

Developmental Expectations of English: Focus on Chad

By

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Abstract:

The role of English within developing countries is questioned through an outline using different prepositions to explain the different areas of language affecting development. History of English within developing countries where English was spoken by the colonizers as well as those countries that were not colonized by English speakers is offered. An emphasis is placed upon English within the immediate community versus the community as it stretches abroad, as well as English as the lingual medium for education, business, and everyday life, when looking at the imperialistic tendencies of English and how has it changed developing countries. Case studies from Chad and personal experiences with EFL in Haiti give background and evidence for the author's findings.

Descriptors:

Education; English; Language Maintenance; Language Education; Education Development; Language Development; Second Language Learning; Foreign Culture;

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INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 2003, I spent several months working in Haiti as an EFL teacher in both a governmentally funded graduate school for language teachers as well as a private language institute. The stark contrast of the two schools launched my initial research into the correlation between English and development. In the fall of 2003, I joined the Peace Corps as a TEFL volunteer in Chad, Central Africa. I was placed in Karal, a small village just south of Lake Chad. The town population boasts 3,000, yet only 127 children attend the small two-room school, 20 of whom are girls. Karal has only a “collège” which is the French term for middle school, seventh through tenth grade. In Karal as well as most of Chad, the lingual medium of education is French, with a choice between Arabic and English as their foreign language. In the past two years as a foreign language teacher, I have been challenged by multi-leveled classes and a complete lack of resources; I have dealt with disciplinary issues and large class sizes for the entry level; I have faced unwillingness and a societal belief against girls’ education; I have fought against illiteracy inside and outside the school and the perpetual and seemingly accepted cheating. Unfortunately, there is little or no emphasis upon a formal education. Students often shuffle through the education system by purchasing their grades, so many in the higher grades are illiterate and do not have a firm grasp of French, and therefore any other subject. I often question the necessity of this foreign language when the students struggle with simple math equations and cannot spell their own name. I wonder how English fits into their lives or the lives of the villagers who also ask for English. Why did the Chadian government request Peace Corps to send TEFL volunteers? Is English more helpful in the bigger cities or capital? On numerous occasions during my time in Chad, I have visited the private language institutes in the capital, N’ djamena. I have asked questions, interviewed students, and explored their resources, attempting to gain a feel for the role of English in the developmental process of Chad. This paper explores these issues by asking and answering the following questions: How does it affect development? Could English be described as a language *as* development (i.e. Is there aid money going to the spread of English?), *for* development (i.e. Is English like a tool for other domains of development?), *in* development (i.e. What is the immediate impact of English in this community?), or *of* development (i.e. What role does English play within the developmental organizations?)? What are the socio-political implications behind teaching English and how do these affect an EFL teacher’s classroom? The following paper is based upon research that I did after my internship in Haiti and then further illustrated by my experiences in Chad. I begin with a general look at English within the developing world and then give specific examples from Chad.

ENGLISH AND DEVELOPMENT

The mass withdrawal of the colonials from previously colonized nations has left many countries questioning the function and necessity of English as the prime post-colonial language, within both French and English colonies. Countries where French was the colonial language, like Chad and Haiti, face a similar question of the post-colonial use of English, yet French remains the national language. Is there a need for English in the post-colonial period? What good does the language serve? How will and how does English help underdeveloped countries improve their futures? While it is almost impossible to measure the exact level of English involvement because of the differences between the post-colonial countries that use English, there are several themes that appear when a country places emphasis upon English. In the following pages, I plan to discuss three arenas in which English influences development and then apply said domains to life in Chad. The first of these is language choice within education and its impact on the different societal classes. The lingual medium of education can be described as the language *as* development or even the language *of* development, which plays into the second and third points which are: language *for* development and language *in* development. These descriptions of the relationship of language to development come from an article compiled by Roslyn Appleby, Kath Copley, Sisamone Sithirajvongsa, and Alastair Pennycook, (“Language in Development Constrained: Three Contexts.”) where the four linguists have invented a ‘prepositional’ distinction between the ways in which language touches development.

“Language *as* development” refers to the amount of aid money that is fed to the language programs abroad in direct abetment of the spread of English. Often there is no thought here to the outcome of the acquisition of the language. In Chad, the United States of America funds an American language center and a TEFL Peace Corps program. Both are seen as forms of development by the United States in a developing country.

“Language *of* development” speaks of the use of English within the development organizations and the specific terms thereof. For example, Chad is a francophone country, thus French as the language of education is necessary for immediate functions with the society. But, could English bring more access to specific development organizations? If so, the role of English language teaching (ELT) could be seen as the “language *as* development.” “Language *for* development” refers to English as “a tool for other domains of development” (Appleby et al, 327), which is similar to that of “language *of* development.” For example, English is needed to find a job with Esso, the American oil company currently extracting oil from Southern Chad. English is then seen as the language *of* the development of Southern, and hopefully, all of Chad as well as the language *for* development, as it is a tool that will maybe bring development aid money to Chad.

Lastly, “language *in* development” highlights the immediate impact of English upon the local community. In Chad, the local impact is seen in the form of personal gain for better jobs with Anglophone organizations or for cultural reasons. People want to speak, act, and be like Americans, which to them is a form of personal development.

To initially illustrate the political impact English has upon developing countries, I have taken Canagarajah's case study of ELT in East Timor. As a university English professor, A. Suresh Canagarajah set a study in one of his English classrooms. In his article "Critical Ethnography of a Sri Lankan Classroom: Ambiguities in Student Opposition to Reproduction Through ESOL," he describes the interaction of his class and an English textbook that was neither culturally sensitive nor culturally specific. After interviewing his students over their discontent with the textbook, he asked about their personal motives for learning the English language. The following examples are pulled from the students' reasons for learning English to illustrate whether English plays a role in Sri Lankan development. Through Canagarajah, one can see the impact English has on Sri Lanka as a language *in, as, of,* and *for* development. After learning about how Canagarajah's students viewed English, I was curious to see if similar opinions existed in Chadian classrooms and if English could be the language *in, as of,* and *for* development in Chad. Therefore, the second part of this paper addresses English as a developmental language in Chad and how, like Canagarajah's classroom, students bring a certain preconceived notion of English as Western culture to the classroom. In the final section, I propose several pedagogical implications for the intensity that English can have upon an EFL classroom and possible methodologies for certain English students in rural Chad.

