a closer look at language prestige. In Mexico, where knowledge of English is not necessarily an indicator of social status, the language takes on a lower prestige than is suggested by studies of former British colonies, for example. For the purpose of this discussion, language prestige will refer to the value placed on the aesthetics of the language, and the admiration which is accorded its speakers. It is on these two points that survey items related to prestige were constructed. Moreover, these points were reiterated by Mexican teachers interviewed and reflect their interpretation of prestige as associated with a language. Teachers surveyed did not see English as prestigious by this definition.

If we gauge prestige by Kachru's claim that a language acquires prestige as it is associated with "certain important domains" (Kachru 1984, p. 177), English in Mexico does not qualify as a prestige language, due to its widespread usage across social classes and domains: it is not the language of the courts, higher education or government. For Mexican teachers English is not a prestige language but is a highly valued commodity.

Results

As the following data illustrate, EFL teachers surveyed do not perceive English as prestigious in the normal sense: teachers do not see English as a marker of elitism nor high culture, which is not surprising considering the widespread functional knowledge of English in urban centres in Mexico.

Survey items were included to determine the status of English from the EFL teachers' perspective. Two items dealt specifically with the issue of English as a prestige language: *"Educated people in Mexico can speak English"* and *"People will respect me more if I can speak English."* To both of these statements the majority of responses were on the negative end of the scale (See Tables 8 and 9).

7) Educated People in Mexico can speak English.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	45	30.0
disagree	45	30.0
neutral	20	13.3
agree	29	19.3
strongly agree	11	7.3
TOTAL	150	100.0

no response = 3

Table 8. Attitudes toward English as a Prestige Language.

14) People will respect me more if I speak English.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	30	19.7
disagree	55	36.2
neutral	43	28.3
agree	22	14.5
strongly agree	2	1.3
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 9. Attitudes toward English as a Prestige Language.

English teachers surveyed do not view English as prestigious. They do not associate the speaking of English with respect from the community nor as language known by educated people in Mexico. Furthermore, English is not highly rated for its aesthetic value: most teachers remain neutral as to the superiority of Hispanic versus English literature and to the notion that one language would sound better than the other (See Tables 10 and 11). For both items dealing with the aesthetic value of English compared to Spanish, the modal response was neutral. EFL teachers view the language as a practical tool for the expression of ideas in distinct arenas, and do not hold any illusions about the inherent superiority of one language over another.

15) Hispanic or Latin American literature is better than English Literature.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	17	11.2
disagree	39	25.7
neutral	80	52.6
agree	11	7.2
strongly agree	5	3.3
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 10. Literature preference.

20) Spanish sounds better than English.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	16	10.9
disagree	20	13.6
neutral	83	56.5
agree	13	8.8
strongly agree	15	10.2
TOTAL	147	100.0

no response = 6

Table 11. Language preference.

Qualitative Data

Discussion with EFL professionals revealed that there is a limited respect associated with English but not because of its link to "certain important domains". The prestige

of a language need not depend on the roles that the language plays in the community: according to EFL teachers, in Guadalajara respect is shown to a speaker of English who has formally studied the language and is fluent in it. Alfredo Urzúa, professor and administrator of EFL teacher training, claims that the prestige associated with speaking English is the same as that associated with any form of educational achievement, such as having mastered the use of computers (Urzúa interview).

Student teacher Luis Santos reiterates Urzúa's point and explains that more respect is shown for a Mexican who has learned English as a school language than for a Chicano who learned English in an English speaking environment. The prestige of English is similar to that of any foreign language studied and mastered, be it German, Japanese, English, etc. Moreover, Luis Santos explains that the same prestige would not be associated with learning Italian or Portuguese because these languages are considered easy for Spanish speakers (Santos interview).

The value assigned English can be more accurately understood when compared to that of French. If prestige is defined as value placed on the aesthetics of the language and admiration for its speakers, language prestige need not be dependent on the functions of the language. Mexican educators associate this sense of prestige with French while English is seen to have the more practical value of an international lingua franca.

When language prestige is discussed with educators in Guadalajara, almost invariably French comes into the conversation. Sandra Hernández, student teacher, says that, of course there is a certain type of prestige associated with English and people are proud

to be able to say that they can watch an English movie without reading the subtitles, however, with regards to French she says, "French is, for Mexicans, like a very elegant language, like very romantic, sophisticated, something like 'WOW'!"

(Hernández interview) Luis Santos says that for Mexicans, "French is very elegant,"

(Santos interview) and, as to whether English is associated with prestige, Sr. Urzúa explains:

It depends on what you mean by prestige, I think, because it's obviously to your advantage. You might be better perceived, if you speak English well, as a more educated person and if that's part of prestige then Yes. The people think of you as a more educated person or more - Yes, more educated in general, but it's not prestige in the sense of the way French is perceived maybe - where French is prestige not in the sense of more educated but a more refined, sensitive person. Maybe it has to do with culture or cultural level rather than educational level. (Urzúa interview)

Carmen Gaset, a French teacher from Colegio Albert Camus, one of Guadalajara's four French-Spanish bilingual schools, explains that despite the high fees, some parents are eager to send their children to French immersion programs. The reasons given are: that French has traditionally been associated with prestige, seen as something "chic", and that parents believe the study of French, because of the nature of the language, increases a child's logical thinking ability (field notes). During the presidency of Benito Juárez (1857-1863), Mexico was invaded by France. Mexicans were exposed to French language and culture as France occupied central Mexico from 1862-67. French became particularly popular in Mexico under Porfirio Díaz, who, as

president from 1876-1880 and 1884-1910, ardently encouraged European investment and the importation of European ideology. He is remembered particularly for his admiration for French language, dress and education. Since that time, French has been associated with elitism in Mexico. English, on the other hand, has taken on a very practical role, unrelated to social or cultural prestige.

Discussion

The topic of English as a prestige language comes up often in current sociolinguistic literature; however, the various interpretations of "prestige" are not thoroughly explored. Is English a prestige language in Mexico? In terms of it being seen by EFL teachers as a more important international language than Spanish, and as a language of modernization, science, technology and commerce, it is prestigious or, at the least, a most important and useful language. However, in terms of the elevated prestige of an English speaker in Mexican society, EFL teachers surveyed did not indicate that this was the case.

While French is a status symbol, clearly associated with social class, English in Mexico is an 'herramienta' (a tool) whose use is not restricted to any one class of society. Alfredo Urzúa points out that, contrary to the position of French, English has been widely used by Mexican workers who migrate to and from the US and English

is widely spoken in border towns by Mexicans of all walks of life (field notes).

Furthermore, the prestige of a language may be tied to the perception of the native speakers of that language: the image of French as a cultured language was bound to the illusion of France as a highly cultured society, recognized for refinement of art, music and fashion. The learning of French language can be viewed as a sign of admiration for French culture whereas the study of English in today's Mexico does not signify an emulation of Anglo culture. English in Mexico is widely associated with the USA, a nation known for its military and economic power but not for its cultural refinement. When we add to the equation the wide spread negative attitude toward US politics, an attitude displayed by a variety of people, including some leading journalists, "prestige", with its traditional connotations, is not a term that one can use comfortably in reference to the status of English in Mexico.²

American English or British English

Not unrelated to the power and prestige which some languages have is the notion of the prestige or value placed on a particular dialect of a language. In Mexico British English is said to be more prestigious, a purer dialect, than American English, which is viewed as a language suited to the Mexican need for access to the global economy.

For most linguists and EFL professionals the debate over American or British English is a non issue and even British publishers have stopped exclusively promoting British English in order to tap into the American English market. Nevertheless, the issue occasionally rears its head.

Teachers were asked to respond to two statements regarding British versus American English: *"American English is different from British English"* and *"American English is more important for Mexico than British English."* At least one EFL teacher in Guadalajara feels that, although she teaches "American English because that is what the students need", she "**should**" be teaching British English (field notes). Many EFL teachers in Guadalajara claim that the difference between the two varieties is not enough to be a concern, but there is evidence from discussion with teachers, that each of the standard varieties evokes a distinct response: American English is the most practical tool while British English is something purer but irrelevant to Mexico's needs.

Results

The majority of teachers surveyed believed that American English and British English are different. 56.9% agreed and 16.3% strongly agreed to the statement *"American English is different from British English"*. Only 11.8% of respondents disagreed with

the statement (See Table 12).

(8) American English is different from British English.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	2	1.3
disagree	16	10.5
neutral	23	15.0
agree	87	56.9
strongly agree	25	16.3
TOTAL	153	100.0

no response = 0

Table 12. Attitudes toward American vs. British English.

Of the 152 people who responded to the item *"American English is more important to Mexico than British English"* 50.6% responded positively and only 21.1% responded negatively (See Table 13). Of the student teachers, only 43% agreed or strongly agreed that American English is more important to Mexico than is British English, with 34.7% remaining neutral.

16) American English is more important for Mexico than British English.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	3	2.0
disagree	29	19.1
neutral	43	28.3
agree	52	34.2
strongly agree	25	16.4
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 13. Attitudes toward American vs. British English.

16) American English is more important for Mexico than British English.

	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	n
student teachers	1.4%	20.8%	34.7%	31.9%	11.1%	72
upgrading teachers	4.9%	12.2%	26.8%	34.1%	22.0%	41
practising teachers		23.1%	17.9%	38.5%	20.5%	39

Table 14. Attitudes toward American vs. British English, by group.

Table 14 indicates that the tendency toward a neutral response to item 16 was stronger among the student teachers than the other two groups surveyed. The student teachers were also less inclined to agree with the statement. Over 55% of the practising teachers and upgrading teachers see American English as more important than British English for Mexico.

Qualitative Data

Because of the USA's strong role in Mexican trade, commerce and tourism and the predominance of American English EFL textbooks, one might expect respondents to overwhelmingly agree with item 16. Because the student teachers see English as a key to international trade, modernization and jobs, it might be expected that they would see American English as more important to Mexico than British English.

I asked student teacher Sandra Hernández about the results. She feels that American English is more important for Mexicans than British English but notes that she has often heard it said that British English is a purer English by virtue of it being the language of the motherland (Hernández interview). Her classmate, Luis Santos, says that the issue of British or American English is a non issue for him, but he too has heard it said that British English is purer than American English (Santos interview), a recurring theme among teachers with whom I spoke. Esteban Rodriguez admitted that until he got involved in professional EFL teaching, he subscribed to the myths of the superiority of both the native speaker EFL teacher and British English: today the issue of British versus American English is not very important to him (Rodriguez interview).

Both Ms. Hernández and Sr. Urzúa indicated that the reason the student teachers may have been more neutral in their responses to item 16 was that they have discussed in

class the inappropriacy of claiming that one variety of a language is "more important" than another (Hernández and Urzúa interviews).

Those who favour the teaching of American English justify it on the basis of the reality of Mexican-American contact. EFL teacher, Maria Gómez says that to teach British English would be "stupid" considering Mexico's situation vis-à-vis the USA. Yet, despite this reality, or perhaps because of it, there are those who turn to British English. Jean Pender, Regional Coordinator with the British Council in North Western Mexico, attributes the continued interest in British English to the animosity between Mexico and the USA and to the influence of the British Council and British language schools (Pender interview).³

Discussion

EFL teachers in Mexico perceive some difference between British English and American English, in both the characteristics of the dialects and in the role each plays. The student teachers are more neutral than the practising teachers with regard to which standard is more important to Mexico; in discussion with selected student teachers and administrators, it was indicated that the difference between the two standards is not a major issue.

The notion that British English, is more respectable than other dialects is, as Widdowson (1993) notes, similar to the insistence of the masses that the original Coca-Cola can never be surpassed in quality by less popular colas. Furthermore, the reason that these two illogical convictions persist is that, in both cases, a great deal of money has been invested in the advancement of these idea by those who have a large interest in promoting such falsehoods. Couple that with the natural tendency of people to prefer the tried and true, and the promoters of British English are well away.

Furthermore, the notion that one standard dialect, one accent, is used in either of these two diverse nations, Britain and the USA, is misleading. Mexican linguist, Carlos Melendez, suggests that less than 5% of Englishmen and women speak with an RP (Received Pronunciation) accent although this is what is most widely taught as British English. He notes that when we teach "American English" there is no mention of Black English, for example, and "British Culture" never represents the life of a miner's wife from Northern England (Melendez 1993, pp. 3-4). EFL materials writers in Britain and the USA have a stake in promoting the notion of a unitary British or American standard of language and culture and ensuring that texts sent abroad are permeated by this culture.

The EFL publishers in the core English nations must take responsibility for overemphasizing the issue of difference between British English and American

English. By stressing that there are different *standards* of English, be they American, British or Upper Canadian, the fallacy that certain pronunciations are somehow inherently more acceptable than others and that certain dialects are correct while others are deficient is reinforced. EFL textbook and audiotape publishers wishing to tap into markets which have been primed for a specific brand of English have created much of the attention given to the two separate standards of English. The differences in accents and a limited number of structures and vocabulary items do not seem to be such an issue with EFL teachers in Mexico.

The perception of English as a language of two primary dialects, each named for the country from which it stems, contributes to the myth that English belongs to these two nations, thereby supporting other fallacies which affect ELT practice world-wide: 1) Teachers who are native to one of these two countries are inherently superior; 2) Methodologies and texts which originate in one of these two nations are superior; 3) The teaching of EFL must be informed by mainstream cultural information from one or both of these nations; 4) International English is nothing more than the acceptance of one of these specific varieties, accompanied by its cultural and ideological baggage. The emphasis on the distinct varieties implies that the teaching of either necessitates the teaching of its respective culture.

"Una Herramienta": English As A Tool

EFL teachers in Guadalajara do not view English as a prestigious language in the sense that it would be associated with elitism or that its speakers demand respect. They do not see English as a language inherently superior to Spanish or which should intrude on the place of Spanish as the language of Mexico. They are not concerned with teaching a prestige dialect. How then is English viewed?

