

An Analysis of the Ideological Import of Internationally and Locally-Developed ELT Textbooks Widely Used in Iran

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Abstract

This research set out to examine the ideological import of a) a selection of internationally-distributed ELT textbooks to find out whether a recurrent ideological pattern could be observed in these books and b) the ELT books used in Iranian high schools to see if the ideological import of these books was different from that of the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks. To this end, the theory and procedures of critical discourse analysis (CDA), as expounded by Fairclough (1989), were applied to conversations in these textbooks and three dimensions of meaning – the social relations of textbook characters, their subject positions, and the content of the texts – were categorized and statistically analyzed. The analysis revealed that the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks tend to represent a particular discourse type – the discourse of Western economy and consumer society. Moreover, in the locally-produced ELT materials, due to the absence of certain topics and features, the preparation of the High school books appears to have been influenced by post-revolution norms and standards.

Key words: CDA, Ideology, Materials development, ELT textbooks

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 60 years the spread of the English language throughout the world has become one of the central facts of education (Giaschi, 2000). English has, to a large degree, established itself as the most important language in the world. The number of people studying English and the number of functions that English serves attest to its significance.

According to Crystal (2003), 85% of international organizations in the world make official use of English, at least 85% of world's film market is in English and some 90% of published academic articles in some academic fields are written in English. English has spread as an international language through the development of a particular expert community, which guarantees specialist communication within global expert communities (Widdowson, 1997).

Within this context, competence in English is viewed as a tool for inclusion into certain global realms, and consequently, perceived as a desirable asset. The means to this end – competence in English – is English language teaching (ELT), which is ideally supposed to be natural, neutral, and beneficial. Yet, concerns have been raised about this common assumption (Pennycook, 1995).

It is, therefore, important for English language educators to come to grips with the social, economic, cultural, and linguistic consequences of the global spread of English. There has been much debate about the desirability and impact of the spread of English (e.g., Berns et al., 1999; Pakir, 1999; and Phillipson, 1999). The spread of English has its strong critics such as Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), who view global English as a means of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) or even genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). In the same vein, Pennycook (1994, p. 3), metaphorically speaking, asserts that “once Britannia ruled the waves, now it is English which rules them; the British empire has given way to the empire of English”. Interpreting the role of English in today's world, White (1997) comments that individuals are seen in “the role of helpless and largely unconscious victims of a linguistic hegemony in which they are persuaded to connive” (p. 6). Swales (1998), too, believes that we live in a ‘linguistically-skewed’ world.

However, others such as Crystal (1999) take a more balanced view pointing out the advantage of a lingua franca. At the same time, he expresses concern about linguistic diversity. Warschaur (2000) takes the position that English is neither good or bad, nor is it neutral. He adds that to declare that English is unequivocally harmful or beneficial is to deny the human agency which shapes how English is used in different circumstances (ibid.). As Pennycook (1995) points out, English carries a

set of ideologies, values, and norms based on the history of its development and use.

Hence, English language teaching is in the forefront when it comes to questions of value and ideology. Language teaching is carried out against different cultural backgrounds and thus can not avoid questions of value. Indeed, the role of language teaching in general education is a 2000-year-old problem (Stubbs, 2000). We need to know what role the English teaching profession plays in promoting the 'rules' of English and the 'rule' of English. This way of looking at language has developed into what is now called critical language analysis.

CDA and ELT

Critical language analysis (CDA), simply defined by Widdowson (2000), is the uncovering of implicit ideology in texts. It explores underlying ideological bias and, therefore, the exercise of power in texts. In other words, critical discourse analysis and critical language education are concerned, *inter alia*, with the interests and ideologies underlying the construction and interpretation of textbooks. Some have engaged in the critical analysis of curriculum designs which assumes that "institutions are hierarchical and that those at the bottom are often entitled to more power than they have" (Benesch, 1996:725). Critical language studies seek areas where greater equality might be achieved. Elsewhere, Benesch (in Pennycook, 2002) asserts that current conditions should be integrated in the interests of greater equality and democratic participation in and out of educational institutions. In order to study power and its abuse it is, therefore, crucial to understand how exactly powerful groups and institutions manage and express their knowledge in public discourse (van Dijk, 2002).

Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) have applied critical language studies to ELT. They have adopted the view that language is not a politically neutral tool of communication. Their work gives a broad overview, with a historical and political perspective, of the emergence of English as a global language. Both scholars stress that it is no accident that English has risen to prominence in the world. This end was the goal of British and American government projects to spread English along

with military and economic power as once John Adam, a former US president, declared, “English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French in the present age” (quoted in Kachru, 1982, p. 229).