To better understand how English fits into the development of lesser-developed countries, a description of development should be made. While there are multiple variables involved with development, a common assumption is that of wealth. A country that generates more income per year is generally seen as 'more developed' than one that generates less. While in some cases this can be argued as true, there is more to development than material wealth. A country that is self-sustaining, politically stable, healthy, peaceful, with high employment rates and low homelessness can be seen as ideal, probably fictitious, but can also be used as an example of the areas that one might look at in terms of development. Ayo Bamgbose is professor emeritus for linguistics and African languages at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. In his article, "Pride and Prejudice in Multilingualism and development," he discusses the relationship between language and nation building within Africa. He references the developmental concepts of Afua Ansre, who is a Ghanaian scholar and activist who with others meet to discuss ways to facilitate Africa's development. Ansre designates four essential elements to "an overall national development: economic development, politico-judicial development, socio-cultural development and intellectual and educational development" (Bamgbose, 41). While these four areas are important in a nation's overall development, I see there to still be a tendency towards the necessity of wealth to claim the appellation of 'developed.' For this reason, I think Bamgbose's idea of "total human development" encompasses a more universal perspective on what it really means to be developed. "The emphasis is on a full realization of the human potential and a maximum utilization of the nation's resources for the benefit of all" (39). This definition of development places importance upon mankind and the intelligence surrounding the make-up of a human. It is important to note that while this image is empowering societies towards development, it does require education. And while this education does not have to hold Western ideals, it is most effective if it reaches a wide audience. The development in Chad is still on a personal level. Few, if

any, are capable of thinking beyond their own personal development. Ansre's developmental sectors are optimistic in the eyes of a funded English language center or an Anglophone developmental organization. But in reality, English is seen as more of a means of personal development, which is unavoidably linked, to American culture.

Here, I raise my first major point of English in development, which is the language's role in education. Why or why not choose English as the lingual medium in education? Beliefs, notions, ideas, thoughts ways of life are interwoven within every language, pouring out of the mouths of those who speak fluently. "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (Fanon, 17-18; Pennycook, 1994, 1). When teaching a language, one is teaching a new way of thinking, seeing, feeling, and being. Because of the cultural weight of language education, it is important to know the reasons for learning this new language, and thus new culture. Why do the students need or want this new target language? How will they benefit? It is important to review the history of the language in the country's society. What role has the target language played in the history of this country, socially, politically, and economically? How was the target language first introduced to the country? Directly, English can be seen as a way to reach many people. For, in order to reach a wide audience, an all-inclusive language should be chosen. Because in many post-colonial nations there is extreme ethnic diversity, many languages are spoken. The decision to use one over another often causes many problems. Theories abound as to whether national cohesion among ethnic groups would aid in development. Language policies have surfaced through the world, attempting to designate the most universal and useful language possible. To create a widespread access to information, there is a need to find a language that is "functionally efficient, economically and administratively, and which at the same time is capable of preserving cultures" (Watson, 23). Deciding upon a single common language when a country is divided ten times over by the different languages spoken proves to be a difficult feat. This is why many countries stayed with English or French after the colonialists left. Even though the choice for English seemed to be initiated by a need for a universal tongue, it still carried a weight. Learning a language and speaking a language is not an "ideologically neutral act" (Tollefson, 210). And while the chosen language is usually meant to unite nations and spread information to a wider audience, "it can also exploit one group over another"(Watson, 21). The group who chooses the new language is not the group who is forced to learn it in order to participate in business, higher education, and other powerful realms of society. Post-colonial countries, who have opted for English as a national language because it is already present or because it holds the key to Western thought and affluence, need to realize that English is by no means neutral, nor is any language that is imposed upon a group of people. When there are already societal divisions and the higher level is constantly benefiting from their privileged state, there is little hope for equality. While a language policy is implemented for the purpose of expanding the blanket of education, the chosen language will always have a negative effect on some and positive on others. "In much of the world, second language learning is not a solution to exclusivity, privilege, and domination, but rather a mechanism for them" (Tollefson, 210). I find such links between societal discord and the spread of English to be one of the main reasons

“language *as* development” is not beneficial. Switching to English as the national language and pumping money into ELT training is not going to facilitate development. The developmental tool lies in what one does with the language.

In Haiti, which was colonized by France and is a francophone country, I did not encounter a societal discord with English because of the Western culture but rather a societal discord with how the two classes could possibly use the language. For example, I taught at a private language institute as well as the public graduate school in the capital, Port-au-Prince. How did they benefit from English? The private language institute catered to the SUV driving elite class, while the graduate school was for those seeking higher education and jobs in the public sector. The students of the institute were taking English because they wanted to travel to America. They wanted to experience the culture that they see on the television and therefore develop themselves personally. The graduate students were language teachers. They were taking English as a requirement to become a language teacher, maybe even an English teacher. These students held no hopes of leaving Haiti. Everyday was a challenge for them. These two institutions were a microcosm for the Haitian society at large. Only ten percent of the population held ninety-nine percent of the wealth, while the other ninety percent struggle to find a job and food. How English could be seen as a tool for development in Haiti puzzled me. I found the power to be in the hands of the elite because they were financially capable to start development organizations or to fund projects. But it was this group that wanted to absorb themselves into American culture and ignore their roots. The graduate school students were more concerned with the development of their country. With them, lessons and classroom discussions with the advanced students, surrounded great historic rebellions or political activists. They were using the language to study the past of America and apply such a past to present Haiti. Whether or not this will work, it was movement. The graduate school students seemed to see English as a language *for* development while the private institute students saw English *as* development.

In Sri Lanka, where Canagarajah bases his study, the indigenous languages began to lose value when the British colonized the maritime islands in 1756. But the real loss of roots came in 1833 when Britain decided to make English the official language in all the schools, even in the missionary schools which had been originally taught in the indigenous languages. Britain sought to build infrastructure and develop a new economical system. They found English to be a part of this development process. In 1948, the British left the islands, leaving behind roads, hospitals, schools, and government structures. They also left behind the language of English and a hatred towards being forced to speak such a language. Today, English is used in the government, but is spoken by only 10% of the population. English is seen as the language of the elite, the language of power. Canagarajah experiences students who want to hide their knowledge of English because of how others perceive an English speaker. This study shows that Sri Lankan students face the English language as something that was forced upon them, leaving behind a seemingly unattainable elite class that holds the power. Because the French colonized Chad, the population does not hold as much of a unified fear and disgust towards the power of the English language. English is seen as a language

of power, but a more benign power because it was France who exerted power by force when colonizing Chad. Now, the English language in Chad serves as a possible route to another country or even to a job with the American oil companies in Southern Chad. There are those who express dislike of English because of the intense Western influence that is spreading throughout the world or because of the war in Iraq, yet Chad does not have the same English-by-force history as Sri Lanka does. In the following study, Canagarajah illustrates the societal discord that occurs in a country where English was forced, Sri Lanka, yet could easily happen in a country not colonized by the British because of the ever-spreading Western culture influence over the entire world.