Es de suma importancia en nuestros días que el estudiante esté preparado con las herramientas que le permitan su desenvolvimiento en una sociedad cada vez más compleja y competitiva, en donde la preponderancia del idioma inglés como lenguaje internacional y la particular circunstancia de nuestro país frente a un mayor intercambio cultural y comercial con nuestros vecinos del norte, hace más necesaria la comunicación en este idioma. Es también pertinente mencionar que el acceso a la información y al conocimiento, está en gran medida condicionado y controlado por los países del primer mundo, en donde la posibilidad de obtenerlos oportunamente depende en un alto grado del manejo del idioma. Por lo anterior es muy importante que en el bachillerato se proporcione al estudiante, la oportunidad de un acercamiento a los alcances y perspectivas del idioma inglés en el contexto mundial actual. (Programas Para Los Cursos De Inglés Como Lengua Extranjera Del Nivel Medio Superior de la Universidad de Guadalajara)

[These days it is extremely important that the student be prepared with the tools that will permit his involvement in a society that is becoming increasingly more complex and competitive, whereby the preponderance of the English language as an international language and the particular circumstances of our country faced with major cultural and commercial interchange with our northern neighbours, makes it very important that we communicate in this language. It is also pertinent to mention that the access to information and knowledge which, in a certain degree, are imposed and controlled by the first world nations, therefore the possibilities and opportunity to obtain them depend on the degree to which one is able to master that language. Therefore, it is very important that in the bachillerato the student be given the opportunity to understand the*

perspective of the English language in the context of the contemporary world. (Program for the Course of Study of English as a Foreign Language for High Schools under the jurisdiction of the University of Guadalajara) |

** bachillerato: high school certification*

English is often viewed as a tool for international communication and modernization. As Sergio Gomez Lori, trade councillor for the Mexican Embassy in Ottawa, points out, English is used not only for Mexican - US negotiations but also for Mexican - Japanese talks and virtually all other international links with other than Spanish speaking nations (Gomez interview). At an international level, English takes precedence over all other languages. As Spanish is itself a world language and one of the six official languages of the UN, it is telling to note that when Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar spoke as a representative of Peru he used Spanish, but as Secretary General his addresses were in English (Müller 1992, p. 4). In Mexico, English is reinforced as the language of modern technology in many ways, including English terminology for advanced electronic equipment, English packaging of such equipment, and English textbooks in use in scientific and technical fields, where Spanish equivalents are not available.

EFL teachers in Guadalajara were surveyed to determine the extent to which they perceive English as a global language and a more important world language than Spanish. Teachers were asked to respond to the statements, *"English is a more important world language than Spanish"*, *"English is the most important language for*

modern technology and science” and *“If you speak English you can communicate with people from all over the world.”* Because modernity and progress are associated with globalization of the economy, there is a strong link between world language and modernity. To explore whether EFL teachers perceive English in this light, the survey included the statements, *“Mexicans will have to learn English in order for Mexico to be part of the global economy”* and *“English is an important language for Mexicans who want to see their country progress and modernize.”* These items deal directly with the perception of English as a global language and as a necessity for entry into a new age, which, on an individual basis, translates into job opportunities.

Teachers were surveyed to determine the extent to which English is seen as a necessity for career advancement. Needless to say, teachers were highly in agreement with the statement *“Knowing English will increase a student’s chance of getting a job.”*

EFL teachers place high instrumental value on English. It is perceived as a necessary tool as Mexico aims to become an active member of the global economy, tapping into modern science, technology and commercial ventures. The study of EFL is viewed less as an endeavour of cultural and personal development and more as a pursuit of an essential skill for the economic advancement of the individual and the society. In Guadalajara English is recognized as an international lingua franca, a language for global communication and modernization and a tool for career advancement.

Results

Some of the most notable results of the teacher survey, in that there was very high agreement among respondents, were in the areas which highlight the instrumentality of English: a) **English as an International Language**, b) **English as a key to modernization/science and technology** and c) **English as opening doors to employment**.

Survey items dealt with the attitudes toward English as the international lingua franca and EFL teachers in Guadalajara recognize this status, which encompasses the subordination of Spanish on the world stage. To the items which pursue the priority of English globally, there was high agreement and minimal disagreement. Just over 57% of respondents agreed that *"If you speak English you can communicate with people from all over the world."* To the statement *"English is a more important world language than Spanish"*, there was over 65% agreement and in response to the item *"Mexicans will have to learn English in order for Mexico to be part of the global economy"* over 70% of teachers were in agreement or strong agreement.

Two items directly addressed English as a key to modernization. Fewer than 3% of people disagreed that English is the most important language of science and technology. In response to *"English is an important language for Mexicans who want to see their country progress and modernize"*, 67.4% were in agreement or strong

agreement while only 10.7% responded negatively. Viewed alongside items related to English as an international language, a pattern emerges as responses to all these items indicate a high awareness of English as a language of global communication and a necessity for career advancement.

Because of the overlap in the areas, results for items related to English as an International Language and English as a Key to Modernization are presented together in the following tables.

25) If you speak English you can communicate with people from all over the world.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	2	1.3
disagree	19	12.5
neutral	29	19.1
agree	74	48.7
strongly agree	28	18.4
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 15. Attitudes toward English as an International Language.

30) English is a more important world language than Spanish.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	4	2.6
disagree	15	9.9
neutral	35	23.2
agree	60	39.7
strongly agree	37	24.5
TOTAL	151	100.0

no response = 2

Table 16. Attitudes toward English as an International Language.

28) Mexicans will have to learn English in order for Mexico to be part of the global economy.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	1	.7
disagree	13	8.6
neutral	29	19.1
agree	62	40.8
strongly agree	47	30.9
TCTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 17. Attitudes toward English as a Key to a Global Economy.

32) English is the most important language for modern technology and science.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	1	.7
disagree	3	2.0
neutral	13	8.6
agree	74	49.0
strongly agree	60	39.7
TOTAL	151	100.0

no response = 2

Table 18. Attitudes toward English as a Key to Science and Technology.

11) English is an important language for Mexicans who want to see their country progress and modernize.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	3	2.0
disagree	13	8.7
neutral	33	22.1
agree	64	42.7
strongly agree	37	24.7
TOTAL	150	100.0

no response = 3

Table 19. Attitudes toward English as a Key to Modernization.

Predictably, when a language is seen as a key to modernization and international communication, it is also viewed as a necessity for career advancement. As noted, responses to the statement *"All Mexican children need to learn English to prepare for their futures"* were 82.1% in agreement or strong agreement. To the statement

"Knowing English will increase a student's chance of getting a job", 91.6%

of responses were positive with only one negative response and there were no non responses. (See Table 20). There is little doubt that English is highly associated with career opportunities and this is the primary reason for the extensive study of English in Mexico.

27) Knowing English will increase a student's chance of getting a job.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	0	.0
disagree	1	.7
neutral	12	7.8
agree	70	45.8
strongly agree	70	45.8
TOTAL	153	100.0

no response = 0

Table 20. Attitudes toward English as a Key to Employment.

Responses to the open-ended question *"Should the students of Mexico study English?*

Please explain why," reflected teacher attitudes toward English as a key to

employment, a global economy, education, science and technology. Answers were first analyzed to determine whether teachers felt that Mexican students should study English. Of the 149 subjects who answered the question the vast majority were in favour of the study of English. Only 13 respondents indicated any doubt with 12 being categorized as "not necessarily" and one "Yes, if they like it". The answers were then categorized according to seven themes (See Table 21).

38) Should the students of Mexico study English? Yes Yes, if they like it <u>Not necessarily</u> n = non responses = 4	frequency of responses 136 1 <u>12</u> 149
Please explain why. 1. Work, Career Opportunity 2. Economic Issues Specifically mentions USA/NAFTA (26)* Doesn't mention USA/NAFTA (23) 3. Personal Development, Cultural Education 4. Academic Reading 5. Science and Technology, Modernization 6. English as an International Language 7. Travel	67 49 34 30 27 26 5
* The USA is mentioned in 18 of these 26 responses, Canada is mentioned once, and no other country is mentioned. note: The counts total more than 149 because many respondents mentioned more than one reason for EFL study.	

Table 21. Why should students study English?

The vast majority of EFL teachers surveyed mentioned only instrumental motives for the study of English: career advancement; economic progress; access to academic and technical literature; modernization; and access to international scientific and technological information. A minority of responses, approximately 11%, mentioned personal and cultural development as motive for EFL study.

Although there are numerous mentions of international communication and trade, only the United States and Canada are specifically referred to, with Canada being noted in conjunction with the USA in one response. Approximately half of the responses which link EFL to economics specifically include reference to NAFTA and/or the USA.

A number of answers to the open-ended questions, expressed concern over the imposition of English, but it is generally viewed, sometimes reluctantly, as a necessity:

El inglés es un idioma de moda necesario en unos campos como en la tecnología, medicina, ciencia, computación, etc. Hay gente que no le gusta pero lo considera necesario. Hay otra gente que lo estudia porque esta de moda.

[English is a fashionable language that is necessary in some fields such as technology, medicine, science, computers, etc. There are people who don't like it but consider it necessary. There are other people who study it because it is fashionable.]

Sí, porque, queramos o no, estamos en una sociedad donde Estados Unidos (país de habla inglesa) lleva las riendas, sobretodo economica y politicamente, y es necesario estar en sus terminos para poder comunicar y discutir lo nuestros.

[Yes, because, whether we like it or not, we are in a society where the United States (an English speaking country) holds the reins, above all in economics and politics, and it is necessary to be on their terms to be able to communicate and discuss what is ours.]

Discussion

If we focus on the agree and disagree responses of the questionnaire data, ignoring for the moment the neutral responses, a very consistent trend is apparent. Teachers surveyed were far more likely to agree than disagree that English is a world language, necessary for workers as Mexico pursues technological, scientific and economic development which entails increased globalization.

Mexican EFL teachers surveyed are aware of the subordinate position of Spanish in global relations. To item 30, *"English is a more important world language than Spanish"*, a statement which might be expected to meet with some resistance, 64.2% of respondents agreed (combining agree and strongly agree) with this statement, while only 12.5% disagreed and almost one quarter of respondents remained neutral. If we assume that at least some of the neutral responses can be interpreted as "No comment", an assumption supported by several teachers with whom I discussed this issue, (e.g. Hernández and Santos interviews), it is not surprising that of the items which deal with English as an international language and English as modernization, item 30 drew the largest number of neutral responses: after all, Spanish too is an international language. On the other hand, when it comes to the importance of English for career opportunities, there is almost unanimous consent; only one person disagreed and 7.8% of respondents chose the neutral response.

Although teachers surveyed agreed that English is a language of global communication, in the responses to the open-ended questions there was no shortage of references to the USA. While this may be the result of a carry-over effect, in that there are eight references directly or indirectly to the USA in the first 37 items (and two references to Britain), given the opportunity to respond to an open-ended question, only one mention is made to Canada and no mention is made of any other specific region of the globe. The *herramiento* seems to serve two roles: that of link to the globe and that of link to the USA, which stands in a category of its own. Alternately, and with more disturbing ramifications, the USA is the globe.

Although personal development/culture and travel were mentioned in response to question 38, the association of English learning with instrumental motivation far outweigh the more integrative or prestige based motives. This is not to say that respondents did not display what Gardner would classify as integrative motivation but that the emphasis of EFL teachers is on instrumental motivation. Moreover, perhaps the lines between instrumental and integrative are not so clearly drawn as that one would imply the exclusion of the other.⁴

In the perception of English as a necessary tool in a modern Mexico, the dual role of English becomes apparent: it is both the link to all corners of the globe and the medium through which discussions with the USA are conducted. While Alfredo Urzúa (interview) will admit that for the most part when Mexicans think of English, their

initial thought will be "the language of the United States", there is evidence that some Mexican education officials are attempting to downplay this association and to stress the internationality of English.

The curriculum paper for English courses in the preparatoria schools that are administered by the University of Guadalajara refers specifically to English as a tool which will enable students to participate in an increasingly complex and competitive society. It stresses the international nature of English, yet it recognizes the geographical situation of Mexico vis-à-vis the USA. The program guide was produced at the University and the 19 coordinators, authors and collaborators are all Mexicans. Although the writers recognize the particular circumstance of Mexico being a next door neighbour to the world's most influential nation, they insist on the global nature of English and are candid about the reality of Mexico's submission to global forces. With this admission in mind, we can understand the nature of Mexico's need for the tools which will raise her global status.

Conclusions

EFL teachers in Guadalajara view English as a highly valued commodity which is a necessity for a modern Mexico. Teachers feel that all children should have access to this tool to ensure their success as well as the economic progress of their country.

English is not valued for its aesthetic or cultural worth but is regarded for its instrumental worth.

As to whether they should be teaching American English or British English, teachers are inclined to place more value on American English for instrumental reasons, although, the distinction between the two varieties is less important to teachers than it is to textbook producers in core English nations.

Mexico's particular geographic location and commercial interests make English especially important as a communication link to the USA. EFL teachers view English as both a universal lingua franca and, perhaps more prominently, a language whose ownership is inseparably bound to the very powerful northern neighbour on which Mexico is economically dependent.

EFL teachers perceive themselves as providing students with a necessary tool to success. They value English for its instrumental role, and as the next chapter discusses, this perception of English separates it somewhat from association with culture. EFL teachers have a clear view of the place of English in Mexico and do not see it intruding in the cultural realms.

1. During the school year 1993-94, 972,813 students were enrolled in primaria in Jalisco, while the secundaria population was 272,740 and only 116,522 students were studying at the bachillerato level (SEP Statistics). Moreover, Jalisco cannot be considered representative of the nation as it is among the wealthier states of Mexico: the drop off rate is more drastic in poorer and more remote regions. It should be noted, however, that Mexico has made great strides in access to education over the past two decades and enrolment figures for secundaria and bachillerato programs are increasing yearly. In the decade from 1977-1987, the number of students enrolled nationally at the secundaria level almost doubled from 2,301,617 to 4,347,257 [SEP Statistics].

2. There is a variety of anti-American sentiment in Mexico as well as mixed emotions which range from envy and admiration to distrust and frustration. *Proceso*, a leading weekly news magazine is notable for its anti-American sentiment often expressed in cartoons.

3. The British Council has been involved in Mexico since the early 40's. Its initial involvement was motivated by pressure to secure Mexico as an ally during the Second World War. Today the Council is not involved in any direct EFL teaching in Mexico but provides financial support to the Anglo-Mexicano Institute, which has branches in Mexico City and Guadalajara. The council also works in conjunction with the Secretaria de Educación Pública on special projects such as teacher training and language access centres for state universities as a link and promotional agent for EFL publishers and British universities which seek clients in Mexico. British language schools had their heyday in Mexico in the 1960's and 70's, and British English is still somewhat present through private schools and textbooks supplied by the British Council but today schools which teach American English are far more conspicuous.

4. To the questions adapted from Gardner to indicate integrative motivation responses were as follows:
 - 5) I am glad I speak English so I can communicate with English speaking tourists and make friends with them, 77.9% agreement and strong agreement;
 - 22) I enjoy meeting English people and learning about them, their customs and way of life, 73.1% agreement and strong agreement;
 - 23) I use English in my life outside school, 87.5% agreement and strong agreement;
 - 26) I read English newspapers magazines and books, 87.4% agreement and strong agreement.
 - 36) If I speak English I want to speak like a native speaker, 62.7% agreement and strong agreement.
 However, a closer look at these statements as addressed to EFL teachers may

indicate simply a motivation to maintain or improve their own proficiency in English, which in this case could be considered instrumental rather than integrative motivation.

In the answers to open ended question 38, the instrumental motivations for studying English far surpass the integrative reasons.

