

An Exploration of Language Dominance  
Michael Bishop  
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IPP Advisor: Leslie Turpin

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## ABSTRACT

When two or more cultural groups make contact and interact over a period of time, language dominance often occurs. In this situation, one dominates the others both culturally and linguistically. This in turn, causes the weaker to start using the language of the more powerful until eventually it shifts its language and then its culture over to that of the more dominant group. Eventually its own language and culture dies. Language dominance, language shift and language death are social and linguistic phenomena that has been occurring for thousands of years. Historically, there were two great waves of language dominance, and they were the Neolithic revolution and the Colonial era. We are now in the midst of a third great wave – Globalization.

Globalization is mainly driven by the sole superpower – the United States and its ally the United Kingdom. The result is that English has become the first truly global language in human history. This global language and other lesser international languages are causing language shift and death at an unprecedented scale. This thesis focuses on: what language dominance is, why it occurs, language shift and death, historic examples of language dominance, the link between language dominance and linguistic imperialism; as well as the spread of English, how it is spread, who is doing it and why they are actively contributing to its spread.

This thesis is aimed at teachers and others in the EFL profession to become aware of the world context in which they teach.

ERIC Descriptors

1. Language Dominance
2. Second Language Learning
3. Cross Cultural Studies
4. Cultural Awareness
5. Cultural Inter-relationships
6. Intercultural Communications
7. Sociocultural Patterns

## Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
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1.	A Definition of Language Dominance.....	3
2.	Why Language Dominance Occurs.....	4
3.	Language Shift and Death.....	6
4.	Historic Examples of Language Dominance.....	10
5.	English: Language Dominance and Linguistic Imperialism.....	19
5.1	Prestige of English Speakers.....	25
5.2	Economic Dominance and Marketing.....	27
5.3	Importation of Western Culture.....	34
5.4	The Spread of English Through Communication Networks.....	38
5.5	The Spread of Dominant Views and Values.....	44
5.6	The Military.....	52
5.7	Education: Active Government Promotion of English Internationally.	57
5.8	Disinterest in Learning Foreign Languages Among English Speakers.	64
5.9	English's Impact on Minority Languages.....	68
5.10	The Impact of English on Other International Languages.....	71
	Conclusion.....	75
	References.....	82

## Table of Figures

Figure	Title	Page
--------	-------	------

---

1	Starbucks and Mc Donald Franchises Around the World.....	35
2	A front door of an Apartment in Tokyo, Japan.....	35
3	BBG's Hierarchy of Services.....	41
4 and 5	Opinions of the United States.....	46
6	Opinions of US Science and Technology.....	47
7 and 8	Opinions of US Popular Culture.....	48
9 and 10	Opinions of US Ideas of Democracy.....	49
11	Opinions of the Spread of US Ideas and Customs.....	50
12	US Military Troops And Bases Around the World as of September, 2002.....	54
13	Elementary Schools with Foreign Language Programs that Teach Various Foreign Languages (1987 and 1997) .....	66
14	Secondary Schools with Foreign Language Programs that Teach Various Foreign Languages (1987 and 1997) .....	66

# An Exploration of Language Dominance

## Introduction

When I first started teaching English in Tokyo, Japan in 1994, I met a couple that were making a world tour. In our conversation, they told me that one of the main reasons they were making this trip around the world was to see it before it all becomes the same. This casual comment startled me at first but then with some reflection, I realized that this is what I was seeing in the media and in my travels. People from New Guinea to Brazil were wearing western clothing. McDonalds was almost everywhere and Coca Cola was giving the world a coke from Mexico to China. This observation that the world was losing its diversity had a lot of examples to back it up. Ever since then, this statement simmered in the back of my mind. I couldn't put my finger on it, but I felt that as a teacher of English, I had something to do with this global cultural homogenization.

Then in 2004 my wife and I moved to the United Arab Emirates in the Middle East to better job prospects. At the same time that I was making this move, I enrolled with School for International Training, in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA. While I was on the S.I.T. campus, in one of the classes, I was introduced to the concepts of 'language dominance' and 'language death'. In that class it was pointed out that the worldwide popularity of English along with other international languages were pushing smaller languages towards extinction. In aiding the spread of this global language, teachers were unwittingly contributing to the destruction of other languages and ultimately, the cultures contained in those languages. This paper is aimed at EFL teachers in hopes they will consider the global context in which they teach English – the first

truly global language in human history and some of the forces that are driving the ELT profession.

Even though English has been described as the first truly global language in history because of its wide spread use in the world today, it had humble beginnings. Jenkins (2003) points out in her book *World English* that up to the mid-sixteenth century English was spoken by only five to seven million people in Britain. However, from the reign of Elizabeth I until the present reign of Elizabeth II the number of English speakers has increased to somewhere between one and a half and two billion (Jenkins, 2003, p. 2). Now it is recognised as a dominant language in the fields of technology and science, mass communication, travel and tourism, and business around the world. In order to understand why English has become a dominant global language it is necessary to look at the phenomena of language dominance in general.

This paper will explore:

1. what language dominance is
2. why it happens
3. language shift and language death
4. examples of language dominance throughout history and
5. how both the United States and its ally the United Kingdom can be seen as dominant cultural and linguistic groups that help cause English to be a dominant global language.

## 1. A Definition of Language Dominance

Language dominance involves one language being recognised as more important than other languages by two or more different linguistic and cultural groups. Within a region or country, when one language becomes dominant over others, it's because it has more prestige or higher status in that country, is favoured by the government, and/or has the largest number of speakers (Richards, Platt & Platt, 1993. p. 201).

Another way that language dominance can be defined is when members of a dominant linguistic group are indifferent to learning the languages of the groups they govern.

## 2. Why Language Dominance Occurs

Schermerhorn (1970) cited in Paulson (1999, p. 61) points out that when two historically culturally different groups interact with each other, one group will typically assume dominance. Eventually the dominant group will abrogate power over the weaker group and will impose its language and culture, and eventually its institutions, administration, law courts, education and mass communication. The dominant language is associated with prestige, status and socio-economic success and usually military superiority. Consequently, the dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of the weaker group. Instead, it will use its own language to control groups with less power and resources, increasingly pressuring them to adopt its language and therefore its culture. Eventually, the weaker group will shift their language over to the dominant group. This shift in language is a form of linguistic imperialism.

Phillipson in his book *Linguistic Imperialism* defined linguistic imperialism as:

ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language...

(Phillipson, 1992, p. 47)

Language shift occurs when speakers use their mother tongue less and less and the domains in which they use it begin to shrink. Language shift is unidirectional towards a dominant language and is characterized by subtractive bilingualism rather than additive bilingualism since the speakers become monolingual at the expense of losing their own language. Language loss and preservation traditionally is seen as concerning mainly indigenous languages, ethnic minority languages such as Welsh, and languages spoken by polyethnic groups such as immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of **Diasporas**.

**Comment [NM1]:** Di-as-po-ra n  
1. . . the dispersion of the Jews from Palestine following the Babylonians' conquest of the Judean Kingdom in the 6th century BC and again following the Romans' destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70. Also called Dispersion  
2. . . the Jewish communities living outside either the present-day state of Israel or the ancient biblical kingdom of Israel  
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Causes of language shift are generally multiple and interrelated (Mesthrie, 1999, p. 42). Each minority language group will experience the loss of its language because of different reasons and circumstances. However, there are some generalizations that can be made about why minority languages shift. Languages shift because they may be banned by the dominant culture, neglected, or the shift happens because the minority language group is persecuted. In extreme circumstances, genocide is practiced leading to language death. This happened to many Amerindian languages and their people.

Other factors in language shift are:

- education in the dominant language (see page 8)
- the size of the language minority group to maintain their language (see page 13)
- migration into and out of traditional minority language areas (see page 14)
- intermarriage (see page 15)
- the shifting to the dominant language because of perceived economic benefits (see page 16) and...
- demographics (see page 16)

### 3. Language Shift and Death

The future for many languages looks bleak as we head into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It has been estimated that of the six thousand languages still spoken around the globe, half of them will disappear by the end of the 21st century (Krauss, 1992 cited in Hinton, 1999, p. 74). Another estimation is, by 2100, 90 percent of today's oral languages (and most sign languages) may not exist (Krauss, 1992 cited in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p. 48).

The decline of linguistic diversity is linked to the world political economy (Hinton, 1999, p. 74). The survival of minority languages is one of the key issues in this unfolding reality and is closely linked to globalization. Joseph Stiglitz (2005) defines globalization as: "The closer integration of the countries of the world as a result of lowering of communication and transportation costs and the elimination of man-made barriers." On a world scale, globalization and global market connections require the use of a common language and this results in smaller languages becoming marginalized and underdeveloped (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Knangas, 1999, p. 53). Globalization, modernization and democratisation erode "parochial" cultural differences and lead to universal dependence on the same media, political parties and structures, educational institutions and programs and economic endeavours (Fishman, 1991, p. 63) and results in language shift on a massive scale.

Within nation states, monolingualism is often perceived as the norm, and on a societal level this implies one state, one nation, and the need for one language in order to achieve national unity, modernisation, and progress. Multilingualism is seen as leading to national disintegration, backwardness, inefficiency, and poverty

(Phillipson et al., 1999, p. 53). Many nations do not want to recognise or help minority language groups maintain their language because they are often seen as a precursor for calls for sovereignty especially if the ethnic group lives in a historically defined territory within the nation. Quebec, the predominantly French province in Canada is a good example of this situation. In addition, within the greater society there is often a lack of political awareness, that the indigenous languages are being threatened and/or there is no will to save them because there is no economic advantage or cultural ethnic bond that makes the general population want to help them survive (Fishman, 1991).

Many 'immigrant' nations such as the US and Western Europe expect and encourage immigrant groups to assimilate into the dominant culture. The immigrant's mother tongue is seen as a handicap and bilingualism or multilingualism is seen as a temporary, negative phase on the path to monolingualism in the dominant language (Phillipson et al., 1999, p. 53). The majority group often has ambivalent feelings towards minority language speakers especially those in immigrant groups (Gumperz, 1996, p. 469) and resent making any accommodation to maintain their languages; arguing that this infringes on their individual right to continue speaking the majority language in all contexts and language domains (May, 2000). All this puts psychological pressure on minority language groups to shift their language to the dominant one.

Education is another area where the dominant culture imposes its language and culture on minority speakers. Sometimes this is brutal, as in the case of Canada,

where in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, North American Indian children were forced to go to boarding schools where they were punished and humiliated for using their own language. In a more subtle way today in Western Europe, Canada, United States, and Australia, children of immigrants are simply educated in the dominant language. Indeed, for the majority group, one of the main goals of education is for immigrants to gain proficiency in the dominant language (Phillipson et al., 1999, p. 53). As children use the dominant language in school, along with their friends and siblings, their vocabulary in the native language begins to shrink, and word endings, sound rules and grammatical patterns in their mother tongue become simplified (Holmes, 1994, p. 62). Languages are passed from one generation to another, if children cannot speak or are not competent in it, they cannot pass it on to the next generation and the language will shift.

Language loss can take the form of language death, which involves the slow withering away of the language; or it can take the form of *linguicide*. *Linguicide* implies there is an active agent, which actively tries to destroy another language (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Knangas, 1999, p. 48). Within a country, the state may attempt to kill a language by having an overt policy of *linguicide* such as the US policy in Guam in the early twentieth century (Kloss, 1977 cited in Phillipson & Skutnabb- Knangas, 1999, p. 48). Governments may simply let a language wither away and this results in language death. An example of this occurs within immigrant communities such as the US, Canada and Western Europe where education is taught in the dominant language.

**Comment [NM2]:** Well that's not *linguicide*, is it? The operative word here is 'passively'.

Phillipson & Skutnabb-Knangas, (1999, pp. 52-53) point out that control over dominated groups are shifting from “sticks” or physical violence to “carrots” or negotiation and “ideas” or psychological violence. In the past, resisting a powerful linguistic or cultural group could result in death and persecution. Today, submitting to the dominant culture is rewarded by making the recipients feel they have made the right choice “by glorifying the dominant language, stigmatising dominated languages, and making the choice to drop these in favour of the dominant language seem rational” (Phillipson et al., 1999, p. 53). In turn those who do not learn the dominant language are made to feel they have chosen wrongly, and are made to feel guilt and shame.

#### 4. Historic Examples of Language Dominance

English is not the first language nor will it be the last that dominates and replaces weaker language groups in the field of human communication. “Linguistic imposition have roots which go further back than recorded history” (Wolfson, 1989,

p. 265, cited in Cherrington, 2000, p. 360). It is believed that a great wave of language extinctions took place around 7000 BC following what is called the Neolithic revolution. During this time, the human race moved from hunting and gathering to farming. As people gave up foraging in favour of farming they began to live in larger communities. Jared Diamond (1999) in his book *Guns, Gems, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* points out that these new farming communities wiped out foraging tribes for three reasons:

1. Farming communities could grow much faster than hunter-gathering groups because in a farming community, women could have more children and look after them more easily. The reason for this was simple. Foraging groups were largely nomadic. They followed herds or changed locations due to seasonal cycles. Because of the immense difficulty of carrying two children along with her few belongings, a woman had to wait until that child was old enough to walk over the rough terrain at a speed that would not hold the group back before she could have another. Whereas women in farming communities were not burdened with this mobility factor, they could literally have one child after another. As a result, the farming communities grew at a much faster rate than the nomadic tribes.
2. Another reason farming communities became powerful was due to increased food production. For the hunter gatherer a vast amount of biomass that surrounded them was inedible. The majority of flora and fauna were either: indigestible (eg. bark and leaves), poisonous (eg. hemlock), too difficult to gather (eg. the larva of most insects) or too dangerous (eg. a large bull-moose (especially during mating season)). Because of this, foraging was a full-time occupation that required a constant effort from all the able bodied members of the

tribe except the very young. However, within farming communities this situation was radically different. By domesticating a small percentage of edible plants and animals, the yield per acre increased dramatically. Although the spectrum of food varieties eventually narrowed, the volume of the yield increased immensely in farming communities.