Undoubtedly, the English language does open doors in higher education. In certain countries, English is even required for further education. In Canagarajah's case study of a Sri Lankan classroom, he found that his students were learning English because it was required to continue with their studies, yet they rebelled against the English-speaking sect of society because of the imperialistic principles behind speakers of English. On one questionnaire given to the Sri Lankan students, "76.1% cited English as an 'educational need,'" and within this educational need 11.7% said English would help them become a "complete person" (611). It is interesting that a portion of the students saw speaking English as a key to being a 'complete person.' I find these eleven percent to represent the idea of language as development; becoming a 'complete person' or fully developed requires a knowledge of English. Therefore, while not every student in this classroom shared this view, eleven percent did see English as development. I find the assumption that after acquiring English one is 'developed' to be a great problem with many language programs. There is a great fear that after language acquisition there is nothing. It is "a danger that language programs in the development context become ends in themselves rather than the means by which to significantly improve education for the disadvantaged" (Appleby et al, 337). A good example of such a danger can be seen in the existence of the American Language Center in Chad. People flock to this center because of the American influence and thus American culture that comes with the language. They leave the center feeling closer to the wealth of America and therefore see themselves as more progressive or developed than their friends who may not have learned English. After talking with the director's secretary from this center, I found that graduates leave seeking ways to find a VISA to America, rather than looking for jobs in Chad. This obviously does not cover all the graduates, but she cited several cases where the English was learned for the possible acquisition of a VISA to the United States. While dreaming of going to the States may become a reality for some, others should concentrate more on their immediate surroundings and how English can help. Once English is placed within a certain country and English teaching is continued, an assumption of developmental progress is often made, overlooking the next step: *how* one uses the language. Language programs need to be aware that the English language is not going to solve many developmental problems; it is the ability to access information through this language that is going to aid developing countries. While the program's instigators, as well as many students, see the acquisition of English as the end all, it is not. Acquiring English as development will not automatically help one develop economically, socially, by educational standards, or even automatically facilitate entry into higher education or jobs. Yet, many

EFL students choose to speak English “to access the expected economic benefits of engagement with international agencies and businesses (i.e. language *as* development)” (Appleby et al, 327) where lucrative success seems to be guaranteed, or in Canagarajah’s case, to be a ‘complete person.’

English, then, presumably gives power to these students who otherwise considered themselves powerless. Canagarajah’s students allude to this when they were asked, “What are the disadvantages of being a Tamil monolingual?” Whereupon, the students “expressed a paralyzing sense of powerlessness in the face of diverse peoples and circumstances” (611). For them, it was a means to acquire more information, for personal and intellectual development, like Ansre’s final area of development or Bamgbose’s “total human development.” A large portion of the remainder of the class did cite personally enriching reasons, yet these reasons, to me, had more to do with the community than with the self-centeredness of becoming a ‘complete person.’ For example, Canagarajah’s statistics show that 20.8% said their reason was “to gather more information” and 23.5% cited “to know an international language” as their reason (611). While I may be optimistic, I find these latter reasons to lend to possible community interaction with the knowledge gained. Therefore, those who cited these reasons seem to see English as the developmental tool it is. Presumably they want to gather more information to aid their local community. While this may or may not be the case, this portion of the class demonstrates a pro-active view of learning English, rather than a passive lingual acquisition. I found a similar pro-active view of English from the English teacher at the Centre Al Mouna in Chad. This center has computers and the students often find it necessary for certain studies to know English. The teacher claimed that many students find that English resources are more accessible from the Universities in Sudan or Saudi Arabia than those from France, and therefore want to learn English to continue their studies.

The most intriguing part of Canagarajah’s classroom study, was the explanation of the communities within which the students chose to use English. In the beginning, Canagarajah explains how difficult it was to even get the students to speak English in class, he felt, because of the difference in Tamil and English pronunciation. The students’ pronunciation was divided along the different types of English spoken within Sri Lanka, “non-standard” and “educated” Sri Lankan English. The division was of social status. “Not only pronunciation but the very language was a class marker” (9). He goes on to recount how one student chose his context for speaking English by the background of the other speaker. For example, the student refused to speak with those from “better backgrounds” because he felt they were showing off “their knowledge of the language in order to make him look ignorant. English then provided unfavorable subject positions to such students, making them feel disadvantaged, helpless, inferior, and uneducated” (Canagarajah, 9). Here, the strict societal divide is perpetuated by the use of English and the differences between the types of English used. They recognize the power by how it affects their relationships with others from different backgrounds, socially and economically. The students seemed to want to learn English “*for* development,” where English serves as a catalyst for wider developmental projects. The

awareness of the students towards the discourse communities in which they chose to use English demonstrates a move beyond the notion of English as development. Meaning, the students are learning English to use as a device.

Canagarajah illustrates two functional “language *in* development” possibilities through his survey statistics that show the importance of one learning English to be both ‘complete’ (and therefore using English as personal development) and able ‘to gather information’ (where English is a tool for higher education) (i.e. language *as* development and language *for* development). Yet, there is another dimension of language and development, “language *in* development,” which can be defined as, “the relationship between the global spread of English and local (or regional, national, or provincial) needs” (Appleby et al, 327). When and where does one hear and speak English? For what purpose is it used? These answers are of course somewhat unique to the country, yet the underlying theme of the perpetuation and retention of power through language choice remains. For example, in India, the English language is the language of commerce, used for higher education, and is widely spoken by the elite. There are hundreds of other languages spoken throughout India, yet it is English that holds the power by being the language of business. According to Altbach, “while barely two percent of the population are literate in English, over fifty percent of all books and the majority of newspapers and journals are produced in English thereby sustaining the thinking and cultural patterns, as well as the language, of the ruling elite” (Watson, 32). English has brought foreign trade and techniques and information to India as well as other developing countries, but it still seems to perpetuate the ruling sector of society. This is seen in a country where school is a luxury, a privilege for children who do not have to work in the fields. The sons and daughters of more affluent families are all to learn English in school. They gain the ability to access the business and education opportunities offered by English while the lower classes do not benefit from such opportunities. Thus, the upper classes are benefiting from Western information and profiting on international job and trade markets through their knowledge of English, yet the money made does not filter into the mass population. Also, the information that is transmitted through the English language is often westernized thought. It is ideals and values that may or may not translate into every section of another country’s way of life. Meaning, what the elite adopts may be more of an attempt at modernization than a move towards development for the whole nation. And, while modernization may bring more trade and foreign business to the developing nation, it will more than likely not better everyone, let alone be the right step for the specific nation to make towards development. Tollefson critiques the implementation of English within Iran, China, Asia, and Africa, saying that the language itself has been associated with “modernization programmes that depend upon Western institutions and practices and a Westernized elite” (203). The idea behind modernization does seem to stem from a controlling, wealthy group of people who choose the language and thus infuse Western thought.