CHAPTER 5: *ENGLISH AS A THREAT*

The spread of English globally has been linked with domination and cultural imperialism by a number of sociolinguists (Phillipson 1992b, Pennycook 1994, Kachru 1986a). As Tomlinson (1991) argues, to define the term *cultural imperialism* is perhaps impossible due to the complexity of both culture and imperialism. These terms evoke a multiplicity of connotations and for that reason, Tomlinson suggests, our understanding of cultural imperialism must spring from the discourse which surrounds it (p. 3). Hamelink (1983), posits that one aspect of cultural imperialism is "cultural synchronization", a process which involves the one-way traffic of cultural products from the metropolitan country to Third World, "satellite" countries (p. 3). The culture of the recipient country synchronizes with the model offered by the metropolitan country. Hamelink argues that the interests of the transnational corporations are served by cultural synchronization, a process instigated by transnational firms which "consider national boundaries politically, economically and culturally obsolete." Their interest is in developing a "world customer" (p. 6). Hamelink names Mexico as one of the developing nations which is on the receiving end of cultural imperialism in the form of cultural synchronization.

According to Hamelink's definition of cultural synchronization and the evidence he introduces, (the Coca-Cola Bottle in the Mexican village, the Barbie doll in the hands of a hungry child in Brazil, the broadcasting of popular American television because it is cheaper than producing local programs (pp. 2-3)), urban culture in Mexico is undergoing the process of cultural synchronization. American pop music, Mickey Mouse t-shirts, English slogans, programs like "Melrose Place" and "Beverly Hills 90210", Kentucky Fried Chicken, McDonald's and Burger King outlets, children named Denise and Randy and Jonathan, Batman and Superman paraphernalia, Coca-Cola and 7-Up, Halloween celebrations, and Snoopy birthday cards - these are the things that Hamelink would point to as evidence of cultural synchronization.

Mexicans are not naïve about the cultural synchronization to which they may be subject. In Mexican Spanish there is a derogatory term, "malinchista", used to refer to a person who prefers foreign things over local products and culture. The story goes that Marina, known to history as "La Malinche", was the interpreter and Indian wife of Cortés. Her loyalty to her husband and the conquistadors led her to betray her own people (Bleeker 1963). The term also applies to the ease with which malinchistas are integrated into foreign ideologies and lifestyles. One EFL teacher writes:

El aprender inglés en la juventud de México sí va a traer cambios en la cultura de México; si ya de por sí somos malinchistas y después la juventud no tendrá identidad cultural. Yo pienso que sí se debe tomar en serio y no como inquietud pero mucho más como una necesidad que se debe satisfacer. Además la juventud es muy influenciable y estaría bien si supieran elegir y seleccionar lo mejor de otros países y no lo que no les

sirve a ellos y que lo exportan como grandioso y es pura basura.

[Yes, of course, cultural changes will take place in Mexico as the youth of Mexico learn English. Already, as is, we are malinchistas and therefore the youth won't have any cultural identity. I do believe that "yes" one ought to take this very seriously and not as a worry but we should take it as a necessity that one should satisfy. Furthermore, the youth is influenced very easily and it would be alright if they knew how to choose and pick the best from other countries and throw away what doesn't serve them well. Those things they (foreign countries) export are portrayed to be grandiose and in reality are pure garbage.]

Melendez (1993) also identifies malinchismo in Mexico:

[As] far as I know, there is no other culture in the world that has given a name to their integrative motivational drive. We have. We call it MALINCHISMO. (p. 3)

To what extent do EFL teachers in Guadalajara see cultural synchronization as a consequence of the spread of English language? Learning English is not viewed by teachers as a cultural endeavour but as the pursuit of a practical skill. Does the status of English as a tool, rather than an integral part of cultural expression, reduce the perceived threat? English is viewed as an international language and as the language of the USA: it is not threatening to replace Spanish as the mode of communication for the expression of Mexican culture. In order to gain a fuller appreciation of whether Mexican EFL teachers perceive of English and American culture as threats to Mexican culture and language, it was decided to investigate attitudes toward: (1) English borrowings in Mexico; (2) the glut of American movies, television and pop

music in Mexico; (3) the spread of English in Mexico.

Teacher perceptions of English as a threat are examined through the questionnaire item *"There are too many English words used in Spanish today"*. This item reveals teacher attitudes toward code mixing and borrowings.

In Mexico, English is very much associated with America and American culture. American movies are generally presented in English with Spanish subtitles. Television programs are dubbed in Spanish but usually maintain English in the names of characters, the credits, incidental signs and background songs. Two items addressed the issue of American mass media products in Mexico: *"There are too many American movies shown in Mexican cinemas"*, which elicits a general reaction to American cultural products and *"If Mexicans frequently watch American television and listen to American music, it will weaken the Mexican culture"*, which reveals the extent to which teachers perceive the presence of American cultural products as a threat.

One open-ended question asked about the relationship between the spread of English and consequential changes in Mexican culture: *"As young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should Mexicans take this as a concern?"* Although young people are learning English through various channels, by referring to the learning of English rather than the

spread of English, teachers may realize their own roles in the dispersion of English and the potential consequences, as is evidenced in some of the responses.

An analysis of the data on this issue reveals somewhat ambiguous results. Teachers are generally dismayed by the infiltration of anglicisms and by the glut of American movies, yet they are less certain that American cultural products, such as television programming and music, are a threat to Mexican culture. The majority of teachers acknowledge that as English acquisition spreads it will result in a changed Mexican culture, with positive, negative and neutral results.

Anglicisms in Mexican Spanish

In spite of the fact that Mexican EFL teachers are eager for young people to learn English, they are not so happy about anglicisms in Spanish; some would say that their language is threatened by the infusion of English terms and expressions. This topic was addressed by the item: *"There are too many English words used in Spanish today"*.

Of the things which identify a malinchista, the unnecessary use of English is considered a sign:

And some people are quite negative about English because of the same thing because everybody wants to learn it and everybody is like "English English" and they say "No! Come on, man, don't be malinchistas! Don't try to like things from the foreign ...(Hernández interview)

Results

EFL teachers surveyed largely agreed that too many anglicisms are in use in Spanish.

Only 8% of teachers disagreed with the statement and only 2 people strongly disagreed (See Table 22).

31) There are too many English words used in Spanish today.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	2	1.3
disagree	10	6.7
neutral	39	26.2
agree	83	55.7
strongly agree	15	10.1
TOTAL	149	100.0

no response = 4

Table 22. Attitudes toward Anglicisms.

Further evidence of the frustration EFL teachers feel over the influence of the English language on Spanish discourse is found in response to the open-ended question which asked teachers to comment on the effects of English on Mexican culture. Several

respondents mentioned negative effects on Spanish usage. One teacher writes:

....., me refiero a que nuestro idioma se esta distorsionando remarcadamente por la influencia de algunas cadenas de television. Por ejemplo, en los comerciales, películas, novelas; hasta en el lenguaje escrito. Las oraciones gramaticales están formadas al estilo inglés/gringo; me refiero al orden en que están acomodadas las palabras en una oración. Además, en el vocabulario están metiendo muchos barbarismos, es un desastre y da tristeza.

[....., I refer to the fact that our language is remarkably disintegrating by the influence of some television channels. For instance, the TV ads, movies, novels, even the written language. The sentences are grammatically built in an English/gringo style; I am referring to the word order in which the words are accommodated in a phrase or sentence. Moreover, they are incorporating many barbarisms in the every day vocabulary. It is a disaster and it is very sad.]

Survey results indicate a clear dislike of English influence on Spanish. In response to the open-ended question *"As young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should Mexicans take this as a concern?"* a number of teachers linked the infusion with the spread of English or American values and ideology.

Qualitative Data

Dismay over the influence of English on Spanish is expressed by teachers, translators, journalists and the government of Mexico. Many associate the maintenance of the

language with the maintenance of sovereignty and culture. Spanish has a history of language preservation and to that end has established the Royal Academy of Spanish Language.

Just as there are guardians of the English language, there are those who fear the denigration of the Spanish language. The Royal Academy of Spanish Language, with its head office in Spain and its affiliates in Latin America, has the task of maintaining the purity of the language. It makes decisions as to acceptable terms and grammatical structures. Maria Luisa Arias (interview with field notes), EFL educator and Coordinator of Translation, University of Guadalajara, discussed the policies and practices of the Royal Academy. Traditionally the Academy has produced the official *Diccionario de Lengua Española* every ten years. The dictionary sets a standard for professional translators and is updated based on applications from the Academy's representatives in Spain and each of the Spanish speaking nations in the Americas. Because of the increased use of computers and advanced technological terms, the Academy was forced to produce its most recent edition of the Dictionary two years ahead of schedule (1992).

Sra. Arias is adamant about the invasion of English and the denigration of Spanish. As a teacher and translator, she takes it as her responsibility to minimize the use of anglicisms and encourage her audiences to realize the contagious nature of English. Today words such as "chechar" (to check), "reporta" (report, the noun), "feedback",

and "containadoras" (containers) are in regular use. Sra. Arias refers to the use of such anglicisms as "terrible", "awful" and "disgusting". She is particularly concerned that Mexicans, including teachers, academics and university students, do not even realize that such words are improper Spanish.

Translators are torn between using terms such as "software" and "Word Perfect" or coming up with an appropriate translation. In recent years, the trend has been to simply apply the English terms, particularly in computer related language. The Royal Academy of the Spanish Language sometimes adjusts a word to give it a more Spanish flavour, as with the words "computadora" and "formatear" which are now acceptable Spanish terms.

Translators and academics fall into two categories with regard to attitudes toward the increasing spread of English words into Mexican Spanish. One camp dismisses concerns about purity and takes the attitude that language evolution is inevitable and harmless. The second camp, of which Sra. Arias considers herself a member, is very concerned about the decline of Spanish, and sees anglicisms as a threat. However, Sra. Arias notes that her role as guardian of the Spanish language is almost futile as the infusion of English seems unstoppable.

Sra. Arias's concerns are shared by the government of Mexico, which has not ignored the linguistic assault. In 1982, prompted by the increased use of English names and

anglicisms in shop windows and other advertising venues, the government set up the *Commission for the Defense of Spanish*, whose job was to censor advertising materials and impose fines on users of anglicisms. For example, war was declared on the apostrophe, which does not exist in traditional Spanish, but was showing up on restaurant signs such as "Shirley's and Arthur's". Radio and television commercials which mocked the use of English terms were produced (Reilly 1992, p. 77). For a short period of time, the fines were strictly enforced; however the Commission's work has had little effect in the long run and today no fines are levied. In Guadalajara there is no shortage of commercial signs which are in English or which include English expressions, such as "EddY's (sic) ALQUILAR DE SMOKINGS".

There is a law in Mexico which states that all products for sale must include Spanish labelling, but this law, too, is largely ignored and a wide variety of items including packaged food, office and educational equipment are labelled only in English. Sra. Arias adds that "people who don't speak English are feeling lost."

Who uses anglicisms in Mexico and why? Sra. Arias claims that the use of anglicisms and code switching are associated with importance by certain groups in Mexico. Sra. Arias relates how executives of private companies use English terms to sound more sophisticated and to "give a better impression". She suggests that a switch to English may imply that the necessary information is too complex to be communicated in Spanish. She mentions young people who also "put on airs to sound cool". Others use

anglicisms, not realizing that these terms are incorrect Spanish usage:

The worse part is when they do it and they are not aware of it. They think it is a perfectly normal Spanish word. Sometimes with our students it is hard to convince them that it is not correct. (Arias interview)

When asked what exactly was so bad about the use of anglicisms in Mexico, she came up with three concerns: 1) It effects values, either consciously or unconsciously, encouraging an American approach to consumerism, and family values and it accompanies the introduction of American lifestyles including increased violence and drug abuse. 2) It hinders communication when the speaker himself is uncertain of the full meaning of a term used. 3) It affects communication when, in order to make the language more like English, words are inappropriately used in Spanish written work, such as academic and business reports. For example, the word 'habilidad' which is a cognate of 'ability', is being overused even in contexts where another Spanish word would be more appropriate. The same can be said for the use of the word 'políticas' which is now being used to mean policies although this is not the traditional meaning of the Spanish word. Sra. Arias fears that writers sometimes sacrifice meaning in order to make their work more readable to an international audience (which is supposedly fluent in English) or to create an impression of being modern.

Journalist, Pablo Latapi, condemns the intrusion of unnecessary English and explains why Spanish should be promoted as the unifying language of Mexico.

La cuarta razón es cultural, y no es menor en estos tiempos de trilateralismo y globalizaciones. Nuestro idioma es patrimonio común, sello de nuestra soberanía cultural. Quienes por impotencia lingüística, entreguismo o afán esnob de "modernidad" recurren al inglés innecesario demuestran amnesia de sus raíces, carencia de casta y desprecio de su identidad.

Es de desear que la SEP lleve a cabo, junto con este encomiable propósito escolar, acciones de mayor amplitud social en defensa del español. En radio, televisión, publicidad impresa y anuncios callejeros debe regularse el uso innecesario de otros idiomas cuando es en demérito del idioma nacional. Respetar el español es respetarnos a nosotros mismos.

(Pablo Latapi 1993)

[The fourth reason is concerned with culture, and it is not minor in our days of trilateralism and globalization. Our language is a common patrimony, a seal of our history and symbol of belonging; it is the axle of our cultural sovereignty. Those who, for linguistic impotency, submission or the eager snobism of "modernity", turn to unnecessary English demonstrate amnesia of their roots, lack of caste and rejection of his identity.

It is desirable that SEP, together with this worthy educational purpose, carry out social actions of a greater magnitude for the sake of protecting or defending the Spanish language. On radio, television, the media and billboards we shall regulate the unnecessary usage of foreign languages when it is a detriment to the national language. To respect the Spanish language is to respect ourselves. (Pablo Latapi, 1993)]

Discussion

Whether dismay with the use of anglicisms is prompted by a Quirkian notion of the purity of language or whether teachers' fears are based on the connection between linguistic and cultural invasion is not certain. However, Sra. Arias expressed concerns about the way in which code switching, borrowings and infusion of foreign language

structures into the local vernacular signify a transmutation in values and ideology.

Sra. Arias's attitude indicates the paradox of language and power: while she holds very strong opinions on the imperialist nature of English spread and sees herself as a protector of a purer Spanish, she has been able to take advantage of the spread of English, completed her higher education in an English/French environment in Canada (University of Ottawa) and now has a relatively prestigious position based on her ability in English. Kachru points out the pragmatic power of English in such situations and the vicious cycle it creates. Although Kachru is referring to the Outer Circle, his comments are also true of the dilemma faced by English teachers and translators in the Expanding Circle.

We find evidence of this in the attitude (and use of language power) of the new emerging elite in the Outer Circle. They are generally English educated; they exploit the symbols which education bestows upon them; and they see to it that their children go to the best English medium schools and seek admission to Western Universities. And then, they proclaim- both in English and in local languages- the ills of English, and the evils of its power, and they protest against the continued domination of the language. On the one hand the groups are exploiting the current pragmatic powers of English-as far as they and their families are concerned. On the other hand they are attempting to create a power base for another language - interestingly through the medium of English. (Kachru 1986b, p 131)

EFL professionals are faced with the dilemma of promoting the study and use of English yet, at the same time, they do not wish to see English intrude on Mexican-Spanish.

American Cultural Presence

In Guadalajara today young people listen to American pop music, attend American style discos, watch American soap operas and sitcoms and see American movies. Do EFL teachers believe that these products of the American mass media influence a change in the Mexican culture?