3. The rise of the warrior class was another factor that helped farming communities wipe out foraging tribes. Since food production was greatly multiplied and could be carried out by a lot fewer people within farming societies, for the first time in human history there was a surplus of people in a community that could do something other than simply supply food. From this new situation other functional groups developed, namely the bureaucratic and warrior classes. When turf conflicts occurred between the foraging tribes and the farming communities, either the foraging tribes were absorbed into the farming community or if not, the farming communities used their military might to take care of the problem.

In the past, powerful groups extended their borders without regard for the rights or desires of others (Cherrington, 2000, p. 360). This process of language shift and language death has been occurring for thousands of years and sadly seems to be part and parcel of human nature and “progress”. Throughout human history “conquest was nearly always followed by some form of linguistic imperialism” (Wolfson, 1989, p. 265 cited in Cherrington, 2000, p. 360) or the taking over of the culture and language of a weaker group and replacing it with the language and culture of a dominant group. Language is the bridge through which the more powerful culture

exports all its beliefs, concepts and financial systems to the weaker culture. By doing this, the dominant culture profits at the expense of the weaker one.

This linguistic and cultural takeover is similar to the survival and reproduction method of a virus. A virus fastens on to a healthy cell, injects its DNA code into the nucleus of that cell and replaces the hosts DNA with its own. The structure of the cell breaks down and the virus replicates itself from the remaining tissue of that cell and then the newly formed viruses move on to do the whole parasitical act over again on other neighbouring organisms.

After the Neolithic revolution, there continued to be smaller waves of language death as dominant cultures grew and spread across the face of the earth. The second great wave of language extinctions occurred with the European colonization of North, South, and Central America, Africa, and Oceania. In Australia, before the arrival of the first white settlers in 1788, some two hundred and sixty aboriginal languages were in use. 'In the 1990s only 20 of these are still spoken by children in their full form' (Schmidt, 1990 cited in Shopen, 1999, p. 79). In Canada, out of the hundreds of Amerindian languages that existed before the European conquest of North America, only 50 to 60 Amerindian languages have survived and of these, about 40 have fewer than 1000 speakers left (Pringle, 1999, p. 82). These are just some examples of language death that have occurred in the last 200 years.

Today almost half the world's population are native speakers of the top ten languages in the world (Grimes, 1996 cited in Hinton, 1999, p. 74). Thus the majority of languages are spoken by a relatively small number of people. Hinton (1999, p. 74)

points out that “we are in the midst of worldwide social change where economic and political forces combined with a revolution in communication are working against the continued existence of.... small (minority) languages”. The causes of this language shift are multiple and interrelated (Mesthrie, 1999, p. 42).

Nation states sometimes ban the use of minority languages in public, such as Basque in Spain under the Franco regime, or neglect them such as Basque in France (Wardhaugh, 2002, p. 355), or seek to wipe them out by decimating minority language groups. Persecution can result in the minority language groups suddenly shifting to the dominant language. In extreme circumstances, genocide is practiced leading to language death. This happened to many Amerindian languages and their people such as the Beothicks Indians of Newfoundland who were completely wiped out by English settlers.

The size of the minority group is also a factor in ensuring the maintenance of its language. The reason why indigenous languages decline is there are not sufficient numbers of speakers to maintain them. Even when ethnic groups are fairly large and live in large territorial areas, their language is still threatened because they live in the shadow of the linguistically and culturally dominant group. An example of this is the case of the Serbians living in the shadow of German culture (Simpson, 1999, p. 49). If these groups want to share in the socio-economic benefits of the dominant culture, they must shift their language over to that of the dominant one.

Migration in and out of the community also effects language shift. When the minority language group has an influx of immigrants who wish to speak their own language or there is an invasion, the language of the minority will become diluted and shift to the language of the dominant group. Migration out of a traditional area also effects language shift. Cultures depend on familiar traditional places, products and co-participants, and on established consensus among the community upon the values, norms and processes through which the community will operate (Fishman, 1991, p. 58). A change in life-style or a shift in population can result in a disruption for the community and lead to language loss because the community's traditional life-style and culture cannot be maintained. This can occur when the whole community is enticed and rerouted from their homelands to less advantageous areas as sometimes occurs with native tribes in Latin America (Houghton & Bell, 2004). Indigenous language speakers are often subject to this 'white genocide' (Fishman, 1991, p. 62). Language shift also happens when large sections of the minority language community immigrate and those left behind do not have the co-participants to maintain their culture and language.

Minority language speakers may shift both location and language for the perceived socio-economic benefits it will bring. For economic reasons, immigrants who move to host countries often shift their language to the dominant tongue. Migration is not always voluntary as in the case of refugees. However, whether it is voluntary or not, many immigrant minority language speakers move into cities, and urbanisation is a major factor in language shift because it involves interactions with people who don't speak the immigrant's tongue. It must be noted that, this migration to the major cities

is a worldwide phenomena. The minority language speaker in an urban area is flooded with endless ethno-linguistic messages in the dominant language and is exposed to unfamiliar power imbalances that make maintaining their language difficult (Fishman, 1991, p. 58). In addition, if the minority language speaker is isolated from members of their own community in this environment, they will have fewer opportunities to speak their language.

Intermarriage can also cause language shift. Unless multilingualism is the norm in a community, one language tends to predominate in the home. When marriage partners use different languages, the majority group language often displaces the minority language unless there is a concerted effort in the home to speak the minority language. An Australian woman whose father was Italian, narrated an example of this to this writer's wife. Her mother was an English speaking Australian. The two sisters never learned Italian because it was not to spoken in the house because as the mother said, "This is Australia, not Italy. We speak English here". Later on, these two sisters went to Italy and learned Italian. When they returned to their home in Australia and spoke Italian to their father or to each other, the mother became very uncomfortable with the situation and discouraged her two daughters from speaking Italian in the home. The woman finished her tale to this writer's wife with the observation that; "it was if my mother felt infringed upon."

Comment [NM3]: Me? Who's me?

Minority languages become obsolete when there aren't enough speakers to keep it alive, or the community no longer deems it worthwhile to communicate in that language to the children and the children are no longer motivated to acquire an active

competence in it (Denison, 1977 cited in Mesthrie, 1999, p. 46). A minority group may also consciously choose not to maintain their language and consciously shift to the dominant language. Parents and communities may actively encourage their children to learn the dominant language for the perceived socio-economic benefits it brings or the community may not have the will to maintain its language or the leaders to galvanise the community into taking continued efforts to maintain it (Crystal, 2003, p. 6). This happens with some aboriginal speakers in Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand. It also happens in immigrant communities in the Western Europe.

Demographics is another factor in the rate of language shift. The more contacts the minority language group has with the dominant culture, the more likely the minority language is to shift to the dominant one. Groups that live in rural areas such as the Ukrainian immigrant farmers living in Saskatchewan in Canada, retain their languages better because they are isolated from the centres of political power longer and can meet most of their social needs in their own language (Holmes, 1994, p. 66).

Language loss can be slow or sudden. It can take four to five generations before the shift is complete as in the case of many Amerindian languages or it can occur in one to three generations as in the case of immigrant populations (Holmes, 1994). Communities may not be aware their language is shifting until it is too late. Through this process, the first language (L1) is affected by the dominant second language (L2) and its forms and its uses are reduced, its speakers borrow from the dominant language, mixing and switching between the two codes (Blanc, 1999, p. 31). Eventually the dominant language will be the major form of communication.

For those who speak one of the dominant world languages such as English, the loss of minority languages may seem a small issue, since cultures along with their languages have died and have been replaced with more dominant ones for thousands of years. But it must be understood that to lose different languages also results in the loss of cultural-diversity and with it, a way of seeing the world. Just as we realise the importance of ecological bio-diversity for the health of our planet, some linguists and scholars argue that linguistic-diversity is also in our best interests as a species because it allows us to examine our world from different perspectives (Smolicz, 1999) and to explore the different ways the human spirit and mind work. This writer personally believes that the social forces that are destroying cultural-diversity (economic, technical, military and political forces) are the very same forces that are destroying ecological bio-diversity in our world. Also, on a humanistic and moral level, just because one group is stronger and more powerful doesn't mean it has the right to dominate and destroy another group's language or culture just because it can.

Language functions as an identity marker and a retainer of core values which symbolizes a person's belonging to a particular group. The theory of core values puts forth the argument that some ethnic groups are very strongly language-centred, so that their existence as a distinct cultural and social entity depends upon the maintenance and development of their language (Smolicz, 1999, p. 79). In addition, maintaining their distinct language and culture helps maintain the self-esteem of that culture's members, and this will affect the degree of success achieved by members of that group in the society at large (Holmes, 1994, p. 70). Language is the core carrier

of a particular culture and source of economic initiative (Smolicz, 1999, p. 75). As such, a bilingual and multilingual population can translate to economic benefits for the nation. For example, in Australia, there are many Asian-Pacific languages as well as European ones spoken by immigrants and these can be used to extend international and global trade if they are maintained (Smolicz, 1999, p. 75).

The theory of linguistic relativity held by some scholars, postulates that the way people view the world is determined wholly or in part by the structure of their native language. Language and culture are intertwined. Thus to lose one language is to lose a great part of your cultural and your individual identity. A description of this type of loss was most poignantly put forth in Elizabeth Kolbert's article *Letter From Alaska – Last Words – a language dies*, *The New Yorker* (June 6, 2005). She asked Chief Marie Smith Jones, the last full-blooded member of the Eyak First Nations tribe what it felt like to see one's language and culture disappear forever. Chief Jones answered, "How would you feel if your baby died? If someone asked you, 'What was it like to see it lying in the cradle?' So think of that before you ask that kind of question." Perhaps her answer will enlighten us to the enormity of the loss that is felt when a person's language and therefore their culture dies.

## 5. English: Language Dominance and Linguistic Imperialism

The question is, does language dominance equal linguistic imperialism. The answer is no. For language dominance to occur, a dominant group overpowers a weaker group, culturally and linguistically, resulting in language shift and the process ends with language death. It is important to realize that this process happens on a local scale. However, when this phenomenon happens on a global scale, language dominance graduates into linguistic imperialism. Linguistic imperialism is a subset of language dominance. Linguistic imperialism is language dominance on steroids.

Now that we have defined the relationship between these two terms, there is one more point that is of great importance when it comes to the term 'linguistic imperialism'. It is only found in the liberal paradigm; in the conservative worldview it's called 'good business' in a Darwinian sense of survival of the fittest. So keep this in mind when you use this term with a classic conservative.

One of the main proponents of the theory of linguistic imperialism was Phillipson in his book by the same title first published in 1992. Linguistic imperialism concerns the relations between dominant and dominated cultures and specifically the way language learning is promoted (Cherrington, 2000, p. 360). The notion of ideology and persuasion is central to the concept of linguistic imperialism and relates to hegemony. People from dominated cultures learn a dominate language to further their educational, professional and personal lives, but the rise in the popularity of the dominant language is also the result of active promotion by the dominant group through its economic and political structures. In other words, you can't separate the spread of a dominant language from other factors which help cause a group to be

dominant such as the spreading of its culture, beliefs, values, political, military and economic systems – all of which shore up and help extend its power.

What is important to realize is that the process of internalizing the dominant group's world-view and agenda is the ultimate act of being dominated. In the beginning, the subjugated group is forced to act according to the will and world-view of the governing group. But by the time the process of internalization is done, the dominated group sees things differently and has internalized that world-view of the dominant group. Now there is no need for intervention because the weaker party automatically carries out the will of the dominant group.

Phillipson's views end here. This writer feels Phillipson is working on the old model of colonization but language dominance and linguistic imperialism don't have to work from force to persuasion, from sticks to carrots. It can start as an alliance between two equally powerful groups and then incrementally, one group becomes stronger not by design but by the new circumstances created by that alliance and the other group becomes a satellite of the other slowly adopting its values and culture.

Linguistic imperialism is based on global power. There are four different sorts of global power hierarchies according to Schulman (2005). The following is a breakdown of these four models and their relationship to linguistic imperialism.

1. A **unipolar system** has one superpower, no significant major powers and many minor powers. An approximate model of this was the classical world

under Rome and the spread of Latin culture and language. Another example was East Asia under China and the spread of its culture and language.