The colonizers, both English and French, were the controlling, wealthy group in power. They brought their culture and language in attempts to mold these foreign lands into areas beneficial to their Western notions. Today, in post-colonial times, in countries such as India or Sri Lanka English is still used on a daily basis in certain areas of society, (i.e. in higher education and trade). Their knowledge of English came from the British colonial schools and

the use of English as the education lingual medium. In countries colonized by France, such as Haiti or Chad, English now serves as possible future job offers or education. Before, French was seen as the official language of business, of trade, and of higher education. French is still the official language of business and trade in Haiti, yet because of proximity, benefits from a lot of American aid and the seldom trade transaction. Therefore, the need for English within Haiti is growing and moving away from their French colonial backgrounds. In Haiti, English could be seen as language *for* development as it brings in more trade opportunities or language *as* development as aid money, whether from public or private funding, is being spent on English language centers. In Chad, Arabic and French rival for the official language of business and education. Yet now there is also a need for English as people begin to see the power of which America exerts over much of the world. People want to move to English speaking countries. They seek higher education (language *as* development). Also, Chad shares a border with Nigeria, an English speaking country that does a lot of trade with West African countries. Chad also borders Sudan and Libya, both countries where English and Arabic are spoken. The trade with these countries is often conducted in English (language *for* development). While English does not hold the same role historically in both British and French colonial lands, it seems to be opening similar doors in today's world.

Thus far I have used Canagarajah's Sri Lankan classroom as an illustration of both language *as* development and language *for* development, while highlighting the potential problems with language programs. I have chosen India as an example of language *in* development and of when and where English tends to be spoken and the attached societal discord. English has often been placed in development as the ticket to further education that allows one to access information on an international level and participate in international affairs. English skills, then, allow access to information that has the potential to help developing communities. Unfortunately though, with this new information come many complications that have the ability to make the accessibility to the new information not easy to attain. As illustrated in Canagarajah's classroom, the students referred to the use of English within their society as a status symbol. Many lesser-developed communities hold the same view: English as the language of the elite. There are obvious reasons for this opinion, one being the power of the colonials which was transferred to the indigenous elite who then have the power to choose a language policy for education which feeds into all realms of society, suddenly requiring local merchants to speak English in order to survive. As seen with India, the language has also historically only been offered to the section of society that can afford to either go to language schools or have their children not work at home throughout their schooling. Then though, the family has an even greater possibility of losing their child to city life if they live in the rural parts of the country, or even abroad, if the child is able to go to many years of schooling. The number of children moving to the cities for more lucrative jobs, if schooling was available to them, is rapidly rising. The issue being discussed here though is that of the inequality of access to language education. One section of society is profiting while the other is being pushed further down. Assuming it is possible to tailor Western thought to a non-Western society, extracting the aspects of

information most relevant to each country's specific needs for development, and apply them locally, then the power of English to aid in development lies with the language program itself.

For people to be able to pursue an active role in the process of development and to achieve levels of autonomy or independence, particularly when that development depends on languages such as English, language-in-development programs need to think beyond the narrow confines of language as commonly defined and take far more seriously the question of discourse (Appleby et al, 344).

I believe discourse to be key in defining the role of English in developing nations. It is how one uses the language that defines its role.

Giving definition to the role of English in development cannot be done in broad strokes. The reality of what English brings to and takes from a lesser-developed country is not universal. Each country creates its own relationship with English, through the use of the language. Attempts have been made to give English a specific niche within all underdeveloped countries, arguing functional qualities, yet situations and circumstances vary so much. Braj Kachru, the Director of the Centre for Advanced Study at the University of Illinois has written over twenty books discussing the role of language in society. He even made a list of the positive and negative qualities of English.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
National unity	Anti- nationalism
Literary renaissance	Anti-native culture
Cultural mirror (for native cultures)	Materialism
Modernization	Westernization
Liberalism	Rootlessness
Universalism	Ethnocentricism
Technology	Divisiveness
Science	Alienation
Mobility	
Access Code	

(Phillipson, 282).

While certain points such as 'modernization' and 'westernization' can be argued into either column, it is striking to see the baggage that English carries presented in such a straightforward manner. This is only one man's view of the English language and I challenge future English teachers to make their own columns. For me in Chad and in Haiti, I have experienced both the positive and negative aspects. Access to higher education and technology are brilliant doors to open in developing countries, but overshadowing a nation's indigenous language is a crime. In Haiti and in Chad, I experienced a shunning of the students' own culture in order to adopt the materialistic ways of the Western world. While materialism is only a dream for most Chadians and Haitians, now, because of their financial states, the desire to flaunt wealth exists. When teaching, I look for immediate ways to bring the language back to the community. What opportunities can English bring to this community? In Haiti and in Chad, high education, whether in the capital or another country, seemed to be the best route to open for the students. When in a small community, I find that if the teacher learns the local language, then that teacher is fighting against anti-native culture or possible rootlessness. What points do you find personally positive or negative? English is a powerful language that affects the world in many detrimental and productive ways. As a result of my inquiries into the role of English in developing countries, I have discovered that the weight of the impact depends upon the destination and content of

the language program. How one chooses to use English and awareness of the possible negative consequences that could occur when one uses it are two important issues that need to be addressed within the language program itself. I will now use the Central African country of Chad as an example of a developing nation to illustrate the potential role of English *in, as, of,* and *for* development.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHAD

Because Chad was colonized by France and has such strong Arabic connections, sharing borders with Sudan and Libya, French and Arabic are chosen from as the educational lingual mediums. Therefore, English does not play a leading role in formal education as it did in Canagarajah's school. Instead, English first arrived in Southern Chad around the 1920s with the arrival of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries. It did not really begin spreading until the late 1960s and early 1970s when the United States held loose economic and aid ties with Chad. Drought and famine aid was brought as well as the Peace Corps, who spent most of their time digging wells. The US military gradually increased its presence in Chad during the late 1970s as the Soviets intensified their ties with Libya. For almost 85 years English has been present in Chad, yet is now appearing more from increased international relations with the US, Nigeria, Taiwan, and other countries that may use English as a language for business or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) focusing on development. With the exploitation of oil by the US corporation ExxonMobile in Southern Chad, jobs are opening with some English as a requirement. Therefore, the world of English is in the process of rapidly expanding in Chad. In the following pages, I explore the correlation between development and the spread of English in Chad. I begin my study with a brief history of Chad and then discuss the results of my exploration.