Two survey items gauged how EFL teachers feel about the influx of American commercial cultural products. Teachers were asked to respond to the statements *"Today there are too many American movies shown in Mexican cinemas"* and *"If Mexicans frequently watch American television and listen to American music, it will weaken the Mexican culture."*

Results

The results indicate a strong disapproval of the preponderance of American movies. While 87.4% of teachers believe that there are too many American movies shown in Mexico (and 65.8% agree that there are too many English words being used in Spanish today), only 35.5% agreed that too much American television and music could be a threat to the Mexican culture - 19.7% remained neutral and 44.7% disagreed with that statement. It appears that while a large number of teachers

surveyed are not enamoured with the domination of American movies, many do not feel that this threatens Mexican culture.

29) Today there are too many American movies shown in Mexican cinemas.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	0	0.0
disagree	6	4.0
neutral	13	8.6
agree	66	43.7
strongly agree	66	43.7
TOTAL	151	100.0

no response = 2

Table 23. Attitudes toward American movies.

18) If Mexicans frequently watch American television and listen to American music, it will weaken the Mexican culture.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	11	7.2
disagree	57	37.5
neutral	30	19.7
agree	44	28.9
strongly agree	10	6.6
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 24. Attitudes toward American impact on Mexican culture.

Discussion

The vast majority of EFL teachers surveyed responded negatively toward the glut of American movies in Mexico but only 35.5% felt that exposure to American popular mass media weakens Mexican culture. Further investigation could shed light on why respondents disagree with the influx of American cultural products. There is some indication from responses to the open-ended question *"As young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should Mexicans take this as a concern?"* that many respondents feel a pride in their strong culture and do not see it as vulnerable. This question is dealt with in more detail in the following section.

EFL: Impact on Mexican Culture

Do EFL teachers view the widespread learning of English as a threat to Mexican culture? This issue was addressed by the open-ended question *"As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should the Mexicans take this as a concern?"* As the results show, the majority of teachers do link the spread of English with changes in Mexican society, some of which will be positive, others negative and some of neutral consequence.

Results

To the open-ended question *"As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should the Mexicans take this as a concern?"* there were a range of answers from those which indicated that English would impact largely on Mexican culture to those who were adamant about the imperviousness of it. (See Table 25)

39: As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture?

Yes, Yes likely	51
Possibly, Maybe	42
No, Not likely	<u>47</u>
total	140

no response = 9

other/uninterpretable = 4

Should the Mexicans take this as a concern? Elaborate your answer.

Negative Effect	40
Good and Bad Effects	14
Good Effects	14
Neutral	<u>25</u>
total	93*

* This figure represents those who did feel changes in the Mexican culture were possible or imminent.

Table 25. The effects of English spread on Mexican culture.

Several themes predominate the answers to Question 39. Those who were concerned about the debilitation of their culture referred to such things as family values, infiltration of English words into Spanish and a change in traditions and customs. Many of those concerned about a negative impact on Mexican culture referred not only to English, but to the general influx of American culture.

El aprendizaje del inglés es sólo parte del problema - la TV/películas son bastante responsables por los problemas que tenemos hoy en día - empezando con los cambios en la unión familiar.

[The learning of English is only part of the problem - TV/Movies are responsible also for the problems that we are having these days - starting with the changes taking place in the family unit.]

Sí, porque talvez inconcientemente la persona aprenda el inglés y pueda usar o cambiar sus costumbres por las estudiadas (idioma) debido que al estudiar se envuelve en el modo de actuar o pensar de los personajes en libros o articulos americanos.

[Yes, because perhaps, unconsciously, the person will learn English and could use or change his customs for those studied through the language. Due to studying, one might begin to act or think like the characters from American books or magazines.]

As with the other open-ended question, which explored the perceived roles of English in Mexico, there are ample references made to the USA: in answer to this question, 20 respondents referred to the USA and no other country was mentioned.

EFL teachers are a link between the English language and Mexican students. They are at least partially responsible for the spread of English and its consequences. Some

teachers see themselves as playing a role in controlling the potential effects on Mexican culture: 12 respondents specifically mentioned the responsibility of teachers and education to guide students to the realization that learning English and learning about English culture need not interfere with one's own cultural identity. Others felt that the teacher must try to encourage students to take the good things from other cultures without the bad.

Sí, porque los jóvenes imitan "actitudes y modos de vida"; por lo general imitan únicamente lo negativo (es más fácil) y lo positivo ni siquiera lo toman en cuenta. Yo creo que como maestros de inglés tenemos la responsabilidad de señalar los peligros que implica la imitación de valores negativos de una sociedad.

[Yes, because the youth has the tendency to imitate "attitudes and ways of life"; but as a whole they mostly imitate what is regarded as negative (it's a lot easier) while, at the same time, the positive things they don't even take into account. I do believe that as English teachers we have the responsibility to make them aware of the dangers that are implicated in the imitation of negative values in any society.]

Many teachers indicated a strong pride in their own culture, such as the following:

Sí, debido al intercambio de ideas y las formas de vida e idiosincracia de las culturas inglesas. Sí, es de tomarse en serio ya que habrá que aprovechar las cosas positivas pero también mantener nuestra cultura por la cual sentimos un gran orgullo (tradiciones, valores, etc.)

[Yes, due to the exchange of ideas, the ways of life and idiosyncrasy of English cultures. Yes, one ought to take this seriously because one will have to take advantage of the positive things but also at the same time keep our culture (traditions, values, etc) in which we take a great pride.]

While many teachers indicated that English/American culture is a potential threat to Mexican culture, others did not. Many people who did not fear change, were adamant about the imperviousness of the Mexican culture referred to the "strong roots" of such, a theme which was mentioned by 28 respondents.

Many of the respondents, both those who are concerned about cultural impact and those who are not, point to the instrumental value of English, some implying that this limits English influence on the cultural sphere: 51 respondents of the 144 (35.4%) who answered the open-ended question referred to the instrumental nature of English, many mentioning the positive impact on the economy, education and career opportunities. Many noted that English is a need, a tool and/or a business interest. In response to the open-ended question *"As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should the Mexicans take this as a concern?"* one teacher responded:

No necesariamente. Si, de antemano, se ve al idioma como un arma de desarrollo que ayudará a solucionar problemas en la tecnología, la ciencia y otras areas, como por el ejemplo, el comercio. Es entonces la responsabilidad del maestro explicar al alumno, en el caso de nuestra situación, que los valores culturales de nuestros países latinos no cambiarán ya que el interés nuestro en el idioma inglés es solamente como medio de desarrollo o herramienta de trabajo y no la cultura de los países de habla inglesa.

[Not necessarily. If, beforehand, one sees the language as a weapon of development that will help to solve problems in technology, science and other areas, such as commerce. It is then the responsibility of the teacher to explain to the student, in our particular case, that the cultural values of our Latin American countries won't change because our interest in the

English language is only as a means to developing or as a working tool and not the culture of the English speaking countries.]

Other respondents expressed similar sentiments about the instrumental nature of EFL:

La cultura mexicana es una cosa y satisfacer una necesidad es otra.

[The Mexican culture is one thing and to satisfy a necessity is another]

Tal vez cambiará un poco pero definitivamente la cultura y raíces no tienen necesariamente que cambiar. Debe ser tomada en cuenta solo que el inglés sería una herramienta para el progreso, no más.

[Perhaps it might change a little but definitely the culture and the roots don't necessarily have to change. This should be taken into account, that English would be only a tool for progress and nothing else.]

I don't think so, because our roots are deep enough and as long as we continue living here, our customs will remain. 'Cause usually we only speak English or other foreign language for business purposes. (original in English)

Discussion

In response to the question, "*As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should the Mexicans take this as a concern?*" there were a variety of answers. Those who feared cultural invasion or synchronization view English as a carrier of foreign ideology and culture, which

may be contrary to Mexican values and practices. Some reluctantly admitted that English inevitably brings change and that they were helpless to do anything about it. Others saw a necessity for teachers and community leaders to guard against the extremes of cultural invasion.

On the other hand, there were those who insisted on the imperviousness of Mexican culture, referring to its strong roots: they did not feel that the English language or American culture threatens Mexican culture. Many wrote of the benefits of English and implied that the spread of English as a tool keeps it outside the realms of culture.

The diversity in responses from EFL teachers may reflect different interpretations of the word *culture*. As is evident from the literature on culture, it is a term which evokes varied connotations. Some teachers referred to culture as day-to-day habits, dress, foods and lifestyle. Some teachers referred to traditions and customs, mentioning the adoption of American holidays such as Halloween, while others implied that culture is a deeper embedded perspective on the world. The next chapter looks more closely at what teachers present as cultural content in their classes.

Conclusion

EFL teachers surveyed face a dilemma with regard to the spread of English and the cultural baggage which may accompany it. They do not appreciate the intrusion of English borrowings, yet they are the society's official providers of the language. They perceive that their role is to offer the language as a tool but not to promote it as something to be adopted or emulated in day-to-day life in Mexico.

The attitudes toward language and cultural infiltration are complex and mixed. Teachers do not relish the preponderance of American films in Mexican cinemas, yet, many would not say that exposure to American cultural products could weaken Mexican culture.

Although the open-ended question was on culture, over one third of respondents reiterated the importance of English to Mexico. Teachers emphasize their instrumental interest in English, which Medgyes says is "primarily utilitarian, and implies the use of a foreign language without any desire to identify with its culture" (Medgyes 1984, p. 710). Teachers see their role as giving access to a vital skill and what they present as the cultural elements of their programs may be largely dictated by the content of texts.

When asked about consequences of English spread on Mexican culture, there was a

mixture of responses but some consistent themes. Teachers largely associate English culture with American culture and the majority of teachers did feel that the spread of English and changes in Mexican society go hand in hand. However, as to whether the changes are positive, negative or neutral and as to whether they should be considered cultural changes is less agreed upon. What is agreed upon is that English is a necessity for Mexico and it is this instrumental nature which is in the forefront of teachers perceptions of English.

CHAPTER 6: *ISSUES IN ELT*

It is in the EFL classroom that teacher attitudes toward English and perceptions of their roles as EFL teachers come together with methodology and texts. The paper has looked at the perceived value and threat of English. This chapter will discuss the relationship between the perceived value of English, the threat of English and American cultural infiltration, and teacher attitudes toward particular practices and materials of ELT.

The investigation explored three issues in ELT: (1) NS (native speaking) versus NNS (non-native speaking) English teachers; (2) the perceived importance of the teaching of culture with language and what the cultural content of EFL classes consists of and (3) the presentation of English in Mexican classrooms. The survey included items which addressed the first two issues. The third issue was explored through an examination of texts and materials presently in use in various Mexican EFL classes. All three topics were addressed through interviews and discussions with EFL teachers and/or administrators in Guadalajara.

Native versus Non-Native Speaking EFL Teachers

Mexicans are learning English as a foreign language. The language will be used for international communication, not for survival in an English mother tongue environment. Some linguists now argue that, in such a situation, locally trained EFL teachers have as much or more to offer their students as do teachers imported from core English nations. Rampton argues that when EIL is the goal, it is irrelevant whether the teacher is a NS or NNS:

The whole mystique of the native speaker and the mother tongue should probably be quietly dropped from the linguist's set of professional myths about language. (Ferguson 1982, quoted in Rampton 1990, p. 97¹)

The NS/NNS issue is complex and causes a dilemma for EFL teachers and administrators in Mexico. Many well trained Mexican teachers feel that they are competing unfairly against untrained native speakers and, although administrators may claim an unbiased hiring policy, the truth is that students often prefer native English speaking teachers. Furthermore, many teachers and administrators who profess that a trained NNS is as qualified as a trained NS nevertheless give preference to NS's for advanced levels and culture classes.

Results

The majority of teachers surveyed did not see the native speaking English teacher as necessarily preferable to a non-native speaker. They feel that, as Mexicans, they are in some ways better able to respond to the needs of their students.

12) Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	30	19.7
disagree	54	35.5
neutral	44	28.9
agree	19	12.5
strongly agree	5	3.3
TOTAL	152	100.0

no response = 1

Table 26. Attitudes toward Native/Non-Native EFL teachers.

4) Mexican English teachers have a better understanding of how to teach Mexican students than would native English speaking teachers.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	3	2.0
disagree	27	17.6
neutral	69	45.1
agree	37	24.2
strongly agree	17	11.1
TOTAL	153	100.0

no response = 0

Table 27. Attitudes toward Native/Non-Native EFL teachers.

Whether English is best taught by native speakers or by Mexican EFL teachers is, predictably, a sensitive issue with the Lidile student teachers and it is an issue that they are well aware of. Although the student teachers generally tended more toward the neutral response in the overall results than did the practising teachers or upgrading teachers, in response to the statement *"Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers"* the student teachers were the least neutral and the highest in disagreement of the three groups surveyed. [See Table 28].

12) Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers.					
	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree
student teachers:	25.4	40.8	22.5	9.9	1.4 = 100%*
upgrading teachers	11.9	31.0	35.7	16.7	4.8 = 100%*
practising teachers	17.9	30.8	33.7	12.8	5.1 = 100%*
<i>*These figures do not take non responses into account.</i>					

Table 28. Attitudes toward NS/NNS EFL teachers by group.

The student teachers feel more strongly about the native versus non-native teacher issue because they are the ones faced with finding full time employment in the field; many of them have had the experience of being turned down for a job in favour of a native English speaker. As several student teachers suggested, the attitude may also

reflect the discussions they have had on the topic throughout their teacher training program.

Qualitative Data

The student teachers resent the ease with which native English speakers are granted EFL teaching positions over trained Mexican teachers. This resentment is particularly profound when, as is often the case in private schools, the NS's being hired are not trained EFL teachers. The student teachers, more so than the others surveyed, have the most at stake in this issue as most of them have not secured full time employment in the EFL field.

The resentment over the NS-NNS teacher issue is clearly evident in the following quotes from Mexican EFL teachers, one of whom is a student teacher and the other is the Director of the Lidile program:

It is not fair that schools in Guadalajara have foreign teachers for teaching English. You are supposed to be a citizen and ... you have rights to have access to the jobs so if you are Mexican you can do it in your own country so why do some people come and teach what you can teach. That is one point and that is the argument of Mexican teachers. (Hernández interview)

-Sandra Hernández,
4th yr student teacher, Lidile

I think if you compare them, or try to compare a qualified native speaker and a qualified non-native speaker, both bring qualities or advantages and

disadvantages into the classroom. I don't think it is possible to say one is better than the other. What I feel very strongly about is that it's much better to have a qualified non-native speaker than an unqualified native speaker, and that's, I'm afraid, not what a lot of people think. (Urzúa interview)

-Alfredo Urzúa Beltran, Director
Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas

Trained Mexican teachers tell about being turned down for teaching jobs in favour of untrained native speakers. While this situation is changing, and directors of two of the largest ELT institutes in Guadalajara (*Proulex* and *Instituto Cultural Mexicano Norteamericano*) assured me that they hire on the basis of teacher qualification rather than native or non native speaker categorization, one still comes across classified ads which ask for only one qualification for EFL teaching positions, that of being a native speaker. For example:

LINGUAS solicito maestros de ingles.
Native speakers full or part time
Av Patria 1398....
(EL INFORMADOR, April 2, 1994)

Mexican EFL teachers are also dismayed that some schools in Guadalajara pay more to native speakers than to non-native speakers. Also, several school directors suggested to me that while trained Mexicans can be excellent teachers, they seek native speakers for conversation groups, culture classes and advanced levels, a policy supported by many Mexican teachers with whom I spoke.