Applying procedures of CDA to English language studies, Tollefson (1991) suggests that the researchers need to analyze the context of education with an eye to the macrocontext, i.e. the social context. In other words, a historical-structural approach should be adopted. In this approach, Tollefson (ibid) argues, language policy is seen as one mechanism whereby the interests of dominant sociopolitical groups are maintained and the seeds of transformation are developed so the major goal of research is to examine the historical basis of policies and to make explicit the mechanisms by which policy decisions serve or undermine particular political and economic interests. This view is contrasted with the traditional prevailing framework in the literature of language education called ‘neoclassical approach’. Tollefson (1991) claims that the premises of this approach are articles of faith which extend throughout the social sciences. They form the foundation of research in areas ranging from learner motivation to supply side economics. These assumptions, which amount to an ideology, are:

that the key to understanding social systems is the individual; that differences between sociopolitical systems are the result of the cumulative effect of individual decisions; that individual decisions are predictable but free; and that the proper focus of social research is analysis of individual decisions (p.26).

Tollefson concludes that the neoclassical approach is inadequate to account for the underlying forces which have given rise to the inequalities in the education system. Given that CDA has had little impact on ELT, account should be taken of the historical and structural effects that bring a particular discourse into being.

Knowing that critical discourse analysis is, in general, concerned with the situated use of language in certain sociocultural contexts and assuming that such use of language is, in fact, the cristalization of a certain ideology, it would be of interest to find out if those involved in

materials development for language learners follow consistently any certain ideology, or if ideology has ever been of concern to materials developers. So, this research sought to find out whether a recurrent ideological pattern could be discovered in a selection of internationally-distributed ELT textbooks and whether English books taught in Iranian High schools were any different from those textbooks in terms of ideology. What follows is a description of the model of analysis applied to these books and the results obtained.

METHOD

Corpus

The internationally-distributed ELT textbooks selected for analysis are listed below. The rationale for the selection will follow:

- 1) Molinsky, S. and Bliss, B. (1997). *Expressways 4*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents.
- 2) Frankel, I., et al. (1996). *New American Streamline: Destination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 3) Richards, J. (1998). *New Interchange 3*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 4) Warshawsky, D. and Byrd, D. R. H. (1994). *Spectrum4*. Englewoodcliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.

The criteria for the selection were:

- a) These textbooks all represent upper-intermediate four-skill communicative textbooks. Such books diminish the possibility of simplifying linguistic features for the learner.
- b) They adopt American English. This choice was made just to avoid confusion with British English. In other words, the choice was made just for consistency.
- c) They show a strong presence on the market. They are in their second or third edition (e.g., the second edition of *New Interchange*, 2000). Some are written by well-known applied linguists like Jack C. Richards.
- d) They have been published by internationally popular, leading publishers like Cambridge University Press or Oxford University Press.

The the locally-produced ELT textbooks, High school English books, are as follows:

1. Birjandi, P. et al. (1993). *English Book 1*. Tehran: Iran Publications.
2. Birjandi, P. et al. (1994). *English Book 2*. Tehran: Iran Publications.
3. Birjandi, P. et al. (1994). *English Book 3*. Tehran: Iran Publications.
4. Birjandi, P. et al. (1995). *A Preparatory English Course*. Tehran: Iran Publications.

Model of Analysis

The framework within which the analysis was done is an adaptation of Fairclough's 1989 model of critical discourse analysis, which itself is a practical application of Halliday's (1985) systemic-functional grammar (SFG) to the analysis of texts. As expounded by Halliday, SFG incorporates the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language into the interpretation of texts and sentence constituents. Founded on this theory, this model of analysis, when applied to the selected texts, examines *contents*, *social relations*, and *subject positions* in ELT textbooks to reveal the ideology and power relationships which are perpetuated by them.

By *contents*, as one dimension of meaning, is meant the text producer's knowledge and beliefs or, as put by Fairclough (1989), one's experience of the social or natural world. Within the context of this research the topics of discussion such as quitting smoking, or hunting for an apartment were enumerated as instances of contents. *Relations* refers to the social relationships enacted via the text like wife-husband or advertiser-customer. And *subject positions* is used to refer to the social identity of interactants such as employer or secret agent.

These dimensions of meaning and the values they denote are represented below. Figure 1. shows how linguistic features relate to dimensions of meaning and structural effects. As shown in the diagram, the conventional use of linguistic features imposes and reflects constraints on the three categories of structural effects.

Dimensions of Meaning	Values of Features	Structural Effects
Contents	Experiential	knowledge and beliefs
Relations	Relational	social relations
Subjects	Expressive	social identities

Figure 1. Formal features: experiential, relational, and expressive values (Fairclough, 1989)

It is essential to examine the three dimensions of meaning—social relations, subject positions, and content— because these aspects relate to the features of language and structural effects. To illustrate how the analysis of socio-cultural factors as well as the textual strategies or actual language devices help us expose the social inequality constituted through language use, Fairclough (1989, p. 46) makes the following points about a dialog between a medical intern and a doctor as depicted below:

In terms of *contents*, the student is required to conduct an examination according to a learned routine, operating (*relations*) in a professional relationship to his audience and a subordinate relationship to the doctor, and occupying (*subjects*) the subject position of (aspirant) doctor as well as student.