Chad's history is riddled with "coups" and corruption, famines and droughts, wars and plagues. With a tropical climate in the south and a desert in the north, Chad did not offer much in the way of cash crops to its colonizers. Still, the French colonized Chad in 1913 after several years of early expeditions. Because of Chad's lack of natural resources, the French were most interested in the fertile southern regions where production of peanuts, cotton, and gum arabic could yield a healthy profit. The southerners, who are typically Christian or Animist and of black African descent, received French schools and often farm aid because of the colonizers' interest in the region. The northerners, who are mostly Muslim and of Arab and nomadic descent, made their livelihood through stock raising or commerce trading, which can be traced back to the original Arab slave traders. The characteristics of the north and south of the country remain largely unchanged today, 45 years after Chad gained its independence; the majority of the country's crops still come from the Christian south and most merchants are still from the Muslim north. Due to the numerous ethnic groups and languages (with French and Arabic as the national languages), almost 200 in total, there is little national cohesion. The two main religions, Christianity and Islam, have also sparked conflicts between Chadians. Today, there is still tension between the north and south, lingering from previous in-country conflicts. Coming from such a violent past, Chadians have suffered and are continuing to struggle as natural disasters, poor infrastructure, and interethnic conflicts impede their development. Chad recently celebrated the completion of an oil pipeline from Southern Chad through Cameroon to the coast that promises to deposit billions of dollars into the treasury, but as the pipeline only began pumping in 2003, the benefits of the petrodollars have yet to be seen by the majority of the population. The Chadian government, through and in agreement with the World Bank and the oil consortium carrying out the project, is forced to earmark 80% of the oil income for "high- priority"

development projects, such as building roads and health facilities with oversight from a committee made up of Chadians as well as expatriates. There are still many doubters, however, who believe that like most other African oil-producing countries, Chad's oil money is likely to be used to fatten the pockets of politicians rather than to aid the impoverished.

The English speakers first arrived in Chad a little before 1900. They were missionaries. One missionary of note, Peter Cameron Scott of Scotland, arrived in southeastern Chad in 1895. His goal was to evangelize yet brought the English language at the same time. Originally, Chadians were exposed to English through religious texts. As missions grew and more English speaking people came to Chad, they began teaching English in the French schools as well as in the community, yet always with the objective of conversion to Christianity. It was not until the end of colonization in 1961 that English really began to spread through more American and British missionaries as well as United States sponsored programs such as the Peace Corps. Today, American influence in Chad is highly involved with the oil drilling in Southern Chad. People want oil jobs and see English as a must to get these jobs, which is often true. Many Chadians were (and continue to be) frustrated with French control and therefore looked to English as a brighter future. The English language opens technological doors, educational doors, vocational doors, and even 'locational' doors.

Case Studies

Through interviews with teachers, students, and school directors, as well as personal experience as an EFL teacher, I have researched several ways in which one can learn English in N'Djamena. Chad has several large cities, with the capital, N'Djamena, as the largest. There are several other small private language institutes in two of the other cities, yet most people speak of N'Djamena as the only place to learn the English language. There are new English-learning options frequently opening up, from small classes held at Christian missions to afternoon sessions at private schools or expatriates' houses.

Here, I concentrate upon four accessible ways of learning English, mainly within N'Djamena but also outside in small public schools, where English is taught as a foreign language. In order to illustrate the previously mentioned four linguists' definitions of language *in*, *as*, *of*, and *for* development, I asked questions about the type of students, the history of the centers, and the views of English in Chad (See Appendix A). I sought for personal opinions and students' experience. I encountered three main themes throughout my exploration:

- a. The exploitation of oil has brought Esso to Chad, which has created a variety of jobs requiring some English. Chad has agreed to the World Bank's request that 80% of the petrodollars will be invested in developmental projects. Thus, jobs with Esso, where English is wanted, work towards the development of Chad. (Language *for* and *of* development)¹
- b. Out of the US aid money spent on Chad, some is being pumped into the spread of English in Chad through two areas : The American Language Center (ALC) and the TEFL Peace Corps volunteers. (Language *as* development)
- c. Whether for reasons of national productivity or personal gain, there is a demand for English in Chad. (Language *in* development)

Now, I will explore these themes through the results of my inquiries and discussions held with the leaders of English education in N'Djamena, Chad.

In N'Djamena, there has been an increase in the number of private language institutes around the city. With a population of 700,000, N'Djamena is home to seven well-known private institutes. They are scattered all over the city, often run by expatriates, mostly Nigerians, Kenyans, or Ghanaians. These are people who have studied abroad and have found themselves in Chad, answering the public desire to learn English. Aside from Centre Al Mouna, Organisation d'Awa Islamique (OASIS), and the ALC, the centers are small, often with only one room, no air-conditioners, and few resources.

¹ Unfortunately with the corruption involved in such large amounts of money, one cannot be sure that the money will all seep through to the development sector.

The English Language Center Djambal Bahr created: 1990
Director: Idrissou Hamadou enrollment fee: 30.000 cfa/ 3 months
(\$60.00)
Languages taught: English students to date: 30
Levels offered: 6 (2 Beginner, 2 Intermediate, 2 Advanced)

I met Idrissou Hamadou, the Kenyan director of The English Language Center Djambal Bahr, at his center. A sign outside the center advertises “bringing English to Chad since 1990,” yet the center itself was created in 2003. I sat in a white plastic patio chair, sweating from the early afternoon heat. Not having heard much English spoken in Chad to date, I had to concentrate to follow Idrissou’s thick East African accent as he explained of his previous English teaching experience and how he has changed buildings several times and still continues to make barely enough money to pay his staff. His enrollment is low, as he currently has a total of 30 students in six different classes. He spoke fast as he described his students, making me think they are no more than clients to him at this point. Most are businessmen, who often have done business with Esso and have returned for further language requirements. People come for their certificates which are then used for jobs with Anglophone organizations or local businesses that hope to increase their foreign contacts, and therefore need employees who speak English. Sometimes, Idrissou stressed, there are Arab traders who want to begin or increase trade with Nigeria, Taiwan, or Japan, (who use English for business), and therefore need market communication skills. According to Idrissou, it is rumored that these men opt not to go to the ALC because of America’s presumed negative view of Muslims. But, he explained, the Arab traders may also be more attracted to his dialogue-based instruction, offering curriculum² that is more relevant to their work. While the ALC is still in the process of creating more Chadian specific material, Idrissou already has multiple lessons that incorporate actual life in Chad. I was curious about the distrust of Americans and questioned Idrissou further for the statistics of Christians versus Muslims who take English classes. He and the other teachers at the center agreed that the Arab merchant who often dresses “like a Muslim” with a beard and a traditional boubou might be more inclined to learn English where the word ‘America’ is not stressed. Otherwise, the percentage is equal, yet if the center is in a Christian quarter, there are more Christians, and vice versa.³ As I was leaving, Idrissou handed me a flyer for his center. The caption at the top read “Speaking English is like having a passport to life,” which to me sums up how far Idrissou thinks one can go with English.