2. **A bipolar system** has two superpowers, each of which dominates a collection of allied states and competes with the other superpower for influence among non-aligned countries. An example of this occurred during the cold war with the US and the USSR. During the cold war, the US and Britain consciously spread English in former African colonies, East Asia and Europe between 1950 and 1991. Before this, English had been rather haphazardly spread under colonialism. But during this more recent era, the promotion of international languages, in particular Russian and English was an attempt to gain international political and economic hegemony. In 1943, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared, “the sort of warfare going on in Europe would be a thing of the past; the future would be a battle for peoples minds and the key tool in this battle would be language learning and particularly simplified languages such as BASIC English (Churchill in Ogden, 1968)” (Pennycook, 2000, p. 276). Franklin Roosevelt also supported the teaching of simplified BASIC English globally. The development of Voice of America by Roosevelt in 1944 and the Peace Corps by Kennedy in 1961 were just two ways the US spread English globally while the British used a different vehicle – the British Council. The development of trans-national institutions such as international corporations, the World Bank and the IMF, global media and tourism also spread English. The dominance of the US and UK in post-war politics caused the gradual role of English to increase in global media, finance, politics and support for colonial languages through “so

called” development projects (Pennycook, 2000, p. 276). In the long run “English ended up being far more widely taught than (it) had been under colonialism” (Pennycook, 2000, p. 276). Likewise, the USSR and its ally China, spread their languages. The USSR making Russian its dominant language and vying for linguistic dominance in Africa competing with China. The spread and active promotion of Chinese, English and Russian were used by China, the US and the UK and the USSR in order to spread their economic and political control. This spread of their languages for their economic and political purposes are examples of linguistic imperialism.

3. **A multipolar system** has several major powers of comparable strength that cooperate and compete with each other. An approximate model of this was found in Europe for several centuries, where France, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England all competed with each other for political influence in Europe at various times; and spread their languages in their colonies in Asia and Africa.
4. **A uni-multipolar system** is the one that exists today. It's a hybrid consisting of one superpower and several major powers. Key international issues are determined by the superpower, but always with some combination of other major states. In this regard today, the US is the sole state with preeminence in every domain of power, with the reach and capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world. At the second level, there are:

major regional powers that are preeminent in areas of the world without being able to extend their interests and capabilities as globally as the United States. They include the German-French condominium in Europe, Russia in Eurasia, China and potentially Japan in East Asia, India in South Asia, Iran in Southwest Asia, Brazil in Latin America,

and South Africa and Nigeria in Africa. At a third level are secondary regional powers whose interests often conflict with the more powerful regional states. These include Britain in relation to the German-French combination, Ukraine in relation to Russia, Japan in relation to China, South Korea in relation to Japan, Pakistan in relation to India, Saudi Arabia in relation to Iran, and Argentina in relation to Brazil. (Schulman, 2005, p. 1)

In this hierarchy of international power, the ten major languages (i.e., German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese, English, Spanish, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Arabic according to Graddol, (2000) compete and grow. Because the US is the only real superpower in this hierarchy at the present, English leads the lot and claims the title – global language.

Alastair Pennycook points out that the nation state with its national language is being eroded and replaced due to internationalisation and international languages. Fewer languages are being spoken and used, and more people are studying the dominant ones, especially English (Pennycook, cited in Cherrinton, 2000, pp. 276, 360). The hierarchy of world languages spoken today, according to the British Council are:

- Major languages: English and French.
- Regional languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Portuguese Russian and Spanish.
- National languages: approximately 80 languages serving more than 180 nations. (Humphreys Klien, 2003)

The spread of these international languages reflect current political global realities and the direct and indirect promotion of these languages by their speakers for economic and political gain. This is a form of linguistic imperialism because the

result has led to the dominance of certain linguistic and cultural forms, the slow encroachment of certain languages into others and language death.

English is not the only dominant language, but as far as dominant languages go, it's the biggest. It is backed up by the economic, political, communication, and military structures of the United States and its ally the United Kingdom. And it is increasingly used as the major global language (Gnutzman, 2000, p. 358). Due to its success and size, English is one of the major forces behind this linguistic encroachment and destruction.

In the following sections, we will examine how the United States and its ally the United Kingdom can be viewed as the two dominant cultural and linguistic groups that promote and spread English around the globe. It will examine how these two nations can be defined as dominant cultural and linguistic groups specifically in terms of:

1. The prestige associated with its speakers and the propagation by some English academics and linguists that English is an innately superior language to other languages and deserves to be learned.
2. Economic and marketing dominance
3. Exportation of US culture
4. the spread of English through communication networks
5. the spread of US views and values
6. the military

7. the active government promotion of English outside the borders of the US and the UK
8. the wide spread indifference of UK and US citizens in learning other languages
9. the negative impact on minority languages inside and outside countries traditionally associated with being English speaking i.e. the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.
10. the impact of English on international languages

These ten aspects all help define how these two nations spread English both directly and indirectly. Now we will deal with each aspect in more detail.

#### 5.1 Prestige of English Speakers

Crystal (2003, p. 7) points out that there is a link between a dominant language and economic, technological, and cultural power. Languages become dominant because they are associated with the prestige, status, socioeconomic success and military superiority of their speakers. He points out it is not the numbers of speakers that make a language spread, but who those speakers are in terms of their status and power. In this regard, the United States is clearly a major force in the global spread of English. As the chief superpower since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US's prestige and status worldwide are undeniable in the current uni-multipolar power system. In turn its ally, the UK also maintains a certain prestige and status because it has been, until recently, an Empire and still has a relatively strong economy and a powerful military. All this helps make English a dominant language around the world and its speakers some of the linguistically most powerful.

Prestige implies social tiering, superiority and power. Power is a relationship and one way to maintain it is through persuasion. The notion of persuasion is one of the essential elements in viewing the spread of a language as essentially a form of linguistic imperialism. Arguments that have been put forth to convince non-English speakers of the innate superiority of English and the need to learn it are:

- it has been a vehicle of great literature in the past
- It is more logical than other languages
- it is easier to learn because it doesn't have a lot of masculine, feminine or neuter gender endings and has less grammar and...
- it's more democratic because it doesn't express an intricate system of class relationships (Crystal, 1997, pp. 7 – 9)

All these arguments are essentially ethnocentric and imperialistic. The defenders of French, an equally imperialistic language, use similar arguments, i.e., French is more beautiful than other languages, has a great literary tradition, has rational qualities not found in other languages, and is the language of human rights.

The majority of linguists don't take these arguments seriously since they recognize any language can satisfy any role. In terms of English being a superior language, the arguments are debatable since other languages are just as well adapted for change and development and may have an even simpler structure, morphological, and phonic system making them more adaptable, useful and possibly easier to learn than English (Crystal, 2003).

However, these arguments can have a powerful influence on non-English speakers especially when they are combined with the idea that if they speak English they will be able to participate in the “community” of English speakers. Anderson, 1983 cited in Phillipson, (1992, pp. 272 – 273) points out that this idea of community is really imagined since all communities larger than the primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined ... and conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship when in fact there is often exploitation and inequality. Along with this “community of comradeship” is “an ascription process equating English with bounty and other languages with the opposite. The promise of English is increasingly identified with a community of English users who are economically privileged, in a world of inequities and exploitation” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 273). Burchfield made a comparable equation between English and deprivation.

English has also become a lingua franca to the point that any literate educated person is in a very real sense deprived if he does not know English. Poverty, famine, and disease are instantly recognized as the cruellest and least excusable forms of deprivation. Linguistic deprivation is a less easily noticed condition, but one nevertheless of great significance.

(Burchfield 1985, p. 160 cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 5)

And people, who do learn English, do so in large part because of the international structural bias towards English, which in part is based upon the very real prestige of its speakers.

## 5.2 Economic Dominance and Marketing

Economic dominance is one of the precursors for defining a dominant cultural and linguistic group. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century and up until the present, English has maintained its dominance through the economic supremacy of the United States

(Crystal, 2003, p. 10). The US economy is now larger than the next three largest economies of Japan, Germany, and Great Britain combined (Zakaria, 2002). The United States has the largest and most diverse economy of any nation in the world. Monetary, many countries link their currency to the dollar such as the United Arab Emirates or use it as a currency such as Ecuador and Panama. The oil and gold markets are also quoted in dollars. The dollar is also the predominant reserve currency in the world, and more than half of global reserves are in dollars. Behind the power of the USA is its ally the UK, which supports the USA and benefits from its success.

Comment [NM4]: What of China and India.

Comment [NM5]: China has been buying Am. Dollars for a while. Should this be mentioned?

Like the US, the UK also has a strong economy. It has the fifth largest economy in the world in terms of market exchange rates and is the second largest European Union economy after Germany. Its capital, London, is a major financial center in the world. Like the US, it has a strong and powerful stock exchange that affects the world economy.

Comment [NM6]: Ask Meredith what should be put here.

All this helps make the United States and the United Kingdom two of the most powerful English speaking economies in the world . With this joint economic power comes the spread of English for economic purposes worldwide.

The development of global corporations is trans-national, but based largely in the UK and the USA. These corporations use English as the medium of communication. Consequently, it is not surprising that English is recognised as the international business language. Recently in *The Gulf News*, 25 March, 2006 edition, it was

reported that French President Jacques Chirac walked out of the first working session of the EU summit in protest after the head of the Europe's Employers Association, a Frenchman spoke in English. When Seilliere, head of the UNICE employers federation started his speech to the bloc's 25 leaders, Chirac interrupted and asked why he was speaking in English. "I'm going to speak in English because it is the language of business," replied Seilliere.

**Comment [NM7]:** This is referred to later on, should we use this now or later or both?

Yes, English is used as the medium for international business and it is so entrenched that many English-speaking businesspeople don't bother learning other languages. Indifference by members of a dominant linguistic group to learn languages of weaker groups is one way that language dominance can be defined. Because English is so established globally, those in business whose mother tongue is English are "automatically in a position of power compared to those who have to learn it as an official language or foreign language" (Crystal, 2003, p. 15).

**Comment [NM8]:** The quote on page 3 still isn't fixed.

There is apathy among English-speaking businesspeople to learn other languages. This was illustrated by IMD International Search and Consulting Survey Results that studies global business trends. IMD conducted a survey, titled "Talent Abroad Gaining Ground" examining attitudes of executives about being posted abroad. Of the 2000 business executives queried, almost all from non-English speaking countries felt that they needed to use a foreign language in their business, whereas over 80% of business executives from English speaking countries, who perceived English to be their first language felt it was unimportant to speak a second language in their current role. Not only did they feel they didn't need to learn a second language, but close to

70% of North American, Australia and Asia Pacific executives felt prepared for international and intercultural work abroad with their one language. The survey writer, Shacknell (2005) concluded the study underscores the value of English in the global business world.

In the UK, there is a similar trend among businesses to rely largely on English. For example, a European Business Survey by Grant Thornton (1996) cited in Crystal (2003, p. 19) found 90% of businesses in Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Greece had an executive able to negotiate in another language, whereas only 38% of British companies had one. In 2002, the number of British executives had shrunk to 29% while the figures remained high for most European countries surveyed.

Those who speak English as a mother tongue are automatically in a position of power compared to those who have to learn it as an official language (Crystal, 2003, p. 15).

In fact, senior managers:

who do not have English as a mother tongue, and who find themselves working for English language companies in such parts of the world as Europe or Africa, could find themselves at a disadvantage compared with their mother-tongue colleagues, especially when meetings involve the use of formal speech. There is already anecdotal evidence to suggest that these things happen.

(Crystal, 2003, p. 16)

This brings a new dimension to the balance of linguistic power in business. If companies and individuals want to be successful in business worldwide, they need to speak the dominant global language of our times – English, and if parents want their

children to be successful in the global market they need to have them become bilingual in English and their mother tongue (Crystal, 2003, p. 16).

As stated in the above paragraph, if a person in business or science can't speak English as a mother tongue they have a serious handicap that inhibits their advancement in their field. The solution to this is that English and the mother tongue of the speaker must be taught to them early in their development. Crystal (2003, p. 17) talks about the fact 'that children are born ready for bilingualism'. He goes on to say that two thirds of the world's children are born in a bilingual environment and adapt very well to their situation. The child must be competent English so they can compete and live in an increasing global world, they must be competent in their mother tongue so they have a strong cultural identity. If they don't they will be hollow. Cut off from the culture and language that is their history and inheritance.

One of the factors behind the spread of the US's economic success is the ability of US companies to advertise successfully and sell their products. In 1972, there were thirty top advertising agencies in the world of which twenty-seven were from the US, one was British and two were Japanese. The official language in the European Association of Advertising Agencies is English (Crystal, 2003, p. 95). English advertisements can be found around the world and are a global manifestation of English worldwide. "English advertisements are not always more numerous, in countries where English has no special status, but they are usually the most noticeable" (Crystal, 2003, p. 94) and reinforce English as a dominant global force and the prestige of American products. This phenomena is so wide spread that many

companies such as those in Japan use English loan words to sell their own native products and even feature American movie or sports stars, often speaking in altered English, to sell these products. In Japan around 2002, there was a television advertisement promoting a car. A famous tennis star was in the driver seat. After driving straight towards the camera he stopped the car in such a way that it turned perpendicular to the TV viewer, rolled down his window and said with a smile, “My car is sneaker.” Although it is hard to figure out what exactly he meant by that, it did illustrate how other cultures are taking English and altering it for their own purposes as they advertise products to native consumers.

Another example of advertising in English in other cultures can be seen in the promotion campaign in Doha, Qatar for the 15<sup>th</sup> Asian Games, which were held in December 2006. Even though the Asian Games were for Asian Nations, and they were being held in an Arab country (Qatar), all the major advertisements were in English and most of the music that played during the events was in English. And this writer would like to remind the reader that Qatar has the largest US air force base outside of the US (the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest being in Japan) and that the Qatari Riyal is pegged directly to the US dollar. This illustrates that where you find English, you will find other strands of western culture, which are in this instance, money, the military, sports and advertising.