As observed by Fairclough, in this dialog the doctor uses a number of a) interruptions to control the contributions of the student; b) negative questions, which in this case mean, ‘I assume you are making a claim which is surely wrong’; c) reduced questions which sound to be abrupt and curt and remind the interactants who is in power; and d) declarative sentences with question tags whose effect, in this case, is rather like that of negative questions. In addition to such direct constraints, the powerful participant constrains the non-powerful participant indirectly by selecting the discourse type.

Procedures

A broad statistical survey of all the dialogs in the selected textbooks was done to classify the dimensions of meaning, as enumerated above, into a comprehensible set of data. In other words, the number of occurrences of each aspect of meaning; that is, content, relation, and subject position,

Relations in selected textbooks as a whole

The figures in Table 1. below reveal the significant pattern of relations in all the textbooks as a whole. It can be seen that *friends* is by far the most common relation portrayed with 52 occurrences noted, double the number for the second most common relation i.e. customer-service provider. This can be indicative of the emphasis that conversation analysis puts on conversations between social equals, which appear to “describe discourse as it might be in a better world rather than discourse as it is” (Fairclough, 1989:10). This conception has often been transferred to ELT materials which are normally produced by the same people involved in applied linguistics research.

Table 1. Relations in the textbooks as a whole

	Relations	No. of Occurrence	% of total
1	-friends	52	16.7
2	-customer-service provider	26	8.4
3	-colleagues	25	8.0
4	-supervisor-subordinate	17	5.4
5	-interviewer-interviewee	17	5.4
6	-family members	15	4.8
7	-wife-husband	10	2.2
8	-students	8	2.6
9	-consumer-seller	7	2.3
10	-reporter-audience	7	2.3
11	-neighbors	7	2.3
12	-employer-employee	6	1.9
13	-citizens	5	1.6
	Total	202	64.9
	-Relations less than 5	109	35.1

The second most common relation is *customer-service provider* with 26 occurrences, which highlights the importance placed upon the service industry and social skills training (SST). As was the case with *friends*, the relation is idealized to be free of conflicts and disagreements.

The same can be said of the third place category, *colleagues*, with 25 occurrences noted. As with *friends*, one is interacting with social equals, but as with *customer - service provider*, one is also being positioned to play a productive role in the economy. So, certain norms of interaction are portrayed for how to function agreeably in the workplace and be a team member.

This comment applies also to the fourth place *supervisor - subordinate* category and the twelfth place *employer-employee* category in their concern with workplace interaction, yet there is the added dimension of inequality in these relations.

However, the inequality is rarely addressed in these interactions, and this reiterates the point regarding the trend to conceal inequality in discourse. Fairclough's (1989) studies of actual micro-discourses between doctors and interns, police and citizens, and so on reveal how powerful participants exercise power through the conventions of discourse. Once relations, subjects and contents are established, there are observable constraints on such things as turn taking, who can ask questions, who can interrupt, and forms of address, among many other possibilities. But, ELT textbooks make little attempt to make learners aware of such issues as dialog management strategies like turn taking or to even equip them with the verbal self-defence skills needed to deal with various forms of infringement of their wishes.

In addition, relations are portrayed in dialogues that are often short and de-contextualized. Anonymous characters appear and vanish quickly in contexts lacking a plot or narrative. It appears that the medium is being colonized by the discourse of the mass media advertising and sound bites.

The *interviewer-interviewee* relation, with seventeen occurrences, about a third of the most frequent relation, is curious because this relation would appear to have little basis in reality at all. The relation emulates the man-on-the-street interview common in television and radio news. This demonstrates the point that the individual is positioned to accept certain relations by the fact that they are presented as normal occurrences. In this case the individual accepts the premise that one willingly offers frank opinions on almost any subject to anyone who asks for them.

Comments about the remaining categories are similar to what has preceded. The sixth place category, *family members*, the seventh, *wife - husband*, the eighth, *students*, the eleventh, *neighbors*, and the thirteenth, *citizens* are all examples of interaction between social equals, and thus comments which can be made about them are similar to the category *friends*.

The ninth category, *consumer - seller*, is similar to *customer - service provider*, but it is interesting to consider how much less frequently the former occurs. More emphasis is placed on the exchange of services and the SST (social skills training).

Subject positions

The subject positions for all the interactants in all the conversations in each textbook were listed and tallied, then they were placed in three general categories: occupational, societal, and commercial. In each of these categories the subjects are listed in groups according to their frequency of occurrence with the percentage for each category in each individual textbook and also in all the textbooks, hence providing a general picture of the subject positions as used in all the textbooks (see Table 2).

Table 2. Subject Positions in the selected textbooks

Textbooks	Societal		Commercial		Occupational	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New Interchange ³	8	47	3	17.6	6	35.4
New American	32	27.8	14	12.2	69	60
Streamline						
Spectrum ⁴	8	17	9	19.1	30	63.9
Expressways 4	37	38.1	13	13.4	47	48.5
Total	85	30.8	39	14.1	152	55.1

As can be seen, there is a heavy emphasis on positioning the language learner within the market economy. If occupational and commercial subject positions are grouped under the more general category *market subject*, it accounts for 69% of all subject positions portrayed. This means little concern is given for the role the language learner might play in cultural institutions such as teams, clubs, festivals, schools, or political

parties. Even when non-market subjects are portrayed, they are often subordinate to market activity.