Centre d’Apprentissages des Langues (CAL) created: 1999
Director: Erika Nanadoungar Languages taught: English, French
enrollment fee : for students 22.500cfa/ 3months (\$45.00)
for business men : 30.000cfa/ 3 months (\$60.00)
students at present: 18
Levels: Beginner (will offer more levels if demand presents itself)

At the Centre d’Apprentissage des Langues (CAL), the director, Erika Nanadoungar, was absent so I spoke with a teacher, Lambon Bokari, who, like the director, is Ghanaian. Lambon came to Chad one and a half years ago to

² Idrissou may understand an African market dialogue better than an American, like the curriculum offered at the ALC. Thus, Idrissou teaches to his students’ specific desires.

³ N’Djamena is divided into Christian and Muslim quarters.

learn French and noticed the need for English teachers and stayed. This small language center is located next to a very busy roundabout and offers French and English classes according to the demand. Now though, they teach English to a Beginning level, which holds 18 students. Lambon complained that the students are not very serious. “80% of the students,” Lambon guessed, “would receive their certificates and leave, often not ever using English.” Sometimes the center teaches businessmen, but he sees mostly student types who were following a trend to learn English. “Maybe for culture reasons,” he said, “they are just following what they see in films and hear on the radio.” As for the curriculum, CEL uses a Cambridge publication book called Changes, along with more relevant-to-Chad dialogues that Lambon or the other teachers have written.

Centre Culturelle Al Mouna
year)

created : 1986 (English not offered every

Director: Tamanda Appouilnaire

enrollment fee : 30.000cfa/ 3 months (\$60.00)

Languages taught: Arabic, French, and English

students at present: 20-30

Levels: 4 (Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced, Business)

At the Centre Culturelle Al Mouna, I conducted my interview on a freshly cemented balcony looking over the city’s busiest street. The wind felt nice, as the morning heat already had me sweating. The center had recently moved into their new building, advertising their computer lab and vast library. Unfortunately, the library lacks English resources, as I only found a few old copies of Go for English. I met with Tamanda Appouilnaire, who, unlike the other directors, did not feel comfortable talking in English. He doubled as the English teacher, yet felt more comfortable holding the interview in French. When asked about the curriculum, Tamanda described recent changes to the older books the center once used. Now, they concentrate on a series of dialogues that teach key words among a range of topics pertaining to life in Chad or business matters. Like Idrissou, he highlighted market (business) English as a common need. Tamanda described his students as businessmen types, often those coming from Doba⁴ in order to further their English studies. Yet, their enrollment increased after the completion of the pipeline. Other students want to meet more foreigners, using English as a link language. The Taiwanese have steadily increased their presence in Chad. While some Taiwanese speak French, most use English as their language of business. Some students want English to access certain documents that are only in English, or can only be found in English, for higher education. As the noon time traffic thickened below us, I finished our interview by asking how he sees English impacting the immediate community. He thought for a moment and then said, “There are certain documents that are easier to find in English. The oil offers jobs. And, there are students who want to study abroad.” I complimented him on his nice new building and updated technology (his computer lab). He nodded, then stopped me on the stairs and said he was looking for part-time work teaching English. Later, I was told by another institute that Al Mouna rarely holds English classes anymore as their basis is Arabic. As I was leaving, I met with several students of Pakistan descent, from wealthy families. None were actually enrolled in English.

⁴ Doba is the town that houses the oil source as well as the oil groups.

Association of English Language Initiatives Chad Created: 2004

Director: Reuben Ndjerareou

This unique group has just been created and not yet begun teaching. Their vision is to create “a partnership of English initiatives” who “provide an effective English teaching and learning environment through proper education, cultural comprehension and moral excellence, therefore empowering individuals and communities.” In our interview, Reuben and his partner, Job, explained their desire to standardize the levels of English taught in Chad, as well as steer away from old curriculums that are not pertinent to Chadian life. They would like to see “Level 1” at their center be equal to that of another center. They spoke of another program goal to help spread English outside of the capital in order to open up villagers to the job opportunities of N’Djamena, such as working in a language institute, with Esso, or with another foreign organization. With this expansion, they have hopes of creating a network of jobs that would be open to someone who knows English. Reuben is a Chadian-American and has spent many years in the United States before coming back to put together this group. From his time in America, he is sensitive to the word ‘America’ and often sees it a hindrance with English language teaching. ‘America’ conjures up images of “white people, wealth, and materialism.” Reuben wants to avoid such images, yet still sees the strong American cultural influence within the lives of his Chadian friends and students. He cannot deny the imitation, yet wants to teach English more for the opportunities attached to English and less for the desire to imitate the affluent culture. When asked about the reasons Chadians want English now, the answers by everyone present surrounded job opportunities and the existence of Esso in Doba. Also, there is a growing trend for Chadians to distrust the French because of the oil, as well as a historical list of bad terms on trade and continued meddling. In 1975, oil was discovered in Chad, yet the French, who had the means, did not exploit it. It was not until America reached in that the oil was tapped. For this reason, Chadians are very wary of the French, often calling them “liars.” Job even said that the war in Iraq has moved some people to learn English, mainly Muslims he claims.⁵

American Language Center

Created: 1999

Director: Paul Gallagher

Enrollment fee: 33.000/3months (\$66.00)

Students: 500

Levels: 7 (2 Beginner, 2 Intermediate, 2 Advanced, 1 USA Studies)

The ALC is a large, one story center, located in a popular part of town for expatriates. The building is air-conditioned, with an extensive book and video library. Their prices are high, yet enrollment is also high, showing that those who want English might prefer ‘American’ English. I met with Paul Gallagher on a Thursday morning, the time he had chosen. As we spoke, I realized that Paul was not in close contact with his students. He did not feel comfortable telling me what jobs his students were looking to get when they left with their certificate, referring me