As Medgyes (1992) points out, there are advantages to employing local, qualified EFL teachers, not the least of which is that non-native speakers of English have the experience of having been students of English themselves. Luis Santos, a fourth year Lidile student teacher, notes that the Mexican teacher has the advantage of having "worn the shoes of his students" (Santos interview), while Sra. Hernández also stressed the insight that a Mexican teacher will have:

Learning a language is not just learning the pronunciation but the grammar, the context, the uses and many things that a Mexican can do, and sometimes Mexicans can do it better, because you know the context of the Mexican person, you know what comparisons to do to make a clearer explanation and you know the problems that he or she has learning the language. (Hernández interview)

While most Mexicans profess that there are some advantages to having a qualified native speaker as an EFL teacher, they also recognize many disadvantages. Hernández (interview) points out two: the foreign native speaker takes a job from a Mexican, and secondly, the foreigner brings cultural changes into the community, some of which can have a negative impact. She points to the general classroom discipline as an example. At Lidile, the foreign teachers have brought a more informal approach to the classroom than would be normal in a Mexican institution, where, for example, students would be expected to ask permission to leave the room.

Macrina Muñoz, Academic Coordinator and teacher at *Proulex*, outlines other effects

of the pressure placed on NNS's who have to compete with NS teachers:

They want to look like the American - wear shorts but they never wore shorts but everyone else is wearing shorts...try to sound more American; their accents, they're afraid they'll be losing their job. We try to avoid that and I know this because teachers have worked in other places and then they come and tell me, "Do you know that this school does this and I know somebody who's working there and he's not getting payed as much and he's Mexican." That's how I find out and it's just not fair. (Muñoz interview)

Foreign teachers bring foreign ideas and the sometimes exalted status of the native English speaking teacher opens the way for acceptance of these ideas by both students and colleagues.

Muñoz complains that foreign teachers are often insensitive to the student's culture and experience. NS teachers frequently make assumptions based on their own experience rather than consideration of the student's background:

Just because you were taught [library research skills] doesn't mean you can go to a foreign country and generalize that your students have gone through the same process. (Muñoz interview)

Another of Medgyes contentions about the advantages of the NNS is that the NNS can provide learners with more information about the English language. The NNS has studied explicitly the grammar and structure of the language and often has more a priori knowledge of English. Ramon Avalos, Academic Coordinator of Interlingua, a

language institute, can attest to this as one of his main criticism of NS's that he has considered for employment is that they often fail the prerequisite English grammar test. However, Sr. Avalos does prefer to hire qualified NS's for advanced levels and conversation clubs (field notes).

Discussion

The dilemma for school directors is that, even if Mexican teachers are well qualified, many students of English prefer native speaking teachers. Students complain that their previous English language training has been poor due to the lack of native speaking teachers. Although public schools offer English through secundaria and preparatoria, very few people in Guadalajara have anything good to say about these programs or the quality of teaching there.

The poor reputation of the public school EFL programs hinders the promotion of NNS's as EFL teachers. The shortcomings of the secundaria EFL program may be rooted more in the overall quality of curriculum, teacher training and school facilities than in the lack of NS models. Teachers are working in overcrowded classes, and many admit that they do not feel confident enough about their own level of English to be comfortable teaching it. Although there are presently EFL teacher training programs available in Guadalajara, the demand for English teachers far surpasses the

supply of qualified professionals. Unfortunately, as thousands of Mexican EFL teachers with neither the fluency in English nor the training to implement effective programs continue to fill ELT positions in the regular school system, the status of, and confidence in, the Mexican EFL teacher will not improve. Moreover, although students hold teachers responsible for the quality of EFL classes, the general classroom conditions and lack of resources are major obstacles to successful EFL programs in public schools.

Mexican educators feel that the solution to this dilemma is to produce well trained professions within the country as is now being done at Lidile. SEP has given its support to the demand for better EFL teacher training by funding teacher training programs. Sr. Urzúa points out that ten years ago programs such as Lidile did not exist in Mexico. The challenge for Mexican EFL professionals is to have the field established as a true profession and to continue to work on the quality of teacher training. (Urzúa interview)

Teaching Culture

It has been said that language and culture are inextricably tied and that therefore one cannot teach language without teaching the "target" culture. Alptekin refers to this notion as "orthodox yet unsubstantiated" (Alptekin 1992, p.139).

One way that the ELT field is a medium of cultural imperialism is in the direct teaching of American and/or British culture in classrooms world-wide. ELT texts which come from these two nations have promoted the infusion of British and American mainstream cultures into EFL instruction. The investigation explored teacher attitudes toward the tenet "When you teach language you must teach culture" to shed light on the extent to which EFL teachers submit to their roles as carriers of American and/or British culture.

Teachers surveyed were asked about the connection between teaching language and teaching culture. It was found that teachers overwhelmingly agreed that teaching a foreign language must entail the teaching of literature and culture, as responses to the item "*When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language*" indicate. Further discussion with teachers was carried out to determine exactly what "teaching culture" means to them. Not surprisingly, Mexican EFL teachers largely equate teaching culture with introducing students to titbits of information about the customs and lifestyles of the USA. Furthermore, quite often the information is based on stereotypical images presented in EFL textbooks and American movies and television.

Results

Though teachers expressed many reservations about the impact of English on the Mexican culture, were concerned that there are too many English words and American movies in Mexico today and insisted that English be viewed solely as a tool, they agreed almost unanimously to the statement *"When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language."* Only one person of the 150 who responded to this item disagreed and 92.7% either agreed or strongly agreed (See Table 29).

33) When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language.

value	frequency	valid percent
strongly disagree	0	0.0
disagree	1	0.7
neutral	10	6.7
agree	61	40.7
strongly agree	78	52.0
TOTAL	150	100.0

no response = 3

Table 29. Attitudes toward the study of language and culture.

EFL teachers in Guadalajara feel an obligation to teach culture. The question is: What do they mean by *culture*, whose culture, what aspects of culture?

Qualitative Data

What do we mean by culture in relationship to foreign language teaching? Adaskou et al. distinguish four separate sorts of culture that language teaching may involve:

- 1) The aesthetic sense: Culture with a capital 'C': the media, the cinema, music (whether serious or popular) and, above all, literature - the study of which used often to be one of the main reasons for language teaching.
- 2) The sociological sense: Culture with a small 'c': the organization and nature of family, of home life, of interpersonal relations, material conditions, work and leisure, customs and institutions. This, of course, is a vast area from which only salient points can ever be selected.
- 3) The semantic sense: The conceptual system embodied in the language and, according to the Whorf-Sapir Hypothesis, conditioning all our perceptions and our thought processes. Many semantic areas (e.g. food, clothes, institutions) are culturally distinctive because they relate to a particular way of life - that is, to our sociological sense of culture....So these cultural features - like culture in our sociological sense - may differ for English from one English speaking country to another.
- 4) The pragmatic (or sociolinguistic) sense: The background knowledge, social skills, and paralinguistic skills that, in addition to mastery of the language code, make possible successful communication.

(Adaskou et al. 1990, pp. 3-4, abridged)

Though many argue that culture should be taught, almost nobody defines what exactly is meant by "teaching culture" and few educators appear to distinguish the senses of culture as outlined by Adaskou. Although some teachers claim to use their classroom time to discuss and/or translate English pop songs that students bring to class, most EFL teachers in Guadalajara do not delve much into the aesthetic sense of English culture. As illustrated by data reported in Chapter 4 of this paper, English is not

valued for its aesthetics.

It is culture in the sociological sense that most EFL teachers in Guadalajara attempt to teach; the majority with whom this topic was discussed clearly stated that teaching culture means informing the students about middle class lifestyles, famous people and customs of the USA.

Less mentioned were the semantic and pragmatic senses. One teacher noted that when you teach expressions such as "You're late!" students must realize that this expression may be appropriate in one culture but not in another. Undoubtedly, when comparisons are made the "other culture" referred to is most often the USA or, occasionally, British mainstream culture. One teacher mentioned the importance of knowing appropriate greetings and when to use them (field notes).

When teachers in Guadalajara are asked what exactly they mean by *teaching culture*, the USA is invariably mentioned, as the following quotes illustrate. The quotes also illustrate the emphasis on cultural teaching in the sociological sense:

"We should teach culture for survival in the United States - that's where they'll likely go."

"[Target culture] makes sense in Mexico because the target is really the North - US and Canada."

"Sometimes you have to make clear some customs . . . expose them to television shows and things like that because the first time I went to the States

it was kind of shocking."

"We teach American culture - the students prefer it because they visit the USA . . . We teach American traditions, customs, culture . . . You need to know the traditions of the land, food, lifestyles, parties."

"I think there has to be some integration of an American culture when you're teaching English - or British culture. . . .At a secundaria level I would suggest that they seek a basic American English course with a little bit of culture in terms of the normal, standard family; how do they live, etc."

" [I teach] American culture because that's what I'm most familiar with. Students are in touch with Americans.... Lifestyles, dinners, "Good Evening" "Good Night", appropriate expressions." (field notes)

Teachers are compelled to teach American culture on two accounts: they feel that the teaching of culture is a necessary component of English language instruction and because, they feel that part of their job is to prepare students to visit the USA. A number of teachers working in secundarias and language institutes said that they were expected to answer students' questions about the United States.

Although the vast majority of teachers surveyed and interviewed believe that the teaching of English cannot be separated from the teaching of "English" culture, Carlos Melendez, an EFL teacher and director of EFL for one of Guadalajara's most prestigious colleges, has another view. Melendez stresses the imperialistic nature of the concept that learning a language must entail the study of the culture, particularly in the sociological sense, and the literature of that language. It is a notion promoted

by academics and economic elites of the English speaking world to ensure the greatest acculturation of Third World countries. Naturally, in the case of British colonization, blatant acculturation to British ways was the policy. Melendez (discussion, not taped) insists that a similar cultural imperialism is happening in periphery English nations such as Mexico. He points out the subtle nature of cultural imperialism in the promotion of the idea that literature and culture must be taught alongside a foreign language, a notion upheld by 83% of the 84 EFL teachers surveyed by Melendez (Melendez Survey Report). It is a notion that Melendez feels is highly exaggerated and misunderstood.

Discussion

A language will obviously develop to meet the conceptual and communicative requirements of its users and the users will exploit it to express their own cultural values. But one can learn and use a language in dissociation from its past or present cultural affinities. There is no equation between language and culture. There can be as we know, considerable cultural divergence among people who have a common language; and conversely there can be considerable cultural convergence among people who do not. (Widdowson 1992, p. 154)

While Widdowson has a few supporters, most EFL professionals maintain that culture and language teaching are inseparable. Several disturbing questions spring to mind: With such strong attitudes toward English as a tool for international communication why do teachers put so much emphasis on the teaching of culture? How does one

pinpoint the culture of an international lingua franca? How is the teaching of one "target culture" justified when the target is the globe? Why would they want to teach more American culture in a country that is already inundated with American cultural products?

What exactly are EFL teachers teaching? Melendez claims that they teach the culture that is presented in the EFL texts along with what they have picked up from American television and Hollywood movies. They teach the stereotypical images presented in EFL texts and pop culture. At best, they teach the culture which their students know as much about as they do, particularly as Mexicans tap in daily to American news and entertainment programs.

Melendez (1993) views the teaching of exclusively American culture as buying into the American cultural imperialism which already reigns. In assessing the impact of dominant cultures on more vulnerable ones, he refers to the "Cultural Bomb", a term taken from Ngugi wa Thiong'o., whose book Decolonizing the Mind is his "farewell to English":

But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against the collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their struggle, in their unity, in their capacities, and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non achievement and it makes them to distance themselves from that wasteland. (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986)

Admittedly, these words will more strongly apply in Africa where English has displaced local languages, than in Latin America, yet when one meets children in Mexico with names such as Jonathan and Randy, and when one reads of modernization which implies aspiring to American standards of living, of education, and of popular culture, it is obvious that the effects of the cultural bomb are rippling south of the Rio Grande.

Adaskou et al. (1990) imply that the need for the teaching of culture, in any of their four senses, and most obviously in the aesthetic sense, is highly exaggerated, particularly in the EFL setting. The teaching of one target culture is inappropriate as Moroccans will use English to communicate with both native English speakers and non-native speakers from various cultures. The teaching of a target culture with language presupposes that the target culture is a specific one to which the student will be exposed.

Although EFL teachers in Guadalajara value English as a tool for international science, technology, commerce, etc., they see their role as preparing students to live in or visit the USA. Not only does this downplay the international nature of English, but it sends the message that the Mexican student for example, will use his English to order hamburgers in the USA, rather than to express ideas about his own culture and lifestyle. EIL should aim to prepare students to use English for global communication from within his own country and as a tool of access to a global economy.

In a world where English is used as a tool for international communication the restriction of cultural teaching to some general sense of lifestyles and pragmatics of American culture is inappropriate. All this talk of teaching American culture and American pragmatic use of the language with EFL can only be justified if 1) students are being prepared to live in the USA or 2) it is accepted that mainstream American standards of language and culture are to be encouraged as "international", confirming ELT as a supporter and promoter of cultural synchronization. Both of these aims, however, are contrary to the mandate of filling the need for an international lingua franca. To shed light on the cultural content of EFL programs in Guadalajara, the next section of this paper will delve more deeply in to the presentation of English in EFL textbooks.

The Presentation of English

In Mexico, there are two conflicting visions of what English is and how it should be presented to students. On the one hand, SEP views English as an international language and texts produced for use in secundarias present it as a language which Mexican children can use in a variety of situation and with people from every corner of the globe. On the other hand, as was discussed, there is a strong sense among EFL teachers that English is first and foremost the language of the USA and should be studied in that context.

EFL teachers view English as a property of the USA and/or Britain partially because these countries have maintained control over the ELT field. Native English speakers assert their control over the ELT field, not only through their presence as EFL teachers but through teaching methodologies and materials which are dispersed from the Inner Circle. In Mexico, teacher training programs and workshops promote the latest teaching methods and texts from England and the USA.

The situation in Mexico motivated one of the Lidile professors to write the article "Native versus Nonnative Speaker: Professionalism over Inheritance" (Hubbard 1994). Hubbard discusses the way in which NS professionals from core English nations have claimed exclusive rights over ELT methodology. In conversation, Dr. Hubbard argued that English speakers do not have a monopoly on successful L2 pedagogical practices and, in fact, many non English speaking nations have for centuries been very successful in educating students in foreign languages (Hubbard interview). Ironically it has been the Americans in the Americas and the Britons in Europe who have gained reputations for their lack of facility in foreign language learning.