Table 3. The frequency of content categories in individual textbooks and in all textbooks as a whole

Category	% all textbooks	% NI	% Exp	% Spc	% AmS
1. cultural contrasts, festivals, customs	7.4	14.3	9.1	13.8	4.9
2. entertainment, human interest stories, discussion starters (trivial to social issues)	27.1	26.8	6.1	27.7	40.2
3. occupational	17.3	19.6	24.2	5.6	14.6
4. consumer-oriented	18.1	8.9	25.8	8.4	20.7
5. (inter)personal, introspective, ineractional	30.1	30.4	34.8	44.5	19.5

NI (New Interchange3), Exp (Expressways 4), Spc (Spectrum 4), AmS (New American Streamline: Destination)

Contents

The individual topics treated in each textbook are enumerated in Appendices B to F. However, to get a clear idea about the general pattern of contents in each textbook and in all textbooks in general, these contents were classified into five general categories as mentioned above. The percentage of each category for all the textbooks is presented in column 2 Table 3 and for each individual textbook in the related column. A short discussion of the contents in each individual textbook and in all textbooks follows.

Contents in individual textbooks

Expressways 4

Expressways 4 is a book that appears to be designed for a learner with integrative goals. In this book categories 3 (occupational) and 4 (consumer-oriented) make up 50% of the contents, depicting situations which an immigrant or long-term resident would be confronted with while beginning to live in a new language community. The situations include, in the authors' terms, "relevant contexts in community, school, employment, home and social settings" (Molinsky and Bliss 1997: x). However, similar to all other textbooks, category 5 (interpersonal, introspective, interactional) still makes up a significant portion of the

contents. Furthermore, this book is described as “a comprehensive 4-level course for learners of English” (Molinsky and Bliss 1997:ix), denying any specification for integrative learners.

Additionally, in spite of the effort to provide practical material for the integrative learner, one may still ask what the underlying ideology of such an attempt is. An effort has been made to engage the learner in discussions of workers’ and citizens’ rights under the law. One lesson; for instance, (Molinsky and Bliss, 1997:100) presents ways to appropriately correct superiors and assert oneself at work. However, the mode of interaction is prescribed, with the interaction constrained in length and left unexplored after the subordinate’s initial assertion. For example, no suggestion is given as to how the subordinate might handle the encounter if the superior responded negatively to the subordinate’s assertiveness.

The comments above demonstrate a point mentioned before about social skills training (SST) which includes a concealment of inequality in the language structures themselves. There is a prescription of appropriacy in the lessons on how to speak to superiors and subordinates.

New American Streamline: Destination

The data in Table 3 indicate that categories 2 (entertainment, human interest stories, discussion starters), 4 (consumer-oriented) and 5 (interpersonal, introspective, interactional) make up about 80% of the contents of *New American Streamline*, so it could be inferred that this textbook is intended for a learner with instrumental goals. The guidance on the back cover may also indicate the same point:

New American Streamline is an intensive, three-level series geared to the interests and needs of adult and young adult students of English as a second or foreign language. Its use of American language, culture and humor makes it ideal for students of American English everywhere (Frankel, Hartley and Viney 1996: back cover).

In *New American Streamline*, it seems that learners are to be passively entertained by readings and simulated media excerpts. Indeed, entertainment seems to be an implied motivation of the textbook user, either in his time in the classroom, at work, or on vacation in the U.S.A.

A significant number of lessons are devoted to simulated media reports, readings about pop music and movie stars, trips to Disneyland, and stories which are simplistic, archetypical samples of popular fiction genres, such as crime, romance and mystery. The learner ends up being positioned as an audience member of the news and entertainment industry.

New Interchange 3

As with all the textbooks *New Interchange 3* promotes itself generally as “a multi-level course in English as a second or foreign language for young adults and adults” (Richards 1998: iii). As can be seen in Table 3, it has the emphasis on categories 2 and 5, so the comments made for the other textbooks with the same emphasis apply to this one as well. In addition, one can see in the portrayal of occupations an emphasis on highly-skilled workers such as software designers and astronauts, or on exotic summer jobs of college students, such as a dog-walker. The purpose is to entertain the learner with a portrayal of this segment of society, partly because it is more appealing than others, but also because, like the media which sell through advertising, the textbook content is designed to appeal to the more affluent sectors of the market in order to maximize sales.

Spectrum4

Table 3. reveals that categories 2 and 5 predominate suggesting that contents are especially relevant for learners with instrumental goals. This issue of learner specificity is not addressed by the publisher as a short description of the book describes only that *Spectrum* is meant for adults and young adult learners of English featuring a natural approach to language learning (Warshawsky & Byrd, 1994).