One of the arguments that is put forward to persuade non-English speakers to learn English is what Phillipson (1992, p. 283) calls the use of *carrots* or the bargaining persuasion argument. The argument goes like this: if non-English speakers learn

English they will get a lot of carrots, i.e., entrance to the huge US markets and industrialization of their economies by trans-national companies. Another form of persuasion is the use of *sticks* or fear (Phillipson, 1992, p. 284). In the past, this was done directly through military force where by a dominated group was forced to learn the dominant language or face persecution and even genocide. Today the IMF and World Bank, both US creations, use *the stick* of withholding economic aid and loans, if developing countries don't put in the necessary English education and English business structures.

Having people wanting English because they feel it's in their best economic interests "simplifies the role of the 'seller', who then can appear to be 'helping' or giving aid, rather than 'forcing' or 'bargaining with' the victim' (Phillipson, 1992, p. 286).

When people use your language, it makes it easier for you to do business, to spread your beliefs, to negotiate better, to manipulate others on the basis of what is rational, obvious, basic and valid. You can use your language to justify your own world schema, goals, morality and how resources should be used, shared and allocated. This power of language is explored by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who point out that political and economic ideologies are found in language and are framed in metaphorical terms, which can and often do hide aspects of reality. The Western English business metaphor 'labour is a resource' treats labour as a natural resource or commodity like any raw material and hides the nature of labour and makes no distinction between meaningful and dehumanizing labour. "The blind acceptance of (this) metaphor can hide degrading realities, whether meaningless blue-collar and

white-collar jobs in ‘advanced’ societies or virtual slavery around the world”(Lakoff, et al., 1980, p. 237). This term is used in nearly all major industrialized nations whether capitalist or socialist. Many developing nations similarly boast an “inexhaustible supply of cheap labour” in order to encourage investment by business, which include US and UK trans-national corporations. Thus the consequence of the predominant use of English for economic purposes worldwide not only impacts on how business deals are negotiated, but on a wider scale, how the US dominated process of globalized markets is carried out. As Cherrington (2000), points out language is not value free.

### 5.3 Importation of Western Culture

One of the definitions of a dominant cultural and linguistic group is that it imports its culture to another group in order to profit from the endeavour. Through advertising and marketing, American culture is found worldwide, some examples are: Mickey Mouse, Mickey D’s, KFC, Starbucks, Coca Cola and Mc Donald’s golden arches. Please see figure 1 below and figure 2 on the following page.

To say the main motive behind the US based, trans-national corporations is to spread US (Western) culture per se would not be accurate. Their motive is monetary and not political. This was shown in 1997 when Walt Disney produced *Kundun*, a film portraying the life of the Dalai Lama. The Chinese government froze Disney’s media projects within China because the film made China look bad. In response, The Walt Disney Corporation sent Henry Kissinger and its CEO Michael Eisner to China to placate Chinese Officials so that Disney could continue “to pursue its aspirations to

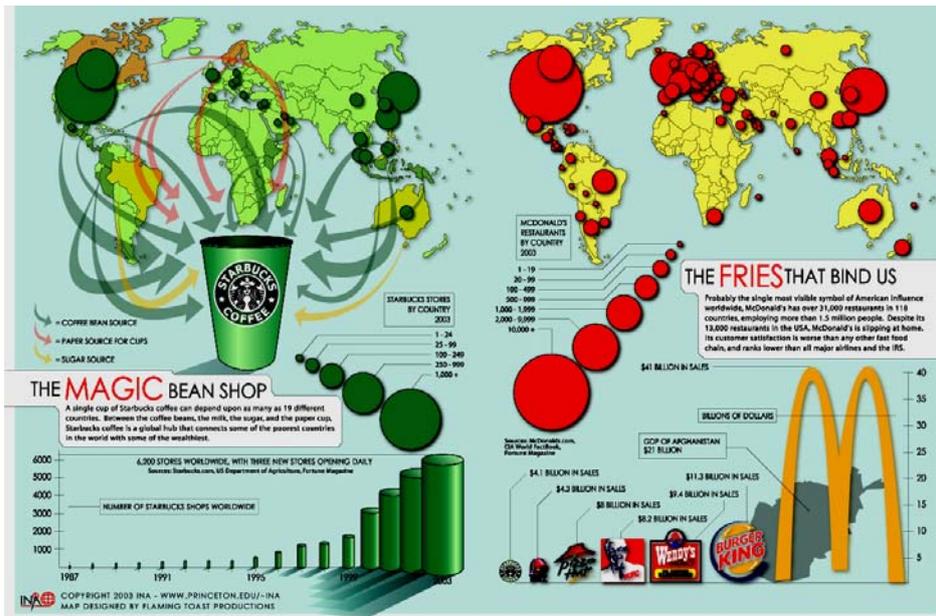


Figure 1. Starbucks and Mc Donald Franchise Around the World  
Source: <http://www.princeton.edu/~ina/infographics/starbucks.html> [Accessed: 4 Dec. 2006]



Figure 2. A Front Door of an Apartment in Tokyo, Japan. (June 13, 2004)

bring its products (including a Disney theme park) to the 1.2 billion people of China” McChesney (2000, p. 115) cited in Rauschenberger (2003, p. 16). This fast response shows Disney’s true motivation for putting out this film was profit and not politics. However, even though Walt Disney Corp’s concerns are mainly financial, their products are still a potent vehicle for US culture and political outlook. In the end, it’s the effect of US products on other cultures and not the motive that is important.

People all over the world buy US products or products they associate with the US. They buy US products because they are successfully marketed and are associated with modernity, US technology and more indirectly the mystique of US power and prestige. In recent years, US corporations have marketed diversity and attempted to portray US goods as transcending political, ethnic, religious, and economic differences. They insert indigenous celebrities or trends to present the façade of customised local cultures. So, US corporate efforts to successfully associate what is fashionable in local cultures with what is fashionable in the US, is what people see, but underneath the façade is the dissemination of what is ultimately – US culture (Galeota, 2004, p. 23)

The multimillion dollar **Hollywood film industry** also helps spread American culture.

“According to the Guardian, cited in Galeota (2004, p. 22) American films accounted for approximately 80% of the global box office revenue in January 2003.” As the German director Wim Wenders said, “People increasingly believe in what they see and they buy what they believe in ... People use, drive, wear, eat and buy what they see in the movies” (Crystal, 2003, p. 100). And what they see most often is from the

**Comment [NM9]:** Write about Bollywood. It is a close contender. And therefore pushes Indian culture instead of US.

US. The spread of “American” fashion such as baseball caps, jeans, running shoes, and T-shirts with English slogans, which ironically are often produced outside the US, can be seen in almost every country and region on the earth. In fact, US movies, US music, US television and US software are “so dominant and sought after, and so visible that they are now available literally everywhere on the Earth. They influence the tastes, lives and aspirations of virtually every nation” (Rothkop, 1997, p. 4).

What is the impact of US culture and marketing on other cultures? First, this phenomenon definitely helps spread English. Slogans such as *I'm lov'in it*, English slogans on T-shirts, and English words or quasi-words in advertising are designed to sell products, but indirectly familiarize people to English. Likewise, the spread of English movies whether with subtitles or not, cause people to hear English words and the effect is unconscious learning. While the conscious mind is focused on visual images, ideas and concepts that are unnoticed, but still heard and seen can be and do slip in. The value of this for the dominant group is others are familiar with their language and culture and are tied economically and politically into it.

Is this innately imperialistic? The answer is both yes and no. Yes, in that English products are designed to and are innately perceived to be cool, modern, progressive and superior since the products are closely associated with native English speakers indirectly and directly with often-superior US technology and product standards; and so effect how people think about English. No, in that no one person or group is orchestrating this spread because its sources are disparate, and is often done for purely economic gain.

This writer believes that some people and groups who are taking part in the dissemination of US products are simply businesspeople who are focused on profits and that their vision rarely goes beyond the bottom line. However, this writer also believes that there are other businesspeople, which either due to their position or character do see the broader picture beyond the bottom line. They recognize the spread of English has a direct influence on their business in all aspects from production, to advertising, to retail. They realize the impact of English found in movies to fashion does promote English and makes consumers accustomed to seeing, hearing, and using English vocabulary and this in turn ties into the political and economic dominance of their own culture.

The question this writer would like the reader to contemplate is this. How would you interpret such a cultural and linguistic impact in English speaking countries if the role was reversed and say, China occupied the place of the US, so Chinese products were associated with modernity, technology, and being cool, Chinese words and expressions were commonly used, Chinese movies and videos dominated the entertainment industry and Chinese fashion and fast food outlets were seen in major urban American cities? Would you feel this was a benign economic phenomenon or would you feel this was part of the imperialistic designs of China to indirectly spread its power and influence through its language and culture?

#### 5.4 The Spread of English Through Communication Networks

Along with the spread of US products and culture comes US ideology. US films, music, and television promote US values, stereotypes and concerns. Compounding

this influence of commercial images and products is the dominance of US and UK media organisations.

In the 1990s, US and British media organisations gained control of the majority of the world's news services (Galeota, 2004, p. 23). Satellites allow over 150 million households in 212 countries and territories to subscribe to CNN, a member of Time Warner, the world's largest media conglomerate. "In the words of British sociologist Jeremy Tunstall, 'when a government allows news importation, it is in effect importing a piece of another country's politics – which is true of no other import' " (Galeota, 2004, p. 23). In addition to politics, commercial networks like CNN also present foreign countries with accounts of the military and economic superiority of the United States (Galeota, 2004, p. 23). For example, during the US invasion of Iraq, CNN news reporters were imbedded among US troops. The result was the reporters presented the war from a US perspective. Adding to this is the Fox Network. It is well known to be a strong supporter of policies of the Bush Administration. BBC International also presents news that promotes British military superiority and prestige. Naturally, these organisations produce their programming primarily in English, which in turn is broadcast into non-English speaking countries and help spread English.

**Comment [NM10]:** Chris Keating told me this that there are just 3 or 4 wire services that we get our news from. Al Jazeera I'm sure is an exception. Try to contact him about what they are and his source.

**Comment [NM11]:** Check the current figures. Goto CNN's web site and find out their present coverage.

As well as television, English is spread through the dissemination of US and UK based radio programming, some of which is aimed directly at foreign audiences. In 2001, the World Service of the BBC broadcast a thousand hours per week to a worldwide audience of 153 million and reached 120 capital cities with a listening

audience in English estimated at 42 million (Byford, 2001 cited in Crystal, 2003, p. 97). “BBC English Radio produces over a hundred hours of bilingual and all-English programmes weekly. London Radio Services, a publicly funded radio syndicator, offers a daily international news service to over ten thousand radio stations worldwide, chiefly in English” (Crystal, 2003, p. 97). BBC also offers English language lessons.

In addition, the US government funds the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which is responsible for all US government and government-sponsored international broadcasting services. Please see figure 3 on the next page showing BBG’s hierarchy of services. According to the BBG website the mission of U.S. international broadcasting “is to promote the open communication of information and ideas, in support of democracy, and the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information worldwide” <http://www.bbg.gov/mission.cfm> (Accessed 29 Nov. 2006). Dominant cultural and linguistic groups control flows of communication. In this regard, the US’s various broadcasting services illustrates how the US can be viewed in this way. Of BBG’s nine broadcasting services, two directly use English; they are Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the Voice of America, but all present and disseminate US versions of the news. Both Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Voice of America also offer English language lessons.

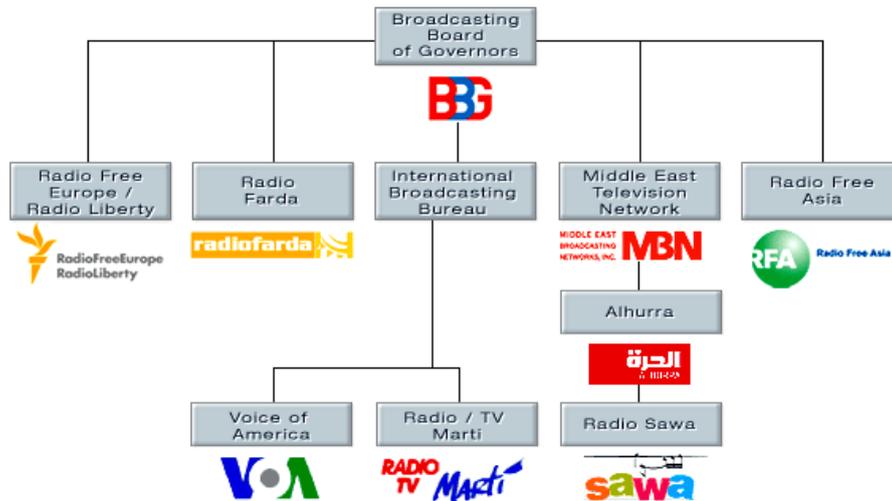


Figure 3. BBG's hierarchy of services  
 Source: <http://www.voanews.com/english/about/OrganizationInfo.cfm>  
 [Accessed: 2 Nov. 2006]

The US and the UK's dissemination of information go beyond the realm of radio and into the sphere of the printed word. There are a total of eight English publications, which have a global readership. There are five famous US based publications: *The International Herald-Tribune*, *the US Weekly*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*. There are three UK base publications as well: *International Guardian*, *The Times* and *the Sunday Times*.

In addition, Reuters, a UK-based news agency and Associated Press, a US-based news agency are also internationally recognised press organisations, which transmit news stories around the world. Though these publications are not direct vehicles for US and UK government policies and ideology, they do carry a distinct bias and as

Crystal (2003, p. 91) points out even the 'hint of a nuance' can make a difference in how people perceive the world. When Al Jazeera reports the news, it paints a completely different picture in the minds of its listeners than what is created by Reuters or Associated Press.