⁵ Every student will have his or her own reasons to take English at the same time as every teacher will have his or her own opinion as to why this student wants English. I have no data to back up Job’s comment but felt that his opinion was interesting to include here.

to his secretary. He assumed oil, but honestly had done little research in the local job market to see that a lot of jobs are now looking for employees with English certificates. Paul, however, had noticed that most of his students idolize American culture. “They are always watching movies, asking questions. They can’t get enough.” He finds the culture impact to be a big seller. The word ‘America’ attracts more than it deters, he says⁶. There are students who want only American resources and others who ask for more Chad related topics. This led me to ask about his curriculum, which he explained is in the process of being updated for more Chad specific material. The center has yet to use the new curriculum, but plans to implement the topics soon. He spoke of having offered a Spanish class for several trimesters, which no one wanted. He found little interest in other languages. When speaking with students, I found them to be younger than at the other centers. More students were coming from high school, looking for English for future work or higher education in an Anglophone country, Nigeria or Ghana for example, instead of going to the local university. The students can rely on the center for classes, where as there are constant strikes and closings with the university. There are also businessmen who are looking to increase their trade or who want to find work with the oil companies. As for the religious affiliations of the students, the secretary boasted equal enrollment, yet I met with more Muslims, which makes sense since the center is in a Muslim neighborhood. Before leaving, I was curious to find out how much influence the US government had directly upon the center. Paul, who does not come from a TEFL background, has been challenged by how little guidance he has had as the director. He came in 2003, following five other directors since 1999, several of whom were Chadians. Every trimester Paul sends the enrollment fees to Washington, which then sends 95% of the money back. This money is used to pay the teachers. Money for the electricity, rent, and Paul’s paycheck comes from the US Embassy.

Paul is the sixth director for the American Language Center. He follows several Chadian directors and other American directors. The American director, who opened the center in 1999, was in a similar situation as Paul. His wife held a job with the American Embassy in the consular section. To keep busy during his wife’s two year post, this original director started up the American Language Center. Similar language centers exist all over the world in connection with the local American Embassy. What differs about Chad’s American Language Center is that money is still coming from America to help support it. In most other countries the center has already become self-sustaining. Therefore, when Paul arrived he took the job, of center director, yet had no teaching background. He has tried hard to please his students and keep the center working. Now as 2005 nears, he too will leave the position open. The Embassy tries to give the director job to an Embassy spouse. The spouse will have some work to do while their husband/wife serves their two-year term.

OASIS enrollment fee : 10.000/ 3 months (\$20.00)
Students: 100 Languages: Arabic, English
Levels:6 (2 Beginner, 2 Intermediate, 2 Advanced)

⁶ I find that the attraction to the word ‘America’ is definitely because of America’s boastful affluence, but also because people see American English as pure English.

OASIS is a big center that was not functioning during my time of research, therefore I did not get an interview. I did, however, hear about their extensive English library and low enrollments fees that were popular among students. There is no definite reason for why this center nor Centre d'Anglais was not functioning.⁷

Centre d'Anglais au Rue de 40 enrollment fee: 11.000/ 3 months (\$22.00)

Students: ~20

Levels: 3 (Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced)

This center was also not functioning, yet is known for its low fees. It is not as popular as OASIS because it is smaller, but still attracts people because it is cheaper.

PEACE CORPS TEFL PROGRAM

Volunteers: 28

Peace Corps first came to Chad in 1967 where they built wells and did water sanitation work. As the program grew health, agriculture, and education sectors were included. After a ten year hiatus during a Chadian Civil war, in 2003 the Peace Corps returned to Chad with 20 TEFL volunteers. As a volunteer, I am expected to teach English in a rural school as well as work on community development projects, such as environmental projects, AIDS awareness, or girl's education. The Chadian government requested TEFL teachers, no health, no agriculture, yet the program hopes to expand into other sectors soon.

Why did the Chadian government request English teachers and not well builders? After asking the PC staff and other volunteers, I have come to a consensus that it has to do with where the President, Idriss Deby, sees Chad in its road to development. Meaning, is Chad developed enough that opportunities brought through the English language could really aid the developing process? Deby says yes. Deby moves back and forth from one of two huge mansions in and outside of N'djamena. He spends time in France. He wears suits and seems very westernized. He also does not seem to notice that a large part of Chad's population live on less than a dollar a day and suffer from all sorts of malnutrition. There is very little drinking water. People die of diseases caused by lack of sanitation, not to mention the recent arrival of AIDS. There are many obvious problems in Chad that would make one wonder why TEFL is most pressing. But maybe Deby has other reasons for wanting English. Maybe he feels it will bring more American oil projects to Chad. Maybe it will strengthen America's presence in Chad. Whatever his reason, Deby chose TEFL.

⁷ I cannot help but guess that maybe funds were low as this year and last year there were numerous school, hospital, and military strikes because they were not receiving their salaries. It is possible that the director worked in one of these sectors and did not have the funds to keep the center open. Again, I am only guessing.

TEFL in Chad seems to be divided as the school system is divided and as the political lines of the country are divided. Peace Corps originally left Chad in the late 1990s because of a civil war. Peace Corps is back but the North and South are still separate. The Southerners, who first reaped the benefits of the French colonizers, go to school. They speak French and are very curious about Western culture. Yet, the Northerners do not place emphasis on formal education. Meaning, attendance is low in the French speaking public schools. Children are more likely to be sent to the Koranic school to learn to read and write the Koran. There are also a lot of children, who quit school because they feel that an education will not help them find a job, or they are needed in the fields, or they become pregnant, or they get married. There are many reasons for students to abandon school.