The contents raise other questions about learner specificity such as age, educational level, and social class of postulated learner. Some contents are perhaps relevant only to young people at a certain stage of psychological and social development. Moreover, content such as self-improvement, pursuing educational and career opportunities, and leisure activities may be appropriate only for those who have opportunities to pursue them.

Contents in all the textbooks as a whole

As can be seen in Table 3, column 2, these textbooks are doing several things. Surprisingly, they are doing little to take advantage of the various cultural backgrounds of learners, as this topic makes up only 7.4% of the content. Categories 2 and 5 make up over 57.2% of the content, reaffirming the comments that were made about the textbooks individually – that the textbooks reflect a neo-classical approach to language teaching. Categories 3 and 4 make up over 35.4% of the contents suggesting a positioning of the learner within occupational and consumer domains.

Locally-produced ELT textbooks

The analysis of the high school books led to totally different results. This was the case simply because the conversations in these books do not specify who the interactants are. In fact, the interactants are often represented as ‘A’ and ‘B’ talking to each other without any information about the social relations or subject positions they have. Thus, the only dimension of meaning on which data could be obtained is the contents of the conversations, shown in Table 4 below. The content categories for each individual book are illustrated in Appendix F.

Table 4. Content categories in High school textbooks

Category	%
1. cultural contrasts, festivals, customs	0
2. entertainment, human interest stories, discussion starters (trivial to social issues)	11
3. occupational	3
4. consumer-oriented	36
5. (inter)personal, introspective, interactional	50

As Table 4. shows, the two categories which are heavily emphasized are the fourth (36%) – consumer-oriented – and fifth (50%) – (inter)personal, introspective, interactional – categories. So, like the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks the high school books, too, emphasize topics related to interpersonal, introspective and interactional issues.

Unlike the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks, which emphasize category 2 (entertainment, human interest stories, discussion starters), High school books appear to put the emphasis on the fourth category (36%); that is, the interactants are found mostly as consumers though their subject positions could not be precisely determined.

What is also of interest is that the first category– cultural contrasts, festivals, customs – is not treated at all (0%). That is, a kind of ‘culturless’ language seems to be taught. In the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks this topic also receives the least emphasis (7.4%).

Not making the social roles of the speakers or their relations in the locally-produced ELT textbooks explicit, like the cultural aspect, can also be indicative of a certain ideology. This observation leads one to become more keen on the interactants depicted in both the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks and the locally-produced ELT textbooks. One interesting fact in this regard is the gender positioning of subjects. Table 5. below reveals this fact.

Table 5. Gender positioning in ELT textbooks

Gender	NI		AMS		EXP		SPC		High school	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Male-male	3	9	20	26	17	22	2	9	6	15
Female-female	1	3	10	14	12	16	9	29	0	0
Male-female	29	86	39	50	47	62	13	62	0	0
Gender not specified	0	0	8	10	0	0	0	0	35	85

NI (New Interchange3), AmS (New American Streamline: Destination), Exp xpressways 4), Spc (Spectrum 4)

As shown in Table 5, while most of the conversations in the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks (about two thirds) are between male and female interactants, in high school books this aspect has again been kept unclear – in 85% of the conversations the gender of the interactants is not specified. Or if it is specified, it is between two male

speakers (15%). In none of the conversations an interactant can be seen to be talking to a member of the opposite sex.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In internationally-distributed ELT textbooks in general, by looking at the data on social relations, an emphasis on interaction between social equals is noted. By examining the data on subject positions, one can easily see the heavy emphasis placed on commercial and occupational positions. And, when the data on contents are examined, one can see an emphasis on non-controversial topics, entertainment, and individual preferences and choice. Viewed as a whole, the pattern which turns up is like this: conversations are, in the main, interactions between social equals performing commercial and occupational roles while talking about issues concerning individual preferences and choice. This appears to “describe discourse as it might be in a better world rather than discourse as it is” (Fairclough, 1989:10). This conception seems to have been transferred to ELT materials which are normally produced by the same people involved in applied linguistics research.

Also, upon closer scrutiny one can see that the depiction of interactants in the market subject position is in line with the principal tenets of neo-liberalism. Underpinning this position is a vision of students as human capital (Apple, 1999). As Apple remarks, the world is intensely competitive economically and students, as future workers, should be given the requisite skills and dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively.

Further, having market as the touchstone against which subject positions and social relations have been shaped in these textbooks is in line with the fact that the English language, as Kress (1995) asserts, is the carrier of a “particularly virulent streak of fast capitalism” (p. 23). In the same vein, Holborow (1999) makes the assertion that “world English is not separable from the historical legacy of colonialism and from the internationalization of capitalism, both economically and politically” (p. 191). That language can be so influential is implied by what Eagleton (1996) notes: “language is a rather weightless way of carrying the world around with us” (p. 73). What this means is that we should be cautious not to fall into the trap of dealing simply with questions of languages

as if they were nothing but neutral media for the conveyance of knowledge and culture (Pennycook, 2000).