Another English dominated communication network is the Internet. The Internet is perhaps one of the biggest communication networks that is dominated by English. 80 percent of the world's information is stored in English. This includes privately stored information by individual firms and organizations, security forces, and libraries; and internet information such as receiving and sending electronic mail, participating in discussion groups, or accessing and providing databases and data pages (Crystal, 2003, p. 115). The Internet is a US invention designed in the 1960s conceived as ARPANET or Advanced Research Projects Agency, a decentralized national network aimed at linking US government and academic institutions so they could survive local damage in case of a major nuclear war. Therefore, when people in other countries began to form links with this network, it was essential for them to use English (Crystal, 2003, pp. 115 – 116). To use the Internet you need:

A solid command of the English language. Because whether you are a French intellectual pursuing the cutting edge of international film theory, a Japanese paleobotanist curious about a newly discovered set of primordial fossils, or an American teen-ager concerned about Magic Johnson's jump shot, the Internet and the World Wide Web really only work as great unifiers if you speak English...If you want to take full advantage of the Internet there is only one way to do it: learn English, which is more than ever become America's greatest and most effective export"

(Specter, M., 'World, Wide, Web: 3 English Words', *The New York Times*, April 1996 edition cited in Crystal, 2003, p. 117)

Crystal (2003, p. 10) believes economics has replaced politics as the chief driving force behind the spread of English. However Rothkop, who was an advisor for the Clinton administration points out that:

Globalization has its economic roots and political consequences, (and) has brought into focus the power of culture in this global environment – the power to bind and to divide in a time when the tensions between integration and separation tug at every issue that is relevant to international relations. (Rothkop, 1997, p. 5)

He believes “for the United States, a central objective....must be to win the battle of the world’s information flows, dominating the airwaves as Great Britain once ruled the waves” (Rothkop, 1997, p. 1). Part of this dominance involves spreading English.

He says:

“And it is in the economic and political interests of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving towards a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving towards a common telecommunications, safety, quality standards, they be American; that if the world is becoming linked by television, radio, and music, the programming be American; and that if the common values are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable. These are not simply idle aspirations. English is linking the world. American information technologies and services are at the cutting edge of those that are enabling globalization. Access to the largest economy in the world – the US’s – is the primary *carrot* leading other nations to open their markets.” (Rothkop, 1997, p. 5) (Italics – writer)

One of the functional arguments that is put forward, and which Phillipson (1992) believes is an innate form of English linguistic imperialism is English offers non-English speakers a gateway to the world. Clearly in terms of global media English does offer a gateway to the world’s information flows and as Rothkop points out it is the interest of the US to keep it that way.

### 5.5 The Spread of Dominant Views and Values

The spread of US products and media across the globe is a by-product of globalization, and is “part of a larger trend in the conscious dissemination of American attitudes and values” (Galeota, 2004, p. 22) that many believe is a form of cultural imperialism. Or “the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system, and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even to promote, the values and structures of the dominant centre of the system” (Schiller, 1976 cited in Galeota, 2004, p. 22).

US values of liberal democracy, US quality standards, and US notions of individual freedom and secular justice, as well as maintaining and extending US interests are some of these importations. Many of the neoconservative supporters of the present Bush administration including Dick Cheney – state in the *Project for the New US Century* <http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm> (1997, p. 1) “we need to accept responsibility for America’s unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to *our security, our prosperity, and our principles*” (Italics– writer).

The spread of US principles and values may sound appealing on the surface. Certainly the ideals of liberal democracy and individual freedom are not only ideals that the US seeks to export, but are also ones European nations encourage around the world. Yet, no matter how benign such ideals seem to be, they are a form of ethnocentrism or the tendency for most people to see their own culture as “the centre

of the world” (Dahl, 2006, p. 2). In such a view point a “set of ‘self-evident’ rules, roles, categories and relationships, are seen to be ‘natural’” (Dahl, 2006, p. 2). Ethnocentrism is a form of nationalism.

According to Sweig, (cited in Schulman, 2005, p. 2) one manifestation of this nationalistic and ethnocentric view was expressed by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in the Clinton administration, when she made her famous statement that the US is “the indispensable nation” and “we stand tall and hence see further than other nations”. Many have labelled this statement as inherently “imperialistic”. Ironically, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, Lawrence Summers in the last year and a half in the Clinton administration called the US the ‘first non-imperialistic superpower’ – a claim that manages to exalt US uniqueness, US virtue and US power (Schulman, 2005, p. 2) These two statements are a clear example of Jingoism at its best and it’s not surprising that statements like these result in a perception that the US is practicing hegemony. Many believe US foreign policy is driven by such beliefs.

In the past few years the United States has, among other things, attempted or been perceived as attempting more or less unilaterally to do the following: pressure other countries to adopt American values and practices regarding human rights and democracy; ...grade countries according to their adherence to American standards on human rights, drugs, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, missile proliferation, and now religious freedom; apply sanctions against countries that do not meet American standards on these issues; promote American corporate interests under the slogans of free trade and open markets; shape World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies to serve those same corporate interests; ....bludgeon other countries to adopt economic policies and social policies that will benefit American economic interests; ...and categorize certain countries as "rogue states," excluding them from global institutions because they refuse to kowtow to American wishes.

(Schulman, 2005, pp. 2-3)

However, not everyone sees the Americanisation of the world and the spread of US culture as a negative phenomenon. In a survey conducted by Pew Research Centre for People and the Press in “What the World Thinks in 2002” 38 thousand people in 44 nations were interviewed about among other things, on how they viewed the US. The US was rated favourably by 35 of the 42 countries surveyed and where the question was asked. Please see figures 4 and 5 to the right showing both favourable and unfavourable opinions of the United States.

Opinion of U.S.: Canada, Europe, Conflict Area			
	Fav	Unfav	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
<b>North America</b>			
Canada	72	27	3
<b>West Europe</b>			
Great Britain	75	16	9
Italy	70	23	7
France	63	34	2
Germany	61	35	4
<b>East Europe</b>			
Ukraine	80	19	2
Poland	79	11	10
Bulgaria	72	18	11
Czech Republic	71	27	2
Russia	61	33	6
Slovak Republic	60	39	1
<b>Conflict Area</b>			
Uzbekistan	85	11	4
Lebanon	35	59	6
Turkey	30	55	15
Jordan	25	75	0
Pakistan	10	69	20
Egypt	6	69	25

Opinion of U.S.: Latin America, Asia, Africa*			
	Fav	Unfav	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
<b>Latin America</b>			
Guatemala	82	13	5
Venezuela	82	14	5
Honduras	80	5	15
Peru	67	19	15
Mexico	64	25	11
Bolivia	57	35	8
Brazil	52	32	16
Argentina	34	49	17
<b>Asia*</b>			
Philippines	90	7	3
Japan	72	26	2
Vietnam	71	27	3
Indonesia	61	36	3
India	54	27	19
South Korea	53	44	3
Bangladesh	45	47	9
<b>Africa</b>			
Ivory Coast	84	16	0
Ghana	83	9	8
Kenya	80	15	5
Nigeria	77	11	12
Mali	75	20	5
Uganda	74	13	13
South Africa	65	28	8
Senegal	61	37	2
Angola	54	23	23
Tanzania	53	26	21

\* This question was not permitted in China.

Figure 4 and 5. Opinions of the United States (4 Dec. 2002)  
Source: [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) [Accessed 8 Dec. 2006].

In addition, US advances in technology and science were overwhelmingly admired around the world even among publics that had a low regard for the US in general. Please see figure 6 on page 47 for Pew survey results regarding opinions about US science and technology.

QuickTime™ and a  
TIFF (LZW) decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

Figure 6. Opinions of US Science and Technology (4 Dec. 2002)  
Source: [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) [Accessed 8 Dec. 2006]

More importantly, US popular culture, specifically its music, movies and television got favourable ratings especially among young people who rated these products dramatically higher than among the older people in their culture. [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) (2002, p. 66). This particular demographic fact is a sleeping bombshell. If opinions favouring US culture radically increase among the youth of other cultures, the full effects of this will be felt when that demographic age groups matures into an older one, a group whose buying power and political pull becomes far more potent. Even in France, whose government has tried to discourage the general public's consumption of American culture, two-thirds surveyed liked US movies, music and TV. Please see figures 7 and 8 to the right for the survey's conclusion of US popular culture.

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Figures 7 and 8. Opinions on US Popular Culture (4 Dec. 2002)  
Source: [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf)  
[Accessed 8 Dec. 2006]

US-style democracy got mixed reactions in other Western democracies surveyed. Less than fifty percent of those surveyed in every Western European nation felt they liked US ideas about democracy. Opinions on the US democratic model were more positive in Eastern Europe. The writers of the report say this “European preference for social democracy may help explain the uneven reaction to the US-style of

democracy.” Individuals who feel it is up to the government to guarantee that all its citizens are not in need are inclined to disagree with the concepts found in US democracy. In contrast, those who believe in a smaller government role in people’s lives agree with the US model of democracy.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America, public opinion of the US model of democracy generally reflects the over all views towards the United States. In general, African countries hold the highest opinion of the US model of democracy, though the coolest to the idea are Tanzania, Angola, Mali and South Africa. Solid majorities like US ideas of democracy in three out of eight Latin American countries surveyed i.e., Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras, while fifty percent or more dislike US democracy in Bolivia, Brazil and Argentina. Those surveyed in the Middle East/Conflict Area dislikes US ideas about democracy.

Half or more in Turkey, Pakistan and Jordan were cool to the idea. Jordanians on the other hand are split down the middle when it comes to their views on the US political system. Please see figures 9 and 10 to the rights for survey results about attitudes towards US style democracy.

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TIFF (LZW) decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

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TIFF (LZW) decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

Figure 9 and 10.  
Opinions on US Ideas of Democracy (4 Dec. 2002)  
Source: [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) [Accessed 8 Dec. 2006].

There is an irony to the US export of democracy around the globe. When nations that were once authoritarian and had favourable relations with the US turned democratic and the voice of the people was heard, the US received an anti-US messages from the very people they had helped give a voice to.

Comment [NM12]: Find the source.

Opinions about the US are “ complicated and contradictory”. “People around the world embrace things American and at the same time, decry US influence on their societies” [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) (2002, p. 1). “While attitudes toward the United States are most negative in the Middle East/Conflict Area, ironically, criticisms of US policies and ideals such as American-style democracy and business practices are also highly prevalent among the publics of traditional allies. In fact, criticism of the US in countries such as Canada, Germany and France are much more common than in the developing nations of Africa and Asia” [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf) (2002, p. 1). In regard to the export of US ideas and customs, publics in every European country surveyed except Bulgaria, are resentful of US cultural intrusion in their country. In the Middle East/Conflict Area, Latin America and Asia and parts of Africa the public have dim views on the spread of US ideas and customs. Please see figure 11 to your right.

QuickTime™ and a  
TIFF (LZW) decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

Figure 11. Opinions on the Spread of US Ideas and Customs (4 Dec. 2002)  
Source: [www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_global\\_attitudes.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_global_attitudes.pdf)  
[Accessed 8 Dec. 2006].

It should be noted that the chairperson for the Pew's report is Madeleine Albright and it is a US sponsored report, which focuses on attitudes towards the US and therefore not directly linked to the spread of English. However, because the US is the major exporter of English, people's opinion of the US indirectly influences their opinion of the English language. Crystal (2003, p. 124) points out "political factors might make groups of people within a country, or even whole countries or groups of countries, antagonistic to English. Pressures arising out of the need to express community identity might disrupt the ability of English to function as a global language."

A specific example of negative reactions to the export of US culture is illustrated by the Italian slow food movement, which was created in direct opposition to the McDonald fast food style. Likewise France, China, Canada, Cuba, and Iran have all tried to limit or prohibit access to American cultural programming through satellite and the Internet (Galeota, 2004, p. 24). It must be noted here that its not just non-English speaking nations, but also other English speaking nations like Canada, New Zealand, Australia and even the United Kingdom that feel the cultural dominance of the US. Indeed, half of the British surveyed in the Pew Report saw the spread of US ideas and customs as a bad thing. What can be established here is that like any dominant cultural group seen in the past, the United States culturally dominates weaker groups. This is one of the precursors for linguistic domination.

As mentioned earlier in this paper (see page 19) linguistic imperialism concerns the relations between a dominant culture and dominated cultures – part of this

dominance is how the dominant culture promotes its language. In terms of English, the spread of English involves more than the ELT profession. People from a countless number of communities learn English as a means to further their educational and professional lives as well as for travel and tourism. However the rise of the popularity of English is also largely carried out by the active promotion of political and economic forces. The trend is part of a prevailing ideology of why people should learn English and relates to hegemony. “Ideas and beliefs which may seem commonsense and remain unquestioned are part of hegemonic power, with a dominant group retaining control in this way once they have gained the upper hand. The status quo seems acceptable, and there is no need, when hegemony functions properly, for the dominant group to exert power over the people they are subordinating” (Cherrington, 2000, p. 361). In terms of the US, one way it maintains its political and economic influence is through the conscious and active dissemination of its ideology and values, which results in people wanting to become part of that power system. And part of belonging to that “community” involves speaking English.

#### 5.6 The Military

It is important to point out that languages do not simply spread because of the economic and cultural power of their speakers – a strong military base can also be very helpful in the spread of a language. “The history of a global language can be traced through the expeditions of its soldiers and sailors” (Crystal, 2003, p. 9). In this regard, the US and the UK are major military forces in the world today.