Teaching methodology imported from core English speaking nations is often inappropriate for non-English speaking nations. The realities of cultural and educational practices, available resources (both human and otherwise) and the state of schooling in general must come into the design of any curriculum. To attempt to

impose methodological trends such as, for example, communicative language teaching, into an overcrowded classroom of 60 or 70 Spanish speaking teenagers and one highly overworked and underpaid teacher, who herself will admit that she feels insecure about her ability in English, is to ignore the realities of the situation. The same could be said about texts which present schedules for the London train system as if they were appropriate for a Mexican classroom. Mexican EFL textbook writer, Manuel Luna, discussed British domination of ELT methodology:

...the notional functional approach. The great gurus in England, Chris Brumfit, Widdowson and even Wilga Rivers, etc. - all of them were pro functional notional approach and they kicked grammar out of the ESL/EFL field. Ten years later they realize that they made a terrible mistake. (Luna interview)

Part of the problem with imported methodology and texts is that the approaches and materials were often designed to deal with ESL students in core English nations, where the students are immersed in an English environment and need skills to survive and integrate into an English setting. Macrina Muñoz, Academic Coordinator of Proulex, says that this is the primary reason that she prefers to order books from British publishers rather than American. The American produced texts are ESL not EFL oriented (Muñoz interview).

Luna also comments on the difference between EFL and ESL texts as it is very often the case that English materials in use in Mexico were designed for ESL purposes in the USA or Britain, or, at the least, are more appropriate in that environment:

There is a big difference, the main is that ESL is for survival English. It's for survival in the United States or Canada, whereas EFL is for people who want to get a better job, get higher pay, get a better social status. (Luna interview)

Dr. Hubbard sums up the imperialistic nature of the EFL profession:

In our field we have a serious problem that there is a dominant minority which is dictating to the whole world and if that's not imperialism, what is? And I'm talking about the people high up in TESOL, or IATEFL or whatever it might be. In Britain it's particular people in the big language schools, the Bell Foundation, International House and the British Council. (Hubbard interview)

In Mexican classrooms there are two distinct types of textbooks in use. While they may reflect similar ELT methodology, they differ drastically in cultural content. One type, which is used by adult language programs, is imported directly from either the USA or Britain, can be categorized as taking the American approach to cultural content. The other type, produced specifically for Mexican secundaria schools, takes a Mexican-centred-international approach. The following sections will outline the contrasting nature of these distinct approaches to cultural content.

The International Approach

En el mundo actual de constantes cambios y avances sociales, científicos, tecnológicos y culturales, donde las relaciones entre los países se estrechan cada vez más, se hace necesario que los individuos desarrollen la habilidad para comunicarse, en una o varias lenguas extranjeras, además de la materna.

Enseñar una lengua extranjera en este nivel tiene como propósito fundamental que el alumno la utilice como instrumento de comunicación; es decir, que tenga la posibilidad de adquirir conocimientos a través de ella, de expresar y comprender ideas, sentimientos, experiencias y no sólo la considere como objeto de estudio. La enseñanza de la lengua extranjera debe contribuir a que el alumno:

* Reconozca valores de su propia cultura al ponerse en contacto, a través de la lengua, con algunos aspectos culturales de otros países. (Lengua Extranjera: Plan y Programa de Estudio 1993; Education Basica Secundaria pp. 1-2)

[In the world of today of constant changes and social, scientific, technological and cultural advances, where the relations among cultures are getting narrower every day, it is necessary that all individuals develop the ability to communicate in one or several foreign languages, apart from the mother tongue.

Teaching a foreign language at this level serves the fundamental purpose that the student will utilize it as a communication tool; that is to say, that he or she will have the possibility to acquire the necessary knowledge through it, and to express and comprehend ideas, feelings and experiences, not to be considered only as an object of study. The teaching of a foreign language should contribute to helping the student:

. . .

* Recognize values of his/her own culture while being in contact with, through the language, some cultural aspects of other countries. (Foreign Language: Plan and Program of Studies 1993; Basic Secondary Education. pp.1-2)]

This policy indicates that SEP is well aware of the possibility that foreign languages can encourage identity with a foreign culture. Because English is virtually the only second language offered in secundaria, we can assume that the policy is largely directed toward the teaching of English. The same introduction is found in the *Plan and Program of Studies* for the primaria level. SEP is concerned that children

recognize the value of their own culture and that this is not interfered with by the introduction of English. For this reason texts used in secundarias take a Mexico centred international approach to cultural content: for example, texts such as Impact, A Close Up of English and Communicate in English are produced specifically for use in Mexican secundaria schools. While secundarias, both public and private have some choice, they are required to select from an approved list which includes only textbooks created specifically for Mexico and take an international approach. These texts contain Mexican cultural and historical information as well as international scenes and multicultural characters.

One textbook series, produced and printed in Mexico for use in the secundarias, lists 48 countries accompanied by a map labelled "English Speaking Countries" (Communicate in English) (Villafuerta Thomas and Villafuerta Thomas 1993). The list includes, in alphabetical order, nations from Antigua to Zimbabwe. This graphic is set on the inside front cover of each of the three books of the series. It may be misleading to list India, Ghana, and Cameroon as English speaking countries rather than multilingual nations, but the point is made that English is a global language. The textbook series, Communicate in English, is a kind of social studies course for Mexican children, which is written in English and integrates English language activities. Lessons include readings and comprehension questions about famous people such as Benito Juárez and Emiliano Zapata. Geographical information is presented in lessons entitled, for example, "Visiting Queretaro" and "Visiting Oaxaca".

Manuel Luna is a successful textbook writer and educator who produces texts for the secundaria EFL programs. His latest publication, which was written with James Taylor, is entitled NEW IMPACT. The first book in the series begins with a lesson which introduces the international nature of English. There are characters from seven different English speaking countries, including Guyana and India with maps and statistical information on nine countries, including New Zealand and Nigeria.

Throughout the text there are characters and information from every corner of the globe. Mexican geography is covered in lessons such as "Tell Me About San Luis Potosi". The geography lessons are particularly useful as many Mexican young people who get a chance to speak English with tourists will have an opportunity to tell about their own cities, and it is highly unlikely that an American tourist will ask a Mexican to describe how to take a subway in New York.

In my interview with Sr. Luna, he touched on the presentation of culture in his books. He begins with the statement "There is no way you can separate language from culture," but his interpretation of that maxim is refreshing and well grounded in educational theory of both first and second language development:

There is no way you can separate language from culture. If you look at English for Mexico, which was published in 1985, nine years ago, my idea with that particular course was to help students produce English with what they knew about their own culture. That is why, if you look at exercises for example to introduce and practise the structure "there is/there are" I use a lot of examples from Mexico. For example, "There is a very nice market in Tlaquepaque" or "There is a humungous tree in [Tula, Oaxaca] (? tape difficult to decipher) ".... What I always said to teachers was,

"Once the student had the idea of "there is/there are" they could expand to the universe, so they could say "there is a high tower in Paris" or "there is a big statue in New York City" and "there are some beautiful falls in Canada", etc. etc. But first we had to start with what they knew. (Luna interview)

Not all EFL educators in Mexico would agree. One American EFL educator scoffed at the notion that EFL textbooks could be written to reflect Mexican culture and characters. This she dismissed as "far fetched because Juanita and Pedro are never going to use English out in their ranchito" (field notes). In reality the current secundaria texts do not set up such non-authentic premises. EFL texts created in Mexico generally take one of two paths: The presentation of Mexican children speaking English in a multicultural setting such as an international camp or with tourists in Mexico, or a social studies/science approach whereby relatively neutral content is presented in English.

With regard to whether or not these international English textbooks are appropriate, there appears to be two camps among EFL secundaria teachers. One camp bemoans the lack of American cultural information, and the other, a smaller contingent, is pleased to see an international approach. The promoters of the first line of thought refer back to the argument that Mexican children will use English mainly with Americans.

According to Liliana Alcántara, the Oxford University Press Manager in Guadalajara, the internationalization of EFL texts for secundaria can be credited more to the publishers and authors than to any policy of SEP. The motive for taking an international approach to the content of texts is not so much to provide audiences with a global vision as it is to ensure the saleability of the text internationally. SEP does, however require that approved texts are produced with a Mexican audience in mind and present language that is relevant to the Mexican experience. This policy has forced publishers to produce culturally specific texts, sometimes with the intent to internationalize the texts for further distribution, as is the case with the Oxford Action series.

A policy is in place to promote English from a Mexican-International approach in secundarias but this is not the case in all EFL programs in Guadalajara. The secundaria program and texts reflect a mandate to teach English as an international language, while the EFL Program for the preparatorias (Nivel Media Superior) which fall under the jurisdiction of the University of Guadalajara, outlines the dual nature of the role of English, as both an international language and the language of the USA. Moreover, the texts generally in use in private languages institutes take an almost opposite approach from those at the secundaria level, promoting English almost exclusively as the language of the USA.

The American Approach

While texts such as Communicate in English are used to fulfil the curriculum objectives outlined by SEP, independent language institutes are not controlled by SEP and utilize texts which present English as the language of the USA. Independent language schools generally see their job as presenting models of American English and do not have a mandate to offer International English. The teachers and administrators are not completely responsible for this situation as the texts available at the adult level are heavily weighted toward English as the language of the USA. Teaching materials with titles such as Family Album USA and American Generation need little explaining.

There are two related but different approaches, both of which I refer to as the American Approach. One approach to cultural content presents English solely as the American language, with all scenes set in the USA. These texts lend themselves to acculturation of new immigrants in the US and are not tailored to the specific needs of EFL nations. The second approach is found in more recently published texts which claim to teach international English and present American mainstream standards and ideology as the acceptable international culture. Interchange: English For International Communication (Richards 1990) is such a text. While claiming to be international in scope, it is very narrowly focused on American content. The conflicting nature of presentation of English as either an international language or as

the language of the USA is exemplified in the text, which solves the dilemma by stating on the back cover of Student's Book 1 that "American English" and "International English" are one and the same thing:

Written in American English, **Interchange** reflects the fact that English is a language of international communication, not limited to any one country, region, or culture.

The message is that international communication as well as behaviour norms are set by the USA, which is what Hamelink refers to as cultural synchronization. The content promotes American cultural values as a yardstick by which to measure international standards. Much of the content boils down to nothing more than American propaganda, with references to American multinational corporations such as McDonald's and Burger King, American movie and music stars, coloured graphics entitled "The cost of living in the United States" with a pie chart constructed as the sectioning off of an American penny, complete with the mottos "In God We Trust" and "Liberty". One of the final exercises is to identify particular singers in a photo of approximately 50 American music stars, under the lesson heading "We are the World".

Not only does Interchange promote American culture as international culture but it presents a very stereotypical picture of Americans and American culture. The vast majority of the characters are white, young to middle-aged people who have a lot of

leisure time and money to spend. The activities centre mainly around sports and entertainment. As Brown (1990) asserts, the new "cosmopolitan English":

. . . assumes a materialistic set of values, in which international travel, not being bored, positively being entertained, having leisure, and, above all, spending money casually and without consideration of the sum involved in the pursuit of these ends, are the norm. (Brown quoted in Pennycook 1994, p. 177)²

Interchange also includes lessons on accepted American behaviour: the passages on American dating habits, (which begins, "Young people have more freedom in North America than in many other countries" p. 59), explanations of tipping and polite conversational topics. One lesson invites students to fill out a fitness questionnaire which they can grade themselves on. The questionnaire, taken from U.S. News and World Report, asks about hours spent playing golf and taking aerobics or jazzercise (whatever that is). The agenda is not only that stereotypical American values are to be heeded within the USA, but are now accepted standards world-wide.

When Mexican EFL teachers were asked which aspects of American culture were dealt with in their textbooks, Melendez found that the topics Lifestyle, Famous People, Family Life, and Leisure Activities all received ratings of more than 70% whereas, Pollution was indicated by 35% of respondents and Crime and Poverty were indicated by less than 15%. (Melendez Survey Report) There are Mexican EFL teachers who, despite the lack of information presented in the texts, will discuss a

wider range of issues related to the USA, such as crime, corruption and pollution but any critical analysis which goes on in EFL classrooms happens despite American and British EFL texts, not because of them.

Conclusion

Of all the issues related to language teaching, the question of the role of culture in EFL teaching is by far the most complex in terms of the data collected. Mexican EFL teachers tie the ownership of English to the USA by claiming to teach American English and they insist that the EFL teachers must be an informant of American culture, yet they also insist on the global and instrumental value of English. Mexican EFL teachers want to be given equal access to teaching position, yet it is the belief that English is intrinsically tied to the USA and American culture that gives preference to native English speaking teachers from that culture.

The ELT field has ensured that English is taught as a language whose ownership lies with one or the other of two specific nations. The adoption of English, be it by way of pop culture, academic texts, and especially EFL classes, has guaranteed the continued association of the language with particular breeds of its native speakers. ELT has insisted that English be taught with its cultural baggage and that standards based on one of two particular dialects are to be used globally as yardsticks against

which to measure competency, thereby implying that native speakers of these dialects are the authentic teachers: all this despite that we claim it to be an international lingua franca.

EFL teachers see themselves as providers of a valuable commodity, an international language, but, at the same time, they see their roles as to present American culture. The line between EIL and American English is blurred because Mexico's major English contact is the USA and also because EFL texts do not distinguish between the two brands of English. EFL textbooks which claim to teach International English, present American English as international. These "international" texts present American language, ideology and behaviours as international standards. The ELT field supposes that educational methodologies and materials which are steeped in culturally specific values are appropriate for use in all corners of the globe. Mexican EFL teachers rely on these texts for the cultural content of their programs.

1. Ferguson, C. Forward. In B. Kachru (ed.) (1982). The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures. Oxford: Pergamon.
2. Brown, G. (1990). Cultural values: the interpretation of discourse. ELT Journal, 38 (4), 233-41.

CHAPTER 7: *CONCLUSIONS*

For Mexico English is a "vehicle for entering the twenty-first century" (Kachru 1986, p. 136). Mexico is a member of the Expanding Circle of nations in which English is a much needed tool for international communication. However, Mexico is unique in her geographical, economic, personal and cultural ties to the USA. EFL teacher attitudes towards the place of English and the presentation of English in EFL classes are influenced by those realities.

This concluding chapter will summarize the results of the data through a review of the hypotheses. It will present the major quandary which stems from the results and lay out ways to deal with this quandary.

Summary

Data Collection

The project investigated attitudes towards English among EFL teachers in Mexico. English has become increasingly important in Mexico both because it is needed for international communication and for communication with the USA. The investigation considered how EFL teachers' perceptions of English and ELT impact on the presentation of English in the classroom.

The research for this project was carried out during the spring of 1994. The main techniques used to collect data were 1) administering of the main questionnaire to 153 EFL Professionals in Guadalajara, 2) 12 taped interviews with EFL teachers and administrators in Guadalajara, 3) informal interviews with EFL teachers from schools and institutes 4) examination of the cultural content of EFL texts in use in Guadalajara.