Thus, despite the fact that in much of the literature on ELT there is talk of the need to compromise and to adopt a sanctioned view of language appropriate for international use, and even though actual place names, historical figures, and settings are avoided, the discourse of these ELT textbooks seems to be reflective of the discourses of developed free market Western economies. One may expect such an outcome since the ideological nature of the text implies that teaching English does not simply involve the neutral transfer of skills, knowledge, and competencies. Particular assumptions, values, and beliefs – implicitly or explicitly – are inextricably packaged in with the language (Auerbach, 1995).

The study also suggests that the textbook claims of promoting learner empowerment and independence should not be taken at face value since such claims may be merely an attempt to conceal the fact that certain values – ideology – is inculcated in learners. This can be especially an issue in a teacher-centered approach in which these values are explicitly taught.

As for the locally-produced ELT textbooks, there are several points which are noteworthy. First, conversations are often de-contextualized. That is why, the social relations and the subject positions of the participants could not be determined. In other words, the information on these two dimensions is missing. As Fairclough (1989) observes, the absence of certain elements or some information can be as salient as the presence of some other features. Making the language used in these books almost asocial is abundantly observed throughout the books. Second, no instance of the first category, i.e. cultural contrast, was observed. This is to corroborate the point that the language in these books is de-contextualized. Put differently, there seems to be an attempt to present a ‘cultureless’ language. Third, like the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks the emphasis is heavily placed on consumer-oriented topics. This observation reaffirms the fact that the instrumental use of language informs the choice of language and content in the books. Finally, like internationally-distributed ELT textbooks category 5 – (inter)personal, introspective, and interactional topics – is emphasized in High School

books; however, while interactants in the conversations in the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks are more concerned with talking about themselves, those in the locally-produced ELT textbooks tend to be willing to learn more about other people's lives. In other words, *talking about one's personal life* is characteristic of participants in the internationally-distributed ELT textbooks and *asking about others' personal life* is typical of those in the locally-produced ELT textbooks.

Altogether, the findings call for a greater awareness of the influence of the market on English language teaching. ELT professionals should be concerned with what compromises are involved and what ideological implications are at stake when 'globalizing' ELT materials. Since, as observed by Toolan (1999), what underlies the so-called globalization is a new kind of regimentation in which all countries and companies and markets are brought into line with certain standards set by corporate America and corporate Europe, so as to give those corporate powers unfettered access to the world's five billion consumers. On the other hand, by 'asocializing' the language in the 'home-made' books, apparently, the hegemony of 'imported' textbooks has been avoided. But, another problem has cropped up: "promoting passivity and rule following rather than critical engagement on the part of teachers and students" (Giroux, 1997: 89). This is characteristic of new conservatism in education

In sum, what ELT teachers can do with the present ELT texts available on the market is to create critical language awareness in their learners. Teachers should make their learners cognizant of the fact that language is not simply grammar, but that it is also a system of communication for sharing ideas *and* a way of controlling people and influencing what they think or do. Language use involves making choices about lexis, grammar, register, discourse structure, etc. and these choices are often made for particular reasons.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Relations significantly predominant in each textbook

Textbook	Relation	No. of incidents	% of relations
Expressways 4	-customer-service provider	15	15.8
	-Friends	14	14.8
	-colleagues	9	9.4
	TOTAL	38	40.0
New American Streamline: Destination	-friends	13	10.9
	-family members	8	6.7
	-reporters	7	5.9
	-colleagues	6	5.0
	-customer-service provider	6	5.0
	-interviewer-interviewee	5	4.2
	-superior-subordinate	4	3.3
	TOTAL	49	41.0
New Interchange 3	-friends	18	25.7
	-interviewer-interviewee	10	14.3
	TOTAL	28	40.0
Spectrum 4	-friends	7	30.4
	-colleagues	5	21.7
	TOTAL	12	52.1

Appendix C. Content categories in *New American Streamline Destinations*

Page	Category	Content
1	5,4	Greetings and farewells at airports, checking in for a flight, public announcements at an airport
2,3	2	a TV show
4	2	a car rally across North America, a TV sports report about the race
5	2,5	a TV show in which a female contestant chooses among various choices for an eligible male companion
6	3	How to write a cover letter, a resume, prepare for an interview, behave at an interview
7	2	a newspaper report and a television report about a resident who refuses to move from a legally expropriated property
8	1	Occasions for sending greeting cards, holidays
9	5	a session of marriage counseling
10	5	Household routines and chores
11	5	polite requests
12	3	Packing for a business trip
13	4	a flight to Los Angeles, renting a car, public announcements at an airport, in-flight announcements by an airline crew
14	4	Canadian and U.S. currency, using a credit card, using an automated teller Machine, telephone shopping
15	4	money, shopping, using credit cards, saving money, banking, bartering
16	2,5	a news report about a kidnapping, rules between parents and children
17	4	making plans with friends, shopping for clothes with a friend, choosing food from a menu, reading advertisements.
18	2	saving the environment
19	2	a story about a food poisoning disaster on a commercial passenger flight
20	4	Shopping for antiques, bargaining
21	5	noisy neighbors
22	3	a camp counselor's job duties.
23	5	an embarrassing incident in a donut shop
24,25	2	a murder mystery
26	2	complaints about government services
27	4	complaining about faulty merchandise, reading warranties
28,29	2	an unsolved mystery aboard a doomed ship
30	2	a biography of Marilyn Monroe
31	5	apologizing, accusing, defending, a car accident, following minor rules and regulations
32	2	a news report about a truck hijacking, a police interrogation of an