The UK has one of the the 3rd biggest military expenditures in the world, and one of the most powerful and comprehensive armed forces globally, in spite of having only the 27<sup>th</sup> highest number of troops. It is ranked second in global power projection capabilities after the US. It is the second largest spender on military science, engineering and technology. Its navy is found in 14 countries and the Middle East and has the second largest navy in the world in terms of gross tonnage [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_budget\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_budget_of_the_United_States) (2005).

Comment [NM13]: Check out these stats. Try the CIA website.

Yet the UK military pales beside the US, which has an unparalleled military presence in the world today. Figure 12 on the next page shows the presence of US troops around the globe in 2002. In between 2001-2003 it was estimated that there were 730 US military bases and installations in 50 countries. The United States Military is considered the most powerful military in the world because their power projection capabilities are maintained significantly higher than any other nation or organization. According to [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_budget\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_budget_of_the_United_States) the United States has military personnel deployed in numerous countries around the world. Some of the largest contingents are: Germany, South Korea, Japan, Italy, and the UK. In addition, as of early 2006, nearly 150,000 US troops are deployed in the Middle East, with Qatar having the largest US air force base outside of the US. The United States armed forces are the second largest in the world after China, with a strength of 2.26 million personnel (including reserves). The United States also has a sizable nuclear arsenal of about 10,000 nuclear weapons.

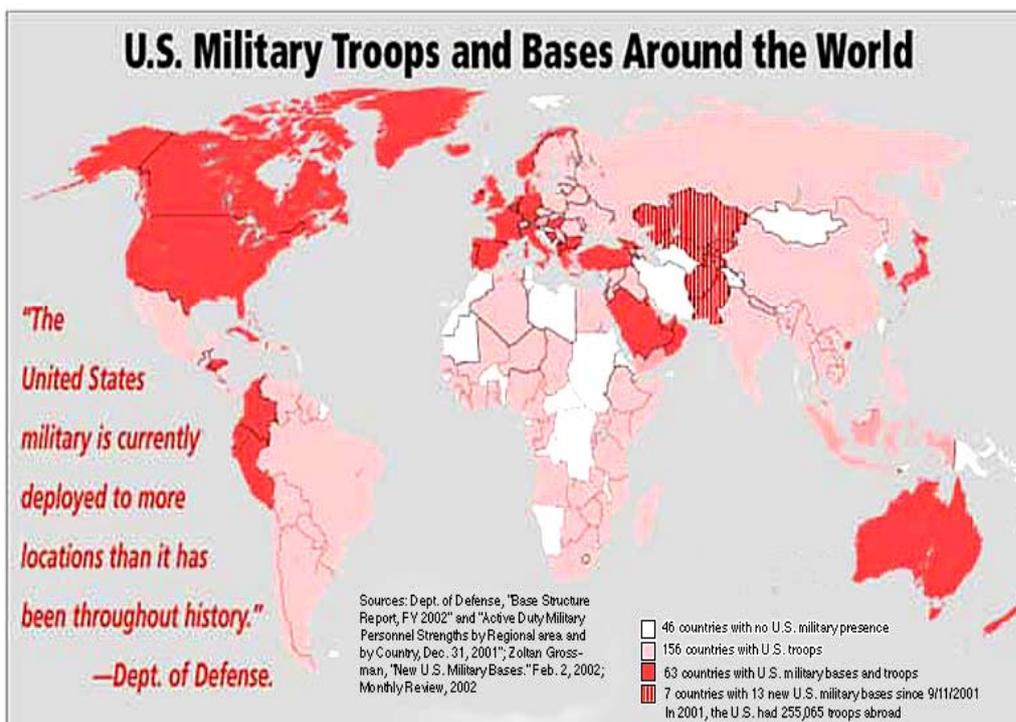


Figure 12. US Military Troops and Bases Around the World as of September, 2002  
Source: [http://www.unitedforpeace.org/downloads/military\\_map.pdf](http://www.unitedforpeace.org/downloads/military_map.pdf)

With the influx of hundreds and even thousands of US and UK servicemen comes a vast and complex support system that makes it unnecessary for the armed forces personnel to integrate with the surrounding culture. US style supermarkets and other services are put in place to furnish all the comforts of home away from home for the members of the military who are often accompanied by their families. They bring their own communications and electronic entertainment systems like the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, which broadcast, through a network of local stations all over the world (Crystal, 2003, p. 98). The military brings its own culture and language with them and this has an impact on the local culture that surrounds their bases. This impact is cultural, monetary, and linguistic in nature.

The United States is also the top producer of arms in the world (<http://www.caat.org.uk/>, 2005). Britain is in 4<sup>th</sup> place and Canada is 6<sup>th</sup>. The arms industry is a massive global industry. Military sales account for about 18 percent of the US national budget, a larger proportion than of any other nation. With the sales of these weapons to foreign countries with friendly regimes go UK and US military experts who train people how to use these weapons, in like manner, so do arms sold by Canadian weapons producers. The language used in the training process is usually English.

Military personnel in the host country learn English so they can communicate with the English-speaking servicemen and to communicate with military advisers sent to train them in weapons usage. While my wife and I were teaching in Japan, she taught Japanese servicemen from the Japanese Self-Defense Force. They were sent to learn English by their government so they could communicate with their US allies. English language training programs for host country personnel are in place wherever the UK and US have a military presence.

The Shah's Iran was heavily involved with the US military along with its arms sales and its language-training program as illustrated by this letter taken from the TESL-EJ Forum dated June 2002, which is quoted in full:

Ted Riordan, Debrecen, Hungary  
< [trirdan@ENGA.KLTE.HU](mailto:trirdan@ENGA.KLTE.HU) >

I hate to admit it, but in the 26 years that I have taught ESL/EFL I have been a linguistic imperialist. Not all the time mind you, not even most of the time, but I have accepted jobs that have in their methods, reading choices, and control of the teachers a purposeful aspect of English linguistic imperialism.

What do I mean by that? It means that the educational organization that I was working for, and many hundreds of my teaching colleagues at the time, had the express goal of using the English language to modify the culture! This included the integrated series of texts adopted from the States, the set practice of teaching in the classroom, the method of regular supervision, the use of audio-lingual system completely centered on the teacher, a fixed series of tests given each Friday, a lockstep of movement through the series of texts based on the test/quiz results, a required teacher training program of 6 weeks duration that instilled the fixed and regulated teaching classroom process, a series of readings that extolled the virtues of the USA and the western culture (in some cases virtues that were inimical to the culture and religion of the local culture), a student body that was assigned to the school and were ordered to complete the course in a fixed amount of time, discipline in the class was backed with the possibility of time in jail, weekly failure of course work just meant that the students were put back into the following class and had to do that week over again, etc. In short, a nightmare...but the pay and benefits were excellent. Where was this? Iran...the Shah's Iran. I worked for the Imperial Iranian Air Force Language Training Command. You may say that this experience was special, that the students were volunteers to the military. No...I'm afraid I have to disabuse you...military service was required. The material and system used in the Imperial Air Force came from the US Air Force's Language Training Command located in Lackland, Texas. The reason for this purchase, adaptation and adoption of this language training system was because the Iranian airforce structure, inventory system, pilot training, aircraft, radar, electronics, weapons, all came from the USA.

The US Airforce structure and its language training system were adapted by the Iranian government to "westernize" the COUNTRY. This was a basic element in the Shah's White Revolution. To carry this out, hundred's of English teachers were hired from English speaking countries. In the end almost 40,000 Americans were employed in Iran to carry out various elements of the White Revolution. Did we know at the time what we were being hired for? No. Where did I find out about this job? The TESOL Job Placement service.

A footnote to this linguistic Imperialism; one of the first military sites to rise up in revolution against the Shah in 1979 was the main school and command center of the Language Training Command in Tehran at Doshan Tappeh Air Base. Cadets and students from this base were the first group of military personnel who met with Ayatollah Khomeini and vowed support to the revolution. And a sad note, one of the best and kindest English teachers at the school was killed in the fighting in Tehran at that time.

What's to be learned from this? Be careful who you work for. Do some investigation as to the history and goals of the school you hope to work with. And finally, linguistic imperialism is well and thriving in the world today. [-13-]

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(All typo-errors are found in the original eDocument)

The new political reality after Sept 11 and the neoconservative movement in the US gives every indication that this spread of US forces worldwide will not diminish. As Zakaria (2002, p. 2) points out “America was attacked because it is the master of the modern world, deploying its economic, political, and military powers across the globe. Because America is "No. 1," it is also target No. 1. The immediate effect of the attacks, however, has been a reassertion of American dominance.” It has been clearly stated by the current administration in Washington that the United States will do whatever it takes to maintain and protect US military, political, and economic interests. It also presumably means maintaining the dominance of English globally. In the next section, we will see that this is done through both military and civilian education programs by the US and UK governments.

#### 5.7 Education: Active Government Promotion of English Internationally

Education is one way a dominant group exports its beliefs, values and language to ensure its interests are extended and maintained. In this regard, US military and governmental institutions actively promote the spread of English worldwide. In like manner, the UK government also promotes English through the British Council.

The US military not only actively promotes US political and military interests around the world but also the English language through IMET. IMET or International Military Education and Training program is implemented by the Defence Department and directed by the Department of State, and is a key component of US national security and foreign policy. In 2004 it had a budget of 92 million dollars.

One of its objectives, felt to be the most important is to build positive defence relationships between civilian and military officials from the United States and other countries through the exchange of views and values, in order to develop mutual respect and understanding at both a professional and a personal level (Bloomfield, 2004, p. 1). This is done through English training programs designed to help allies with their defence capabilities, national security, and in carrying out multi-operations, training officers in international leadership and training military and technical personnel; as well as training civilian personnel that include legislators, officials, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and those working in defence establishments. Courses are taught in English and there is a mandatory English language proficiency requirement.

Comment [NM14]: Where does this quote start?

IMET's mandatory English proficiency establishes a baseline of communication skills necessary for students to attend and perform well in courses. These courses also help build rapport and establish a common basis for communication between students from many different countries. In Afghanistan and elsewhere, mobile education training teams have conducted English language training programs to prepare those countries' students for studies in the United States. As English is the basic language of international peacekeeping, these language skills further enhance the ability of countries to participate in United Nations and other multinational operations. (Bloomfield, 2004, p. 3)

Since 1985 the IMET's National Defense University Fellows Program has trained 471 international officers, of whom 25 have gone on to become heads of state, ambassadors, ministers of defense, chiefs of their services, or senior participants in U.N. peacekeeping efforts.

Another example of US government sponsored and funded programs in English were the US Information Agency's English based programs. Within the US its work was:

often masked by the institutions it work(ed) with--Fulbright/CIES, IIE, and NAFSA in the U.S.--or unacknowledged because of generic names like American Cultural Centers and binational centers overseas. But for nearly 50 years the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) ...provided support and direction for English teaching resources, first to students, and then, as the profession matured, to teachers who sought better guidance, training, and materials. Long before the Berlin Wall fell, USIA was active in most East European countries. Throughout Latin America countless thousands learned English in the 1950s and 60s at binational centers which were... down to only 300 or so in number (in 1999)  
(<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/E-USIA/education/engteaching/eal-faq.htm>, 1999, p. 1)

The US Information Agency produced the most widely distributed publication in the ELT profession. It helped publish the English Teaching Forum, which was distributed in 185 counties. It offered prospective ESL/EFL teachers advice about working overseas. Through its English Language Programs Division it offered three exchange programs:

1. the English Teaching Fellow (ETF) program administered by the School for International Training
2. the Eastern Europe/NIS EFL Fellow program that placed EFL/ESP teacher trainers in different countries
3. the English Language Specialist program, which sent American EL Specialists to 37 countries.

Comment [NM15]: Go to these 3 web sites!!! Check them thoroughly!!!

The US Information Agency also produced radio and television programs that taught English. They were:

- VOA – voice of America radio programming
- Crossroads Café – a TV broadcast to all of Latin America
- Family Album, USA – a joint project between USIA and Prentice Hall Regents broadcast to 70 countries

It also produced a wide variety of low cost English teaching and reference material through the English Language Program Division of USIA. The Programs Branch of the English Language Program Division was responsible for US government English teaching support activities outside the US. Its material was distributed through the USIS. USIS or the United States Information Service was responsible for the overseas offices or posts of USIA. In 1999 the Agency had more than 190 posts in 141 countries.

English Language Officers (ELOs) organiz(ed) and participat(ed) in teacher training seminars and workshops, advis(ed) posts on questions pertaining to English teaching, conduct(ed) needs assessments, and offer(ed) guidance on all aspects of an academic program. ELOs consult(ed) with host-country ministry, university, and teacher-training officials, as well as lectur(ed) and present(ed) workshops on EFL methodology and practices. ELOs also work(ed) closely with USIA/USIS-related English Language Programs (Binational Centers, USIA/USIS Direct English Teaching Programs, and USIA/USIS Affiliated English Teaching Programs).

<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/E-USIA/education/engteaching/eal-elos.htm>

Some ELOs were based in Washington but the majority were posted outside the US. The field ELOs were the US government's front line diplomatic and professional link between the English teaching profession in the US and counterpart ET professionals in other countries. ELOs consulted with:

host-country ministry, university, and teacher-training officials, as well as lectur(ed) and present(ed) workshops on EFL methodology and practices; they stimulat(ed) and reinforc(ed) academic exchange programs between the United States and other countries to help interpret American life and institutions to the world; and they provid(ed) oversight for the English Teaching Programs run directly by USIS in Africa and the Middle East and engag(ed) in consultative services for Binational Centres and English teaching programs affiliated with USIS offices throughout the world. ELOs who cover(ed) several countries, i.e., a region, were referred to as RELOs (Regional English Language Officers).