Results

Each primary question is restated with a brief summary of the results. The first six questions deal with teacher attitudes and are discussed with reference to the

quantitative and qualitative data.

1) Do Mexican EFL professionals view English as an international lingua franca, necessary for access to modern science, technology and the global economy, and/or as the language of the USA?

The results strongly indicate a recognition of the international nature of English as well as its association with the USA. To items which suggested that English is an international language associated with modernization, technology, science, and the global economy, respondents overwhelmingly agreed, yet in the responses to open-ended questions there was a trend to associate English solely with the USA and in follow up interviews and discussions it became apparent that Mexican EFL teachers link the teaching of English very much to the teaching of American mainstream culture.

2) Do Mexican EFL professionals view English as a tool for the career advancement of students, particularly in light of the NAFTA signing?

The association of English with career advancement is strongly supported by the questionnaire results which indicate that teachers feel English is an imperative part of a student's education for future employment. With 91.6% of those surveyed responding positively to the association of English with job opportunity and 82.1%

responding positively to the suggestion that all school children should study English to prepare for their futures, there is little doubt the English is viewed as a key to employment.

As to whether NAFTA has added increased pressure to the demand for English, there is some support to claim that it has, both in the questionnaire results, in which NAFTA was amply mentioned in responses to open-ended questions, and through qualitative data collected through interviews and less formal conversations.

3) Do Mexican EFL teachers view English as a prestigious language in Mexico?

The notion that English is viewed by teachers as a prestigious language must be rejected on the basis of the questionnaire results. English is not viewed as prestigious in the usual sense: it is not necessarily associated with status, education or respect. English is seen as a tool, accessible to many, including workers who migrate back and forth across the Rio Grande. In a modern Mexico English is viewed as a necessity for higher employment opportunities, but it is also needed by service and factory workers.

4) *Do Mexican EFL professionals see American English as more relevant to their needs than British English?*

There is evidence that EFL teachers in Guadalajara do see American English as a more practical tool than British English; in response to the item *"American English is more important for Mexico than British English"*, slightly more than 50% of respondents agreed, with 28.3% remaining neutral and 21.1% disagreeing. The result is not definitive partially because many teachers do not see a big difference between British and American English: 26.8% of respondents chose the neutral response or disagreed with the statement *"American English is different from British English."*

The qualitative data is mixed as a number of teachers indicated that the difference between British English and American English was not significant enough to call for serious consideration.

5) *Do Mexican EFL professionals see American culture as a threat to Mexican culture?*

Although there is evidence to indicate that teachers surveyed are not enamoured with the infiltration of American movies and English borrowings, they do not necessarily see American culture as a threat. To the questionnaire item *"If Mexicans watch too much American television and listen to a lot of American music, it will weaken the*

Mexican culture" 44.7% of respondent disagreed and 19.7% remained neutral.

Through the open-ended questions and the qualitative data, there is a sense that, while Mexican EFL teachers recognize the influence of the American culture, which in some cases was viewed as positive as well as negative, they do not necessarily feel that it threatens Mexican culture.

6) *Do Mexican EFL teachers believe that the ideal EFL teacher is a native English speaker?*

Results of the questionnaire survey indicate that teachers do not necessarily view the native speaker as the ideal teacher. To the statement "*Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers*" 55.2% of respondents disagreed and 28.9% were neutral. Through discussions and interviews with EFL teachers it became apparent that many feel that they have as much or more to offer Mexican students than do their native English speaking colleagues.

The next question dealt with curriculum and was explored through an examination of teaching materials and through teacher interviews about the importance of teaching culture:

7) *To what extent is American culture a key component of EFL texts and curricula in Guadalajara?*

EFL texts in Mexico take two distinctly different approaches. Texts for the secundaria schools, which are approved by SEP, are based on Mexican and/or international culture. In adult and private language institutes, texts are based almost exclusively in American culture. Many such texts are published by British companies but cater to the market for American English.

American culture is a key component of EFL instruction in Guadalajara. This conclusion is based on the responses to one particular item in conjunction with qualitative data collected through interviews and discussions with EFL teachers. The questionnaire item referred to is the statement, *"When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language"* to which 92.7% of respondents agreed. In conversation with practising teachers, it was made clear that they do integrate culture into their EFL classes. Coupled with extensive questioning of what teachers mean by "teaching culture", which almost invariably boiled down to the teaching of titbits of American mainstream culture, one can only conclude that American culture is a component of EFL classes in Guadalajara.

Methodological Constraints

The conclusions in this thesis are based on a survey of a limited number of EFL teachers from Guadalajara. The sample is not representative of teachers in Mexico generally: the attitudes and beliefs of EFL teachers in Guadalajara may be different from those in other areas of Mexico. Guadalajara is a large urban centre in the northern half of the country with strong ties to the USA and is an industrialized region with an upwardly mobile middle class.

Approximately half of the sample was made up of student teachers. They were not practising EFL teachers but were teacher trainees with limited classroom experience. Their attitudes may not be representative of the attitudes of practising EFL teachers. To some questionnaire items the student teachers' responses were noticeably differently from those of the practising and upgrading teachers.

The open-ended question *"As young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence change in the Mexican culture? Should Mexicans take this as a concern?"* teachers were, perhaps unfairly, asked to comment critically on their own profession. Teachers may have felt that they were placed in an awkward position. A participatory approach to the collection of data on this issue may have elicited different responses than were possible under the constraints of the questionnaire format.

The Quandary

Mexican EFL teachers value English as a tool for international communication. This is their main interest in the language. They are aware of English as a global lingua franca and also recognize it as the language for contact with the USA, their primary trading partner. It is Mexico's particular circumstance with respect to the USA and the accepted ELT practices which create a role conflict for EFL teachers.

Teacher attitudes reflect two opposing views: on the one hand, they see English as a tool, a commodity which is not intrinsically tied to culture, yet, they believe that, as EFL teachers, they are obliged to teach culture and it is American culture that they see as most relevant. As Melendez points out many EFL teachers in Mexico, both native and non-native speakers, see their role as to be "informants of Anglo-
'American' norms and values" (1993, p. 9).

The obligation to teach American culture is a result of three factors: (1) EFL teachers know that most of the contacts their students will have with foreigners will be with Americans. Many see themselves as preparing students to go to the USA. (2) EFL teachers adhere to the ELT tenet that the teaching of culture is an indispensable component of language teaching; American culture seems most appropriate to their needs. (3) The textbooks which are in use outside of the secondary school system present English as the language of the USA and are set against an American

background.

EFL teachers do not view English as a prestige language. They do not value it for cultural or aesthetic reasons. They do not perceive English as a threat to Mexican culture because Mexico's interest in English is solely as an *herramienta*, a tool for science, technology and commerce. However, although they insisted on the international and instrumental status for English, the vast majority are certain that, as EFL teachers, they must teach a target culture. For example, the teacher quoted in Chapter 5 who wrote, "... our interest in the English language is only as a means to developing or as a working tool and not the culture of English speaking countries" strongly agreed with the questionnaire item *"When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language."*

Teachers are subject to the constraints under which they work. Except for the limited number of Mexico-centred texts available for children, the teaching materials are based in American culture. This forces teachers into teaching a narrow, stereotypical version of American culture. The texts, which sometimes claim to teach an international English, "have continued to be stubbornly Anglo-centric" and present a "cardboard cut-out world" (Prodromou 1988, p. 76).

Like many textbook publishers, EFL teachers in Mexico do not make a distinction between EIL and English as the property of one nation. Until this distinction is

clarified, teachers will continue to be subject to the conflicting nature of teaching a lingua franca as a tool for access to a global economy, and at the same time presenting English as the cultural property of the USA.

Conclusion

The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such custody of the language is necessarily to arrest its development and to undermine its international status. (Widdowson 1993, p. 13)

The association of English solely with American culture is counterproductive to the goals of EIL. EFL teachers see themselves as preparing students to deal almost exclusively with Americans and to visit the USA, rather than encouraging a more global vision. This is the fear which haunts Melendez: that EFL instruction which is based in an American centred approach further fosters Mexican dependence on the USA and inhibits Mexico's ability to "open its eyes and see that there are other people, other cultures, other markets beside that of our northern neighbour" (1993, p. 7).

Smith argues that EFL classes can be changed to EIAL (English as an International Auxiliary Language) classes. This, he suggests would have implications for teachers:

First the attitude of the teachers about English being "their" language rather than "ours" would change. English can and should be denationalized. (Smith 1983, p. 3)

Smith claims that if English is to be an international language, all its users must share equal ownership. As an auxiliary language, it would allow users to express their own ideas, values and political opinions and to "explain and discuss their culture with foreigners" (p. 4). Teachers must consider how a student's self expression can play a part in language acquisition. What are the ramifications of the practice of foreign dialogues spoken by foreign characters in a foreign setting? Riggs (1991) states, "literacy is more than decoding someone else's message" (p. 534). The same can be said of second language development.

Smith suggests that EIAL classes would necessitate the re-thinking of teacher training and an adaptation of materials (p. 4). Teacher training would encourage a more critical analysis of methodology and texts so as to tailor the EIAL program to the specific aims, considering the needs of students.

EFL teachers must also be encouraged to take a more critical stance in evaluating the textbooks and materials used. Teachers should be encouraged to ponder the ideological message embedded in passages such as "Caroline McKay is a model. She is eighteen years old and she works for a number of fashion magazines in New York City..." "Appearance is very important to my job. I have to be thin and I can't put on

any weight,"" (American Generation: Student's Book Four) (Granger and Beaumont 1993, p. 1, i.e. first passage of the first lesson).

EFL teachers are involved in a profession which has not encouraged critical analysis. "Language cannot be divorced from culture." It is crucial that EFL teachers take a more critical view of the implications of such a platitude and its relevance to the teaching of an international lingua franca. Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) argue that EIL should not be based on native-speaker norms and values, but should be "culturally neutral" (p. 18).

Mexican EFL professionals should be encouraged to view English as a truly international language and to see themselves as a critical player in the global usage of the lingua franca. A model of EIL teaching should be user/learner centred, created from the perspective of its users. The model should emphasize that the learner see the language as her/his own, a vehicle for expression of her/his culture and ideology and fulfilment of specific instrumental needs. English should be a means of empowerment, not of synchronization.

A model of language teaching which puts Mexico at the centre of its practice would be more appropriate. A Mexico-centred international approach to ELT, which would be in keeping with the intent of the SEP, would see Mexico as an equal partner in the use of EIL. The ways and means of ELT would be taken up by those directly

affected. This model reverses not only the domination of the field by EFL experts in the Inner Circle, but shifts responsibility for ELT to the particular nation concerned.

Mexican EFL professionals perceive English as having a dual nature - it is both an international language to be used across cultures and, more prominently, it is the language owned by, and inextricably bound, to their northern neighbour: it is a required tool for the modernization of Mexico, yet its teaching is bound to the teaching of American culture. There is a disjuncture in this duality. The contradiction becomes apparent particularly when we consider the issues of cultural teaching and ownership of English.

If the language is viewed as inseparable from one particular ethnic group and its usage is restricted to communication involving members of that group, then the teaching of cultural elements is not only appropriate but advisable. If, on the other hand, there is a perception of presenting the language as an instrument for access to international information, the insistence that its teaching be linked to the teaching of culture of any one national culture is inappropriate and counterproductive. If a language is to be a tool for cross cultural communication, then, it should not be restricted as a cultural property of one ethnic community. EIL must be workable across cultures. It must adapt to various cultural viewpoints. All its users must be willing and able to negotiate meaning through it, allowing for various cultural perspectives to guide international communication.

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Pilot Questionnaire

Male _____ Female _____
Age _____

1. Did you study English in Mexico? Yes _____ No _____

2. Briefly describe your English studies in Mexico.

- How many months, how many hours per week etc.
- Grammar, conversation, reading for meaning, dictation etc.
- Public School, Private School, High School, College, etc.

3. Why do you want to learn English?

4. Should English be taught to all school children in Mexico?

Yes _____ No _____

Why or Why not? _____

5. Do you think American culture, (American movies, disco music, etc.) is a threat to Mexican culture? Yes _____ No _____

Explain _____

Teacher Questionnaire

- 1) Sexo: Masculine ____ Femenino ____
- 2) Edad: ____
- 3) Nacionalidad: _____
- 4) Si no eres mexicano ¿ cuantos años has estado aquí?
- 5) ¿ Cuáles idiomas has estudiado o puedes hablar? _____

-
- 6) a. ¿Cuántos años llevas estudiando Inglés?
 - b. ¿Has estudiado Inglés en la escuela Primaria?
 - c. ¿Has estudiado Inglés en la escuela Secundaria?
 - d. ¿Has estudiado Inglés en la escuela Preparatoria?
 - e. ¿Has estudiado Inglés en la Universidad, Tecnológico, etc.?
 - f. ¿Has tomado lecciones de Inglés en privado o sea fuera de la escuela regular?

7. Mi habilidad en Inglés la considero como: (Elige solamente uno)

___ principiante ___ intermedio ___ avanzado ___ hablante nativo

INSTRUCCIONES: Según su opinión, clasifique las siguientes afirmaciones. En este ejercicio le advertimos que no existe una respuesta correcta o incorrecta. En cambio, su respuesta debería estar más bien basada en su propia experiencia u opinión personal. Por favor, le rogamos que no se tome tanto tiempo analizando una específica afirmación. Solamente deseamos que nos ofrezca su honesta reacción por cada afirmación.