		alleged crime victim who might actually be an accessory to the crime
33	2	a biography of John Lennon
34	2	a lifeguard saves a drowning man
35	3	friends discuss advertisements for jobs posted in a newspaper
36	4	a helicopter tour of an Alaskan glacier, a discussion of global warming
37	5	anecdotes about embarrassing experiences
38	3	a bad day at the office, an office worker has four bad encounters with friends, colleagues and bosses
39	2	a short story set at a pastoral psychiatric hospital.
40	4	vacationing in the U.S.A., an American English teacher and his Colombian wife take a shopping and sightseeing holiday in California, gambling in Las Vegas, visiting Disneyland, holiday advertisements
41	1	food, fast food, instant food, a questionnaire about unusual foods from other cultures, reading menus, proverbs, beliefs and attitudes about food
42	3	the wishes and the plight of L.B. Waspson, wealthy business executive, and the wishes and envy of people who encounter him during their working day
43	5	the happiest days of your life, personal stories about work and education
44	2	a TV journalist interviews people in Times Square on New Year's Eve
45,46	2	a short spy-thriller fiction
47	2	a TV game show in which contestants answer difficult questions about world history, science, language etc...
48	2	a newspaper report and a television report about a hurricane, other reports continuing topics from unit 7, 45 and 46
49	3	business correspondence, a letter of apology from hotel manager to guest, correspondence within a corporation, inter-office memos
50	4	telling friends and family members about a trip to San Francisco, shopping, sightseeing, arranging transportation
51	5&4	reporting a missing car, reporting lost goods at a lost and found office, shopping for a house
52	5	describing the physical features of friends and famous people
53	2	a televised political debate, the economy, taxes, election promises
54	2	do-it-yourself home repairs and renovations
55	3,1	office correspondence, memos, safety notices, working in different cultures and languages
56	5	dropping out of the rat-race, seeking adventure, happiness, new ways of life, travel
57	2	an article about zeppelins

58	4	a magazine restaurant review
59	4	travel, airline travel, using airports and arranging ground transportation in an unfamiliar city, sightseeing, reading a map.
60	2	a television news and sports report, a citizens protest, a gas explosion, a yacht capsizing, a police car chase, a football game
61	2	a newspaper report about good news throughout the nation
62	3	small-talk at a company picnic
63	3	the first day on the job, learning a new job, dealing with being teased by new colleagues at a new job
64	4	magazine advertisements selling various forms of self-improvement of one's physical appearance
65	2	Celebrity gossip, paparazzi, the right to privacy
66	2	a school textbook excerpt about space exploration
67	5	meeting a relative at the airport
68	3	advice about careers with the New York City police, citizens encounters with police officers: reporting crimes, denying accusations, refusing help
69	2	an article about computers
70	2	an article about gold rushes
71	4	a radio promotion of the circus coming to town
72	4	getting things done, completing errands, shopping for a home
73	2	getting in shape, a newspaper article about a marathon, a questionnaire about fitness
74	4	safety instructions, in-flight service, an emergency landing
75	3	Giving and taking business telephone messages
76	2	discussing a peace agreement and the creation of a new country (both fictitious)
77	2	an excerpt from a romance novel
78	2	a couple is interviewed about their wedding at Walt Disney World
79	2	an article about the history of the English language
80	1,5	a student says farewell to various people she has known during her studies in the U.S.A.

Appendix D. Content categories in *New Interchange 3*

Page	Category	Content
2-7	5	Love and marriage, dating, relationships, selecting a roommate, personality traits
8-10	3	discussing career choices, unusual jobs
11-12	3	Student summer jobs
13	3	strategies for keeping your job, corporate layoffs in the 90's
14-18	5	borrowing, making requests of friends, invitations, telephone messages
19	1	cultural differences, different gestures for yes and no
20-22	2	Unusual news stories, accident and crime reports
23	5	telling a friend about unfortunate experiences and predicaments
24	2	Coincidental encounters
25	2	news tabloid 'strange but true' stories
26-27	5	people preferences, comparing jobs and careers, asking favors of friends, invitations, describing bad experiences
28-30	1	talking about going to live and work in another country, culture shock, adjusting to a foreign culture, a journalist discusses his experiences living and working in Japan, gesture taboos in different cultures
31	1	a foreign student discusses with a friend her invitation to her teacher's house
32-34	1	unique customs in different cultures, customs related to socializing, being in public, work, school, dating, marriage
34-38	4	consumer complaints, complaining to a shop clerk about purchased goods, writing consumer complaint letters
39	4	letters to a consumer affairs column, legal rights as a consumer
40	2	soliciting funds for an organization devoted to protecting the environment
41-44	2	Environmental and social problems and possible solutions
46-51	3,5	choosing a continuing education course, education, learning preferences, study habits, learning a foreign language, personality traits, hobbies and skills
52-53	4,5,1	consumer and tenant complaints, problems with friends and relationships, ways of improving foreign language skill, cultural contrasts
54-59	5,4	getting repairs done, finding services, self-improvement, finding a date, dating services, writing to an advice column a quiz about events of the 20th century, people express opinions about who has been the most important public figure in the past
60-65	2	thirty years, biographies of famous people, the effects of computers on our lives, speculations about future technology, the