<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/E-USIA/education/engteaching/eal-faq.htm>,

1999, p. 2).

The USIA and the British Council maintained a cooperative, not competitive, relationship worldwide. “Indeed, in many countries, the ELPD/USIS and the British Council/ODA were joint sponsors of a wide variety of English language projects, e.g., national English teaching conferences in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, international conferences in Senegal and Turkey, ongoing institutional co-support in Indonesia and Malaysia (to name but a few). Simply put, "cooperation" was the key word between the US and the UK” (<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/E-USIA/education/engteaching/eal-faq.htm>, 1999, p. 3)

In October 1999 the Foreign Affairs and Restructuring Act abolished the US Information Agency when its information and English education programs and exchange functions were folded into the Department of State's Bureau of Public Affairs, headed by the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs and now operates under USAID. Its broadcasting functions, including Voice of America, Radio and TV Marti as well as other US Government supported broadcasting such as Radio Free Europe (Eastern Europe) and Radio Liberty (the former Soviet Union) were consolidated as an independent entity under the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), which continues independently (as a separate entity from the State Department) today. The BBG has several language programs designed to teach and disseminate English (please see section 5.4 pages 40 and 41).

Just as the American government sponsors English language programs around the world to reinforce its dominance and secure its interests, so does the UK. The UK

spreads English around the globe through the British Council. The British Council received a core grant of 186.2 million pounds in 2005 – 2006 from the British government, and is registered as a charity but operates as an executive non-departmental public body sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Its Patron is the Queen of England and its Vice Patron the Prince of Wales. Though it operates independently of the government, ultimately the ministers from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office are responsible for it. If the Foreign Office deems that the British Council needs to open up an office in a foreign country the British Council does so even if it is not economically viable. The Secretary of State nominates two representatives from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as British Council executive officers.

Its global strategy up to 2010 is to reach “ millions more people” through on line, a range of media, and English education, and the arts. Its aim is to develop and improve perceptions and ‘greater mutual understanding’ of the UK in different countries, as well as develop stronger ties between the UK and other countries <http://www.britishcouncil.org/home.htm>.

According to Moore (2000, pp. 88-89) the British Council works in partnership with Ministries of Education, teachers, teacher trainers and publishers. It supports collaborative textbook development projects and works with BBC radio and television. It runs projects and pre-service ELT education and training through INSET and PRESET and encourages postgraduate programs in Applied Linguistics. It also helps build English Language Teaching Contracts Schemes in Eastern and

Central Europe, Western Europe, Central Asia, China and Latin America by running a global network of teaching centres. Finally it promotes British ELT services and materials. Many believe this conscious spread of English by the British Council is a form of linguistic imperialism. Indeed, this is backed up by analogies made by different commentators, the most famous being: “Once we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad, now we send English teachers” (International House brochure, 1979 cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 80).

Added to the US and UK government sponsored ELT programs is the multi-million dollar ELT publishing business, independent language schools and ELT professionals operating world-wide. These nongovernmental programs and professionals are not usually aware of the role they play in the dissemination of US and UK economic and political interests around the world. The average ELT professional is often unaware of the greater forces in which they operate and work in. Most ELT professionals teach English around the globe in order to travel, see different cultures and make a living. They are the unwitting “foot soldiers” (Cherrington, 2000, p. 361) of linguistic imperialism.

The ETL with its vast array of textbooks, dictionaries, teacher training programs, methodologies, and resources is one of the arguments that is put forward regarding the suitability of non-English speakers learning English. The resource power of English or the “what English *has* argument” is one of the arguments Phillipson (1992, p. 279) cites as an English-extrinsic argument, which is frequently linked to the inordinate cost of building up equivalent resources in other languages. He believes:

The English *has* arguments glorify English, and the resources which other languages and multilingual countries have, either made invisible or regarded as handicaps rather than riches.... It is an incontrovertible fact that English has a lot of resources, and there are clear historical reasons for this being so. The structural power of English has generated English-extrinsic resources, just as the English extrinsic resources have consolidated the structural power of English. Present-day English-extrinsic resources are a direct result of the planning papers and conferences of the decade from the mid-1950s which triggered the expansion of ELT world wide, and ensured that the agenda was decided on by the Centre (or countries traditionally associated with being English speaking, specifically the US and UK). The unequal resources of the Centre and the Periphery (non-English speaking countries) reflect the pattern of English linguistic imperialism of the past. Moreover it is the present-day imperialistic structure which perpetuates the development of English and the underdevelopment of other languages. The continued unequal allocation of resources to English prevents other languages from developing their own resources.”

(Phillipson, 1992, p. 279)

The English extrinsic argument obscures the fact many ELT resources are inappropriate for use in non-English speaking countries. Many ELT resources are designed for immigrants learning the language in the US and UK and reflect their common concerns such as how to buy a loaf of bread or rent an apartment, or they are designed for Western Europeans and reflect their morality concerning drinking and dating, and do not take into consideration other non-English learners from different cultural backgrounds or those from multilingual backgrounds whose basic needs is that the resources should reflect their own culture. And in the case of multilingual societies be allocated in their own resources.

#### 5.8 Disinterest in Learning Foreign Languages Among English Speakers

One characteristic of a dominant linguistic group is its members have no interest in learning the language of weaker groups. In this regard, many Americans and their

British counterparts show a linguistic complacency when it comes to learning foreign languages either due to poor motivation, interest, money, cultural stereotypes of other language/cultural groups (Crystal, 2003, p. 17) or lack of time.

Non-native speakers of English learn the language so they can have a voice in world affairs and attract trade. However, due to the huge economy of the US and the predominant use of English in business, science, and technology, the mass media, international organizations, tourism and travel, English speakers can operate in their own language not just at home but abroad, so why learn another language?

In January 2005 President Bush launched the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), to dramatically increase the number of Americans learning foreign languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi, Farsi, in the wake of 9/11 to counter terrorism and to increase US business competitiveness <http://www.actfl.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=4249>. Whether Bush's plan will affect the way Americans think about learning foreign languages waits to be seen. What is apparent though, is the proposed program has a long way to go in getting US citizens to speak foreign languages.

In the United States there are a limited number of K-12 long-sequence language programs that are designed to educate students linguistically and culturally to communicate successfully in the US and abroad. "Well-articulated elementary and secondary programs are still the exception rather than the rule, and intensive instruction that aims at a high level of proficiency, as outlined in the national

standards document, is scarce.” (Branaman & Rhodes, 1998). See figures 13 below and 14 on the next page for rates of foreign language learning in the US elementary and secondary schools.

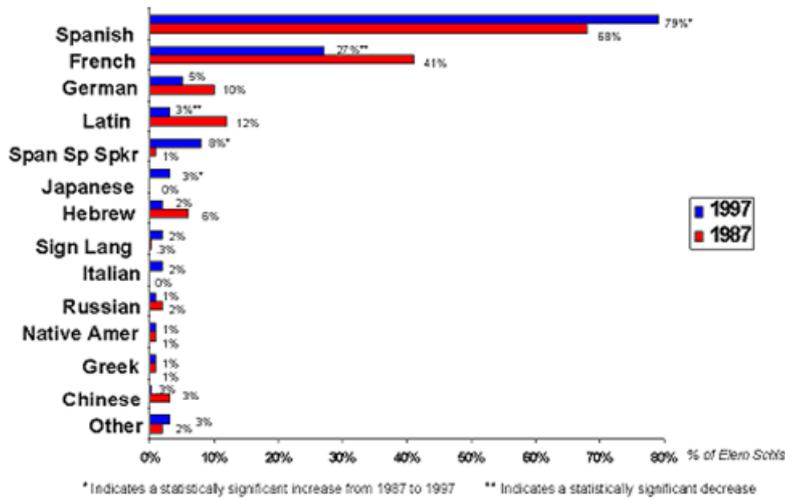


Figure 13. Elementary Schools with Foreign Language Programs that Teach Various Foreign Languages. (1987 and 1997)

Source: <http://www.cal.org/flsurvey/index.html#fig1and2>

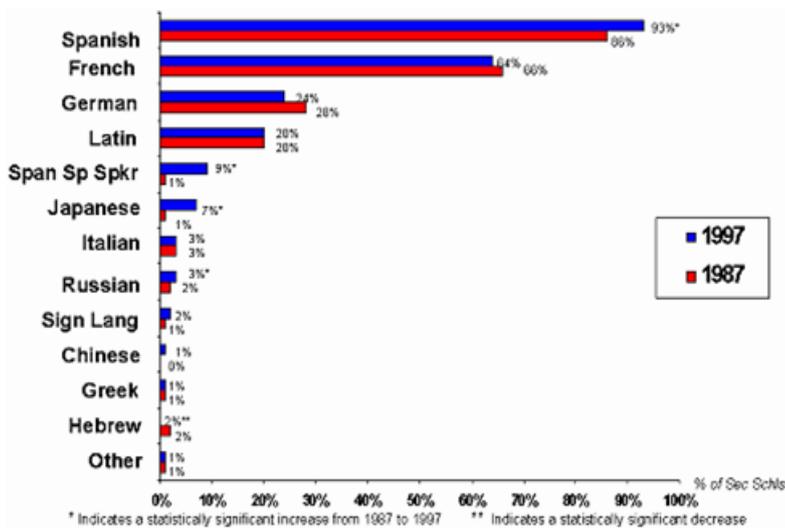


Figure 14. Secondary Schools with Foreign Language Programs that Teach Various Foreign Languages. (1987 and 1997)

Source: <http://www.cal.org/flsurvey/index.html#fig1and2>

Like their United States counterparts, Britons are also weak at speaking languages other than English.

Almost two in three Britons are unable to speak a language other than English, a survey for the European Commission showed. 62% of respondents from the UK admitted they could not speak any language other than their mother tongue. This compared with an average of 44% across the EU and just 1% in Luxembourg, the top-ranking country...About 700 people were interviewed in every EU country in November and December 2005 for the report, *Europeans and their Languages*. The survey monitored progress towards the EU target for all citizens to speak two languages in addition to their mother tongue. But the study found only 38% of Britons spoke at least one foreign language, 18% at least two, and 6% at least three. This compared with a EU average of 56% speaking at least one foreign language, 28% at least two, and 11% at least three. The survey also confirmed that English was the most widely spoken foreign language throughout Europe, with 51% of EU citizens able to hold a conversation in English. (Cassidy, 2006).

In February 2002 the ambassadors of Germany, Spain, Italy and France called for action to improve language teaching in Britain (*TES*, 15 February 2002). However this has not happened. Instead the Times Aug. 19, 2005 edition reported within the UK the number of teenagers who took French and German A levels fell in 2005 to just 14,484 pupils studying French and 5,901 studying German. The result was business leaders cautioned trade would be harmed unless the decline was reversed, since Britain would be increasingly unable to win deals abroad if the trend accelerated. But the trend has not been stopped. It was reported in the Gulf Times 20<sup>th</sup> October edition 2006 that the UK government has ordered a review of modern language teaching following “a plunge in the number of pupils taking subjects such

as French and German after they were dropped from the compulsory GCSE curriculum” for 14 year olds.

Every year, thousands of overseas students come to study in the US, UK and Australia. In fact, overseas student education accounts for one quarter of the gross national product of Australia. Non-native English speakers flock to English countries to learn the dominant world language and be educated in English speaking institutions. But the numbers for native English speaking undergraduates going overseas to study remains comparatively low because they are usually monolingual and do not have the necessary language skills. Realising this, US, UK and Australian universities are now creating joint ventures with local higher education institutions to build and operate campuses overseas that offer English education so their English speaking students can study abroad without having to learn a second language to pass their courses. Likewise, many countries are offering degrees taught in English to cater to native English speakers as well as for the demand for higher education in English (Hoare, 2006).

#### 5.9 English's Impact on Minority Languages

It is clear that the US and its ally the UK are two very dominant countries that actively promote the spread of English through direct governmental funded civilian and military language programs, as well as through their economic prowess, control of the media and communication networks, military might and political agendas. However, there is a debate as to whether English is destroying significantly weaker languages. This section looks at the impact English has on other languages both

inside and outside countries traditionally viewed as English speaking i.e., the US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Within these countries, minority and indigenous languages are under threat because they are generally not supported by those who consider English their mother tongue. Many citizens who consider English their mother tongue perceive bilingual programs that support immigrant language programs as an imposition on their right to speak English. The new amendment to the US constitution making English the official language of the US is an example of the fear many Americans feel regarding the growing political and linguistic power of Spanish speakers in the US. Even within Canada where the Charter of Rights protects French linguistic rights many English-speaking Canadians resent the special status accorded to Francophones. In turn, within immigrant groups, many do not want bilingual education programs for fear their children will not have the necessary skills to be successful in mainstream English speaking society. All this helps put pressure on minority language speakers to shift to speaking English.

Within English speaking countries, indigenous languages are also under threat from English. As noted in section 2 (on page 5) and section 3 (on page 8) Amerindian languages in North American are dying, as are Aboriginal languages in Australia. In New Zealand, bilingual and immersion programs are available for Maori speakers, as well as Maori newspapers, radio and TV channels and government speeches can spoken in Maori; however Holms (1994) points out Maori speakers are still surrounded by English media, telecommunication services, and transportation

networks that bring the group in contact with English speakers and make it increasingly difficult for the Maoris to maintain their mother tongue.