1 = fuertemente en desacuerdo; 2 = en desacuerdo; 3 = neutral;
4 = de acuerdo; 5 = fuertemente de acuerdo

(por ejemplo: ¡ México es un país muy lindo ! 1 2 3 4 ⑤)

	fuertemente en desacuerdo	en desacuerdo	neutral	de acuerdo	fuertemente de acuerdo
1) Los americanos son sociables y afectuosos.	1	2	3	4	5
2) Si voy al extranjero, me gustaría poder hablar la lengua de ese país.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Todos los niños mexicanos necesitan o deben aprender inglés para estar mejor preparados para el futuro.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Los maestros mexicanos de inglés están más capacitados y tienen un conocimiento mejor de como enseñar a sus estudiantes mexicanos que un maestro de habla inglesa.	1	2	3	4	5
5) Me siento muy contento de poder hablar inglés puesto que de esa manera puedo comunicarme con turistas de habla inglesa y tambien hacer amistad con ellos.	1	2	3	4	5
6) El inglés debe enseñarse solamente a los estudiantes mexicanos quienes en definitivas son los que lo necesitan para poder obtener una carrera.	1	2	3	4	5
7) La gente educada en México puede hablar inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
8) ¿El inglés-americano es diferente al inglés-británico!	1	2	3	4	5
9) Los americanos son muy materialistas y lo único que les interesa es el dinero.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Aprender una lengua extranjera es importante porque ésta forma parte de la educación de un país.	1	2	3	4	5
11) El inglés es considerado como una lengua muy importante por esos ciudadanos que anhelan ver a un México más prospero y modernizado.	1	2	3	4	5
12) Idealmente, el inglés debería ser enseñado por gentes de habla inglesa.	1	2	3	4	5
13) El Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC) firmado entre México y América del Norte traerá, en general, buenos resultados para México.	1	2	3	4	5
14) Las gentes tendrán más respeto hacia mí si hablo inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
15) La literatura Hispan o Latino-Americana es mejor que la literatura inglesa.	1	2	3	4	5
16) El inglés americano es más importante para México que el inglés británico.	1	2	3	4	5
17) Como padre de familia desearía que mis hijos fuesen bilingues en español y inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
18) Si los mexicanos miran con frecuencia la televisión americana y escuchan la musica americana esto podría debilitar la cultura mexicana.	1	2	3	4	5

	fuertemente en desacuerdo		en desacuerdo	neutral	de acuerdo	fuertemente de acuerdo
19) Es importante para los mexicanos aprender una lengua extranjera.	1	2	3	4	5	
20) El español suena mejor que el inglés.	1	2	3	4	5	
21) La juventud mexicana no está interesada en aprender el inglés.	1	2	3	4	5	
22) Me encanta conocer gente de habla inglesa y aprender todo lo que pueda de ellos como por ejemplo sus costumbres y modo de vivir.	1	2	3	4	5	
23) A veces uso el inglés cuando estoy fuera de la escuela.	1	2	3	4	5	
24) El americano es una gente de porvenir, practica y logra todo lo que se propone.	1	2	3	4	5	
25) So hablo inglés, entonces puedo hablar con gentes de todas partes del mundo.	1	2	3	4	5	
26) Leo periódicos, revistas y libros en inglés.	1	2	3	4	5	
27) Las opotunidades del estudiante para encontrar un buen empleo aumentarán si él /ella conoce bien el inglés.	1	2	3	4	5	
28) Los mexicanos tendrán que aprender el inglés si es que quieren formar parte de la economía mundial.	1	2	3	4	5	
29) En la actualidad, se proyectan demasiadas películas americanas en los cines mexicanos.	1	2	3	4	5	
30) El inglés es un idioma de mayor importancia mundial que el español.	1	2	3	4	5	
31) En general, se usan, ya, demasiado palabras de procedencia del inglés en el español.	1	2	3	4	5	
32) El inglés se ha convertido en el idioma más importante dentro del campo de la ciencia y la tecnología.	1	2	3	4	5	
33) Cuando uno estudia un idioma extranjero tambien es importante estudiar su literatura y su cultura.	1	2	3	4	5	
34) Los americanos son agresivos y ruidosos.	1	2	3	4	5	
35) En general, las universidades de Estados Unidos ofrecen una educación mejor y con más calidad que las universidades de México.	1	2	3	4	5	
36) Si hablo inglés, deseo hablarlo como un nativo de habla inglesa.	1	2	3	4	5	
37) La cosa más importante cuando uno habla inglés es comunicar el mensaje y darse a entender aun cuando su gramática en el mismo no es la más correcta.	1	2	3	4	5	

38) ¿ Deben los estudiantes mexicanos estudiar inglés ? Por favor, explique el ¿ Por qué ?.

39) A medida que la juventud de México aprende inglés, ¿ traerá esto como consecuencia un cambio en la cultura de México? ¿ Deberían los mexicanos tomar esto en serio o como una inquietud? ¿
Elabore su respuesta!

Teacher Questionnaire

- 1) Sex: Male _____ Female _____
- 2) Age _____
- 3) Nationality _____
- 4) If you are not Mexican, how many years have you been here? _____
- 5) What languages have you studied or can you speak?
-
- 6) a. How many years have you studied English? _____
- b. Did you study English in Primaria? (Yes or No) _____
- c. Did you study English in Secundaria? _____
- d. Did you study English in Preparatoria? _____
- e. Did you study English in University or College? _____
- f. Have you taken private lessons in English outside your regular school program?
-
7. I rate my ability in English as: (choose only one answer)
- _____ beginner _____ intermediate _____ advanced _____ native-like

INSTRUCTIONS: Please rate the following statements according to your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers - your answers should be based on your personal opinion. Please don't spend too much time on any one statement; just try to give your honest reaction to the statements.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

(example: Mexico is a beautiful country. 1 2 3 4 5)

1. Americans are very social, warm-hearted people.	1	2	3	4	5
2. If I visit a foreign country I would like to speak the language of that country.	1	2	3	4	5
3. All Mexican school children need to learn English to prepare for the future.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mexican English teachers have a better understanding of how to teach Mexican students than would native English speaking teachers.	1	2	3	4	5
5) I am glad I can speak English so I can communicate with English speaking tourists and make friends with them.	1	2	3	4	5
6) English should be taught only to Mexican students who will definitely need it for a career.	1	2	3	4	5
7) Educated people in Mexico can speak English.	1	2	3	4	5
8) American English is different from British English.	1	2	3	4	5
9) Americans are materialistic and are only interested in money.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Learning a foreign language is an important part of the education of a country.	1	2	3	4	5
11) English is considered a very important language by Mexicans who want to see Mexico progress and modernize.	1	2	3	4	5
12) Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers.	1	2	3	4	5
13) Free Trade between Mexico and the rest of North America is, in general, a good thing for Mexico.	1	2	3	4	5
14) People will have more respect for me if I speak English.	1	2	3	4	5
15) Hispanic/Latin American literature is better than English Literature.	1	2	3	4	5
16) American English is more important for Mexico than British English.	1	2	3	4	5
17) As a parent I would want my children to be Spanish/English bilinguals.	1	2	3	4	5
18) If Mexicans watch too much American television and listen to a lot of American music, it will weaken the Mexican culture.	1	2	3	4	5

19) It is important for Mexicans to learn a foreign language.	1	2	3	4	5
20) Spanish sounds better than English.	1	2	3	4	5
21) The youth of Mexico are not interested in learning English.	1	2	3	4	5
22) I enjoy meeting English speaking people and learning about them, their customs and their lifestyles.	1	2	3	4	5
23) At times I use English outside school.	1	2	3	4	5
24) American people are practical and high achievers.	1	2	3	4	5
25) If I speak English I can communicate with people all over the world.	1	2	3	4	5
26) I read magazines, newspapers and books in English.	1	2	3	4	5
27) Knowing English will increase a student's chance of getting a job.	1	2	3	4	5
28) Mexicans will have to learn English in order for Mexico to be part of the global economy.	1	2	3	4	5
29) There are too many American movies shown in Mexico today.	1	2	3	4	5
30) English is a more important world language than Spanish.	1	2	3	4	5
31) There are too many English words used in Spanish today.	1	2	3	4	5
32) English is the most important language for modern science and technology.	1	2	3	4	5
33) When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language.	1	2	3	4	5
34) Americans are aggressive and rude.	1	2	3	4	5
35) In general American universities offer a better education than Mexican universities.	1	2	3	4	5
36) If I speak English I want to sound like a native English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
37) The most important thing when speaking English is to get your message across even if the grammar is incorrect.	1	2	3	4	5

38) Should the students of Mexico study English? Please explain why.

39) As the young people of Mexico learn English, will this bring as a consequence, a change in the Mexican culture? Should the Mexicans take this as a concern? Elaborate your answer.

Schools and Institutes

Of the many schools and institutes visited, the following nine took part in the questionnaire survey and follow up conversations with EFL teachers:

Student Teachers

Lidile Program, University of Guadalajara

Upgrading Teachers

University of Guadalajara (part-time teacher training program)

Practising Teachers

Secundaria Tecnica Número Cuatro

Secundaria Tecnica Número Uno

Colegio Reforma,

Secundaria Número Uno Señoritas

Centro Cultural México Americano

American Language School

Instituto Cultural Mexicano Norteamericano

Faculty of Tourism, University of Guadalajara

Proulex

Interviewees

*Alfredo Urzúa Beltran, M.A., Director
Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas*

*Peter Hubbard, M.A., Academic Director
Escuela Superior de Lenguas Modernas*

*Luis Arturo Santos, 4th year Student
Licenciatura en la Docencia del Inglés como Lengua Extranjera (Lidile)*

*Sandra Hernández González, 4th year Student
Lidile*

*Lic Andres Plata Ribera, 4th year Student, Primaria Teacher
Lidile*

*Michelle Merritt de Ascencio, RSA Dip. TEFL, Coordinator,
Teacher Training, University of Guadalajara*

*Macrina Muñoz, B.A., Academic Coordinator
Programa Universitaria de Lenguas Extranjeras (PROULEX)*

*Esteban Rodriguez, Pasante de Lidile, EFL Teacher
Proulex*

*Lic. Jean Pender, M.A., Regional Manager
Teacher Training Projects, British Council*

*Carlos O. Melendez González, M.A. Coordinator, Department of English
Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey*

*Manuel Luna, EFL Textbook Writer
Macmillan de México*

*Hazel Reyes, EFL Teacher
Boston Institute*

An untaped but relatively extensive formal interview with note-taking was also done with Maria Luisa Arias, B.A. M.A., Coordinator of Translation, University of Guadalajara.

Two taped interviews was conducted in Ottawa at the Mexican Embassy, with Trade Councillor Sergio Gómez Lora, and with Cultural Attaché Fernando Delmar, before the field investigation in Mexico.

APPENDIX F

Schools and Institutes visited for discussion with EFL teachers only are as follows (no questionnaires but field notes taken):

Colegio Jardines Alcalde

Roosevelt School

Institute Americana

Colegio Albert Camus (a French-Spanish bilingual Primaria)

Interlingua

The Boston Institute

EFL texts examined for cultural content:

Davis, P. and Pearse, E. 1994. Action:Student Book 1. Oxford University Press.

Castro, O. and Kimbbrough, V. 1980. In Touch: A Beginning American English Program. New York: Longman.

Granger, C. and Beaumont, D. 1993. American Generation. [Student's Book Four], Oxford: Heinemann.

Harmer, J. 1994. Touchdown for Mexico. U.K.: Longman.

Herrera, M. 1993. Hands on English. Mexico: Sistemas Técnicos de Edición.

Luna, M. and Scalenti, N. 1985. English for Mexico. Mexico: Editorial Macmillan de Mexico.

Luna, M. and Taylor, J. 1994. New Impact 1. (3rd ed.), Mexico: Macmillan Editores.

Luna, M. and Taylor, J. 1994. New Impact 2. (3rd ed.), Mexico: Macmillan Editores.

O'Neill, R. and Mugglestone, P. 1992. American Dimensions. Longman.

Richards, J.C. 1990. Interchange: English for International Communications. Cambridge University Press.

Swan, M. and Walter, C. 1992. The New Cambridge English Course. Cambridge University Press.

Torres, Y. and Taboada, T. 1992. Enjoy English. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Trillas.

Velasco, R., Ávila, A., Hierro, M. and Morales, C. 1992. Imagine. Mexico: Ediciones Pedagógicas.

Villafuerte Thomas, L. and Villafuerte Thomas, M.E. 1993. Communicate in English 1. (3rd ed.), Mexico, D.F.: Fernández Editores.

Villafuerte Thomas, L. and Villafuerte Thomas, M.E. 1993. Communicate in English 2. (3rd ed.), Mexico, D.F.: Fernández Editores.

APPENDIX H

Survey Results

valid percents

1 = strongly disagree 2 = disagree 3 = neutral 4 = agree 5 = strongly agree

ITEM	1	2	3	4	5
1. Americans are very social, warm-hearted people.	1.3	14.1	43.6	34.9	6.0
2. If I visit a foreign country I would like to speak the language of that country.	0.7	0.0	0.7	23.0	75.7
3. All Mexican school children need to learn English to prepare for the future.	2.0	3.3	12.6	29.1	53.0
4. Mexican English teachers have a better understanding of how to teach Mexican students than would native English speaking teachers.	2.0	17.6	45.1	24.2	11.1
5) I am glad I can speak English so I can communicate with English speaking tourists and make friends with them.	1.3	5.4	15.4	35.6	42.3
6) English should be taught only to Mexican students who will definitely need it for a career.	41.7	43.0	10.6	2.6	2.0
7) Educated people in Mexico can speak English.	30.0	30.0	13.3	19.3	7.3
8) American English is different from British English.	1.3	10.5	15.0	56.9	16.3
9) Americans are materialistic and are only interested in money.	9.3	20.0	51.3	15.3	4.0
10) Learning a foreign language is an important part of the education of a country.	0.7	6.0	13.9	39.1	40.4
11) English is considered a very important language by Mexicans who want to see Mexico progress and modernize.	2.0	8.7	22.0	42.7	24.7
12) Ideally, English should be taught by native English speakers.	19.7	35.5	28.9	12.5	3.3
13) Free Trade between Mexico and the rest of North America is, in general, a good thing for Mexico.	5.3	14.5	47.4	22.4	10.5
14) People will have more respect for me if I speak English.	19.7	36.2	28.3	14.5	1.3
15) Hispanic/Latin American literature is better than English literature.	11.2	25.7	52.6	7.2	3.3
16) American English is more important for Mexico than British English.	2.0	19.1	28.3	34.2	16.4
17) As a parent I would want my children to be Spanish/English bilinguals.	0.7	0.7	6.6	34.2	57.9
18) If Mexicans watch too much American television and listen to a lot of American music, it will weaken the Mexican culture.	7.2	37.5	19.7	28.9	6.6

19) It is important for Mexicans to learn a foreign language.	1.3	3.3	5.9	42.8	46.7
20) Spanish sounds better than English.	10.9	13.6	56.5	8.8	10.2
21) The youth of Mexico are not interested in learning English.	18.1	49.7	21.5	9.4	1.3
22) I enjoy meeting English speaking people and learning about them, their customs and their lifestyles.	2.7	6.0	18.1	43.6	29.5
23) At times I use English outside school.	2.6	3.3	6.6	65.8	21.7
24) American people are practical and high achievers.	8.1	22.3	50.0	16.9	2.7
25) If I speak English I can communicate with people all over the world.	1.3	12.5	19.1	48.7	18.4
26) I read magazines, newspapers and books in English.	0.7	0.7	11.3	57.6	29.8
27) Knowing English will increase a student's chance of getting a job.	0.0	0.7	7.8	45.8	45.8
28) Mexicans will have to learn English in order for Mexico to be part of the global economy.	0.7	8.6	19.1	40.8	30.9
29) There are too many American movies shown in Mexico today.	0.0	4.0	8.6	43.7	43.7
30) English is a more important world language than Spanish.	2.6	9.9	23.2	39.7	24.5
31) There are too many English words used in Spanish today.	1.3	6.7	26.2	55.7	10.1
32) English is the most important language for modern science and technology.	0.7	2.0	8.6	49.1	39.7
33) When you study a foreign language it is important to study the literature and culture of that language.	0.0	0.7	6.7	40.7	52.0
34) Americans are aggressive and rude.	5.3	28.0	54.0	10.0	2.7
35) In general American universities offer a better education than Mexican universities.	10.0	20.7	39.3	20.7	9.3
36) If I speak English I want to sound like a native English speaker.	2.0	12.7	22.7	34.7	28.0
37) The most important thing when speaking English is to get your message across even if the grammar is incorrect.	3.3	17.9	18.5	38.4	21.9