		global village
66-71	5	rites of passage, major events in life, personality traits, education and careers, regrets
72-77	3	successful American corporations, starting a small business, qualities for success, your favorite nightclub, radio advertisements, catchy slogans, the importance of market research
78-79	4,3	getting money wired from home, trivia quiz, the home of the future, the qualities of a successful restaurant, life events
80-85	5	small talk at a barbecue party, pet peeves about people, personality flaws, confronting friends when they have caused offense
86-91	3	film making, producing TV shows, plays and newspapers, magic shows, movie special effects
92-97	1,5,2	unusual laws around the world, noisy neighbors, expressing opinions, annoying behavior of people in public places, social issues, the high cost of living for single mothers attending university, a solution for homelessness
98-103	2,1,3	women who made a difference, living in a foreign culture, the rewards of the helping professions, a granddaughter turns twenty-one, personal and career ambitions
104-105	5	little events, debating
IC-2	5	a personality quiz
IC-3	3	summer jobs and part-time jobs
IC-4	5	borrowing and lending personal property
IC-5,6	2	students complete a story of which they know only the beginning and the ending
IC-7	1	comparing customs in different cultures
IC-8,9	2	comparing two photos of the same room in which minor details vary
IC-10	2	solving local environmental problems
IC-11	5,3	future plans, dreams and ambitions regarding education, sports, skill-training
IC-12	5	problems faced by teenagers
IC-13,14	2	a history quiz
IC-15	5	hypothesizing about an alternate present and past. "If you had been born as a famous person...?"
IC-16,17	2	discussing the impressions given by different photos
IC-18	2	surmising stories from illustrations provided

IC-19	3	necessities for operating a successful business
IC-20	5	rules of various public places and institutions
IC-21	2	solutions for social problems, charity and volunteer work

Appendix E. Content categories in *Spectrum 4*

Page	Category	Content
1-7	2	Summer vacation
	5	Giving up one's job and going to the university
	2	Giving opinions about books, movies, etc
	5	Expressing surprise at or interest in what people have done
	2	Moving into a new apartment
	2	Interesting facts about the world
8-14	1	Americans living in Taiwan
	1	Good and bad things about living abroad
	5	Complaining about food, people, etc
	5	One's strengths and weaknesses
	5	One's habits and preferences
15-21	4	Reviewing ads looking for a babysitter
	2	Discussing books with colleagues
	1	Famous landmarks and works
	5	Personal needs
	2	Discussing different kinds of books
31-40	3	Colleagues discussing the time for a meeting
	5	Making one's mind on something
	5	Making an exception
	5	Making and discussing plans
	2	Discussing different kinds of sports
	5	General health
	5	General health
28-35	1	Crafts and arts in different cultures
	5	Talking about one's past experiences
	3	Talking about one's job
	5	Expressing wishes
	1	Objects and places
36-42	5	going on errands
	4	doing shopping
	5	doing someone a favor
	2	Teacher praising her student's abilities
	4	Home shopping and TV shopping
47-67	5	Talking to the police about someone's breaking into your house
	2	Discussing frightening stories
	5	Finding about other people's jobs, life, etc
	2	Discussing UFO

Appendix F. Categories of contents in high school textbooks

Book	Category	Content
Book 1	5	Introducing oneself or someone else
	5	Finding about someone's nationality, job, address
	5	Asking about someone's family, parents' job
	5	Making a request, accepting and rejecting
	5	Describing someone's appearance, age, weight, hair color
	5	Making polite requests
	4	Shopping
Book 2	5	Polite requests
	4	Asking about the price of things
	4	Bargaining
	2	Talking about different cities and places
	5	Asking about weather
Book 3	5	Talking about time
	5	Talking about one's routine
	4	Asking about flight times
	2	Talking about free time
	2	Talking about transportation
Book 4	3	Talking about one's job
	5	Asking for directions
	5	Asking for directions
	4	Ordering food in a restaurant
	4	Buying books in a bookstore
	4	Paying money in a store
	4	Buying clothes
	5	Expressing regrets to someone for damaging his car, a friend's father being ill
5	Refusing an invitation to a party, watching a football match	

4	Asking about bus routes
4	Looking for an apartment