Education in English speaking nations is done predominantly in English. When foreign languages are taught they are ones that have been chosen by governments for political, economic, and military reasons such as those earmarked by the Bush administration; and the vast majority of immigrant and indigenous languages are ignored due to lack of funds and political will. Thus, inside English-speaking countries, minority languages are slowly being eroded. In a similar way outside English speaking countries English helps erode minority languages in an indirect way through the process of globalization.

As noted in chapter 3 (on page 6), globalization is a major factor in the destruction of minority languages around the world. As Sandra Henschman Navarro, a Chilean political scientist, (cited in Houghton & Bell, 2004, p. 1) points out, “Though indigenous people don’t know it, the most powerful determining factor of their destiny is the New York Stock Exchange or trans-national companies, logic of global investment.” Decisions made by English speaking executives based in the US and the UK filter down to local contractors and workers in non-English speaking countries. These groups in turn, go into indigenous people’s homelands and disrupt their traditional way of life. A language does not exist in a vacuum, but is interlaced with that cultures way of doing things, the physical landscape, the social networks of people within the group and traditional ways of livelihood. When a multinational company extracts the natural resources from indigenous land, they disrupt and

destroy that very environment which that language is imbedded, along with the indigenous social networks that it supports. The result is the indigenous group shift their language and lifestyle towards the dominant culture. And in some cases, indigenous communities, are forcibly removed en masse.

Thus, within English speaking countries, minority languages are pressured to shift to English, and they do. Outside English speaking countries the minority languages also shift, but not necessarily to English. It goes like this; the multinational corporation deals with contractors in that area of the world, who then in turn go to the target area, to carry out the wishes of the multinational corporation. It is these contractors that the indigenous group has contact with. And these contractors often speak the international language of that part of the world. And so the indigenous group shifts its language to the local international language. So what we have here is that English speaking multinational corporations destroying the language and therefore the culture of the indigenous population *indirectly*.

#### 5.10 The Impact of English on Other International Languages

What has to be asked now is what impact does English have on other international languages. English affects other international languages through the phenomena of the international language borrowing loan words from English.

Borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more words go from one side to the other. In this case the source language community has

some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings desirable and useful to the borrowing language community. (Kemmer, 2004, p. 1)

Borrowed words from English are sometimes pronounced as they are in English, but often the more widely used the borrowed word is, the more likely it is to be pronounced according to the sound system of the language that is doing the borrowing. Two examples of international languages that have borrowed largely from English are Japanese and German. Some examples of borrowed words in Japanese are; opinion page / *opinion peji*, radio / *ragio*, cigarette / *tobako*, and teenager/*tineja*. Sometimes native Japanese words are abbreviated into English, e.g., NHK standing for *Nippon-Hoso Kyokai*. By the 1950s and 60s it was estimated that 8% of Japanese vocabulary was derived from English (Higa, 1973 cited in Stanlaw, 1992, p. 183). No recent studies have been carried out, but it is this writer's opinion that the percentage of English loan words in Japan is much higher now. English loan words are common in sports, academia, the sex industry, business, and the media; as well as every day life. The following is an example of how English loan words can impact on Japanese.

We, that is the Matsumoto family, live in a *manshon* too. At this moment I am watching *beisu-booru* on *terebi*. My wife is out shopping at the *depaato*, and later she will stop at the *suupa* to get *pooku choppu*, *pan*, *bataa*, *jamu*, and perhaps some *soosji* for breakfast. My daughter has gone to the *byuchii saron* to get as *paama*. Oh, the *terehon* is ringing.  
Matsumoto (1974, p. 5) cited in Stanlaw (1992, p. 182).

German also heavily borrows from English. In *Der Spiegle* April, 1974 edition 160 words were found such as team, broker, promoter, and know how (Kahane, 1992, p. 215). Kahane (1992) points out that the acquisition of an international prestige

language is widely a class bound process, but that borrowing loan words from the same language easily become everyone's possession. He believes the diffusion of Americanisms is a process characteristic of the times in which we live and is based upon US domination in mass media, such as press, film, television, advertising, commercials, which all spread the prestige of "Americaness" and the prestige of Americaness is linguistically transformed into Americanisms (Kahane, 1992, p. 215) and is found in the linguistic fields of mass media, pop art, economics, business, consumer society, technology, and the life style of the young. British loan words are also present in European languages and in some cases like Italy are more frequent than loan words from the US. Hartman cited Filipovic (1996) estimates that an average contact between English and a European language results in 1500 to 2000 Anglicisms or loan words of English origin.

As well as the use of English loan words there is the rise of New Englishes. These languages combine the native language and English. Some examples of the new forms of Englishes that are currently evolving are Chinglish, Spanish, and Hinglish. They are part of the new forms of English as an international language that are taking route. They cannot be separated from the current rise of ELT to primary speakers that is taking place within non-English speaking countries, as these countries elite try to educate their children in the dominant language of their time (Graddol, 2000). Whether these new linguistic forms will slowly move towards standardized English or will break off into new linguistic forms waits to be seen. However, their rise has been sighted by some scholars and linguistics as the beginning of the end for the present ETL industry.

English will not retain its predominance on the world stage in the long run- just as Latin could not, once the Roman Empire collapsed. Linguistic dominance like power is never a given, but ultimately shifts and changes given enough time as different cultural groups rise and fall. But as it is now, English is the dominant world language and as such is influencing other languages.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, language dominance is a social and linguistic phenomenon that has a long history. It occurs when two culturally different groups interact with each other and one assumes dominance. In this unequal equation the dominant group abrogates power over the weaker group and exports its language and culture, and eventually its institutions, political and economic structures and communication networks. The dominant language is associated with the prestige, socio-economic success and military superiority of its speakers. Consequently, the dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of the weaker group. Instead, it uses its own language to control the group or groups with less power and resources, increasingly pressuring them to adopt its language and culture. In time, the weaker group will shift their language over to the dominant group and eventually, if left unchecked; the first language of the weaker group will die.

Phillipson feels that these processes of language dominance, language shift, which ends in language death are the main processes behind the phenomenon of linguistic imperialism. He based this on the old model of colonization. But this writer feels that linguistic imperialism doesn't have to start with the meeting between a more powerful group and one of lesser strength. It can also occur when two different cultural groups of equal status interact and form an alliance based on trade or law. This alliance changes the dynamic of the situation for both of these groups and from this new dynamic one group incrementally gains more power than the other and

ultimately this situation ends in language and cultural dominance, shift, and death, the hallmarks of linguistic imperialism.

Language dominance and its resulting language shift and death are traditionally associated with indigenous language groups, immigrants and people of the Diasporas. Inter-marriage, education in the dominant language, immigration, persecution, destruction of traditional homelands, and demographics are some of the factors that help the spread of a dominant language. The Neolithic period and the era of colonization in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific were the largest historical examples of language dominance that resulted in language shift and death. Today, the world is in the middle of a third great wave of language dominance and linguistic imperialism – globalization. Scientists estimate that of the 6,000 – 8,000 languages in the world, most are spoken by less than a few thousand individuals. It is these lesser-used languages that are threatened with language extinction. Linguists estimate that at least half and probably nearer to three-quarters of these languages will be lost by the end of the century. Crystal (2003, p. 20) labelled this loss of linguistic diversity as “an intellectual and social tragedy”.

Language dominance is a local phenomenon, but when it happens on a global or international scale it can be viewed as a form of linguistic imperialism because the spread of the dominant language is tied up with spread of other imperialistic structures and the creation of hegemony. Linguistic imperialism is a term found only in the liberal paradigm and concerns the relationship between dominant and dominated cultures and specifically the way language learning is promoted. Central to linguistic imperialism is the notion of ideology and persuasion and relates to

hegemony. The rise of any dominant language on an international or global scale is the result of the active promotion by the dominant group through its economic and political structures, and the spreading of its culture, beliefs, and values. Crucial to this process is the internalization of the dominant group's worldview and agenda by others and is based upon global power.

Currently, there is a uni-multipolar power structure operating in the world, which is a hybrid that consists of one superpower, and several major players. In terms of linguistic dominance German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Hindi, Urdu, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Arabic are all dominant linguistic and cultural groups. However, English is the major global language of the times because within the existing power structure, the US is the sole superpower.

The US and its ally the UK promote and spread English both directly and indirectly. This spread of English can be seen as a form of linguistic imperialism as these two countries spread their economic, political and military influence around the world.

This thesis has examined how and why these two countries carry out their language policies both inside and outside their borders. This thesis has also pointed out that when their language policies that promote mono-lingualism are carried out inside their borders it can best be called language dominance but as soon as these processes move beyond the borders of these two countries it becomes linguistic imperialism. It was noted that linguist imperialism is a subset of language dominance.

The spread of the English language by these two powers is performed both directly and indirectly through the prestige associated with their speakers, their global economic dominance, the spread of US Western culture through marketing of products, the domination of mass communication networks by their media organizations and the wide spread use of English on the Internet aid in the conscious and unconscious dissemination of US ideals and values. Added to this is the vast global military network of the US and to a lesser extent, the UK, the active promotion of English by the US and UK military through English language based training programs and arms instruction, and the active promotion of English through US and UK government ELT training programs, the creation of ELT materials, and support for the ELT profession. All these groups and programs, help define these countries as dominant cultural groups that actively spread their language.

This successful global dissemination of the English language resulted in a belief by the citizens of the US and the UK that English can be used easily both home and abroad. This perception in turn, has created an indifference to learning a language other than English in these two countries, which has led to the poor learning rates of foreign languages among native English speakers. Indifference to learning a second language by members of a dominant group is a characteristic of language dominance.

English is not only the international language of our times, but it has a major impact upon other languages. Within Canada, the US, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand, immigrant and indigenous languages shift and die because there is no political will or funds put aside to save them. Outside these countries, indigenous languages are

dying because of the process of globalization and the role trans-national corporations, which are largely US and UK based, are playing in this process.

English is also impacting international languages with English loan words peppering the vocabulary of foreign dialogues everywhere. Furthermore, there are new hybrid languages developing. Chinglish and Hinglish are two examples of these new forms of English, which are sprouting from the vast movement of English globally. Whether these new linguistic forms will slowly move towards standardized English or will break off into new linguistic forms waits to be seen. However, their rise has been cited by some scholars and linguistics as the beginning of the end for the present ETL industry.

As for linguistic imperialism, the spread of English globally can be viewed in terms of the use of persuasion put forward to encourage non-native speakers to learn English. Some of the philosophical arguments that are put forward are the innate superiority of the English language, which equates English with bounty and other languages with want, and the myth that non-native speakers will participate in the worldwide community of English speakers if they speak the language.

This worldwide community is a mythical idea, which 'requires a committed feat of the imagination' (Anderson, 1983) in a very similar way that a sense of nationalism is forged. All communities, possibly even the smallest village are imagined. And like the mass delusion of Nationalism, the community of English is conjured up in the human mind. To the writer, this is a profound idea that seems both obvious and yet

somehow forbidden to express seriously in print. Like the Emperor, who being too feared to be ridiculed, is still naked, nationhood and the community of English is a shared illusion. We see maps with imaginary lines drawn and the land on either side of those imaginary lines colored according to the four-color map theory. But in reality, there are no lines drawn on the ground and the grass or sand on both sides of these imaginary lines is the same color. The 'Community of English' has the same dubious reality.

Another form of persuasion is the use of carrots or bargaining persuasion arguments, which promise access to huge American markets and industrialization. A more heavy-handed form of persuasion is the use of sticks or fear to force weaker groups to learn English. The IMF and World Bank, which are both US creations, use the threat of withholding aid and loans unless the necessary English education and business structures are put in place. Finally, the English extrinsic argument that points to the vast and rich resources of the ELT profession is often used. These resources can take the form of books, audio or videotapes and computer applications. But under close scrutiny these resources are often not appropriate for, or are in some cases, even offensive to the target cultures that they are supposed to help.

Having people speak and know English is essential for the US because as Rothkop points out, it is in the economic, political and cultural interests of the US to maintain its present dominance world-wide and English is directly linked with this dominance.

The future of English is not assured. Languages rise and fall. At present English is a dominant language globally but as other powers rise, English will diminish as people learn languages that are more economically beneficial for them. With the economic rise of China and India the present power of the US and UK is unlikely to continue in their present form. As China and India become increasingly powerful it is most likely that they will become the next promoters of their language and the next linguistic imperialists.

Until this happens, English, and to a lesser extent, other international languages, will continue to grow and will take a major part in the death of other smaller languages. It is this writer's hope that this thesis will clarify a number of issues:

- a better understanding of the destructive side of the global spread of English
- an enhanced awareness of the military, economic and political structures and systems that facilitate its spread
- a greater grasp of the history of language dominance and linguistic imperialism especially in regards to current global spread of English

And after reflecting upon these issues, I hope the ELT professional will try to answer these questions:

- How can teachers and other ELT professionals alter the entire language teaching process, from curriculum development to teaching in the classroom to help them in lessening the destructive side of English's global spread?
- How can this altered language teaching process enhance rather than destroy smaller languages along with their culture, while creating a lingua franca for the people of the world to use for their own benefit?

These questions have been briefly considered in this thesis but will be looked into with greater detail in further writings that will be on the World Wide Web at:

<http://www2.gol.com/users/bishop/>

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