As the first Peace Corps group back, we were sent to areas that were identified as most in need of an English teacher. As I mentioned earlier, I often assess my village and think would another drinking well not be more beneficial? Or maybe a knowledgeable midwife? I constantly question the Chadian government's desire for TEFL teachers. Yet, in my small school, there are students who want English for future education, for cultural reasons, or for a good job. Then there are others who are there because writing in Arabic seemed more daunting than English. (They must choose between Arabic and English as a foreign language in the public schools.) We work from a textbook called Go For English, yet none of the students have a copy nor are they anywhere near the assigned level. Most lessons are done orally or on the blackboard, following a rough curriculum set up by the Chadian government. The curriculum is far too advanced for the assigned levels, and is rarely met by any teacher of any subject. The students are used to (and therefore fear variation from) rote learning. They crave memorization and repetition. It is a struggle, but most volunteers are able to sneak pair work into their lesson plans. I have not heard of anyone nor have I had any luck with group work. The idea of working with three others at the same time as the other students work in their own group is too bizarre of a concept. They would rather watch one group work and then present, and then the next group work and present and so on. This does not help the teacher with classroom timing. Yet if they work in twos, the class functions well. After speaking with other volunteers, I've found that most of us tailor our teaching to the students' level and often do not work with the book. While the book is Cameroonian and deals with some culturally specific activities, it is often very difficult and sometimes appeals to the materialistic part of Western culture too much. For example, there is a birthday party scene in book 5. The children in the drawing are African children with their families, but they are celebrating a birthday with presents and a cake with candles. The whole scene looks very Western in a world where no one records the day of their birth nor receives gifts years later. The amount of gifts and the outfits of the partygoers scream affluence. While one cannot hide from the

fact that a lot of the affluent world is Western, this is not understood to students in rural areas. The textbook does however use a lot of African folktales that teach lessons which appeal to the students.

Finally, as an American TEFL Peace Corps volunteer, I am always asked questions about America. People are curious. Often it is adults who want to learn English because they see Americans as having the pure English or for the American to help them leave Chad. I am often questioned about getting Visas to America. I have tried several times to do an adult English class. They never come. They talk and even help make sign-up sheets, but never actually show up. Yet, several other volunteers have adult English classes that function regularly. Thus as non-Chadian teachers we are not only spreading English we are spreading American culture, much in the same way as the American Language Center, yet without all the resources.

Summary of Interviews

ALL OF THE CENTERS HAD:

- a. workers coming from Doba.
- b. a mixture of Muslims and Christians.
- c. students who are looking for an English certificate to find jobs.
- d. students who want to be American or glorify American culture.

MOST OF THE CENTERS HAD:

- a. Chadian based curriculum.
- b. a fee of 30.000 cfa for three months (\$60.00) which is hard for most Chadians to pay.⁸
- c. other languages other than English as optional courses.
- d. a small resource library.
- e. Traders who seek English for more foreign business contacts.

⁸ To put some perspective upon the fees , I find that most Chadian bureaucrats, who earn more than the majority, often have a hard time paying for their children' s private school education in N'Djamena, which cost 12.000 cfa per year (\$24.00). An English language program that costs \$60 is thus extremely difficult to cover.

ENGLISH *FOR*, *OF*, *AS*, AND *IN* THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHAD

English acts “as a tool for other domains of development (i.e. language *for* development)” (Appleby et al, 328), when the students transfer their knowledge into a developmental field. This is apparent with the oil workers. They come to learn English to return to Doba and continue their work that brings money to develop Chad. Students who use their English to get a job with a local Anglophone NGO or to improve international relations as an employee for a non Anglophone NGO or business are furthering commercial development. Thus, if a language program implements a curriculum that is relevant to its students’ needs, the student will then be able to apply said knowledge of English back into the society for developmental purposes, and therefore using English as a language *for* development or *of* development. I link language “*for*” and “*of*” development here because in the oil workers’ case, the students are using the language *for* development while at the same time English serves as the language *of* development within the specific organization, Esso. English is the language *of* development in the oil region. There are Americans with American machines making American measurements.

Another form of English “*for* development” can be found with private tutors. Many Chadian high school professors, expatriate professors, or expatriates working in other fields, offer English courses in the afternoons. The enrollment fees vary, but average at around 10.000cfa for a month (\$20.00), depending upon the clientele. The most interesting case of a private instructor that I came across was the director of The English Language Center, Idrissou Hamadou. Before starting his center, he was hired out by numerous banks,(including the World Bank), several businesses, and governmental offices, where if he encountered a member of the presidential family he did not charge. As English becomes more prevalent in the commercial world and as businesses find contracts internationally, it is necessary for them to have employees who speak English. Thus English “*for* development,” is exemplified in the businesses’ desire to hire English-speaking employees who can help make international contacts and therefore increase trade and boost Chad’s economy.

Earlier I referenced the Canagarajah study where his students believed they were ‘complete’ after they learned English. I then touched upon a language program flaw where the question of how the students actually use English is ignored, purely seeing English “*as* development.” Several examples of where the acquisition of English becomes the only form of ‘development’ can be seen in the students who choose to take English because of an American cultural obsession and in government funded language programs that often teach more culture than functional English. I will address the culture factor later when analyzing the overall impact of English upon Chad’s development. In mentioning it here, though, it serves as an examples of English *as* development, as does my personal TEFL experience in Chad, as a volunteer for the Peace Corps, which is funded by the US government. While a TEFL volunteer has secondary developmental projects that aid immensely in all arenas of society, the main focus is supposed to be on teaching English in public schools. From my experience, the French level of the students is low, as they prefer their patois, either Chadian Arabic, Ngombaye, or another of the many small native languages. Many students float through class levels because they pay the director or cheat. Little emphasis is placed upon

reading and writing or girls' education. The school is often on strike because the teachers are not paid. The system is dysfunctional. Sometimes I feel a French teacher or reliable science teacher, a latrine or new drinking well, better roads or fuel sources would be more important to these students' lives than English. Yet the Chadian government and the US government are still working together to bring English to the public schools as a form of development. This 'aid' could be productive if the students used English as a tool to further themselves or their country. While this may occasionally happen, I feel the majority want English because of the advertised culture or are only enrolled because of a requirement.

The final theme I experienced was that of English "*in development*," which demonstrates the immediate impact of English upon the community. Does English directly affect Chadian society? When I questioned the directors, teachers, and students of this concept, most replied that English is connected with jobs, particularly those related to the oil companies, and higher education, either because of certain documents or the desire to study abroad. These reasons hint at personal development because many Chadians seem too discouraged by the amount of corruption to envision national development. A desire to increase business with other countries, not just the United States, but Taiwan, Nigeria, or another country where English is the link language, is beneficial. Yet there are always those who want English to become American, to adopt the culture and become wealthy like the actors and singers seen on television. Unfortunately, learning English rarely brings on such a complete transformation. Whether the reason to learn English is to benefit to the person or the community or not, there is still a strong demand for English in Chad. As long as the country can control the spread of English, keeping it from burying smaller local languages, the influence could be productive. It is undeniable that the desire for English is growing as Chad moves into more development spheres, thus I see this immediate desire as the "*language in development*."

The Culture component

I have given examples of English *for* and *of* development (exploitation of oil), *as* development (ALC and the Peace Corps), and *in* development (personal gain) within Chad. Now I want to address what could arguably be called the “overall reason” English is in Chad, which can be found in almost every English language institute. This is the culture component. Within the desire for American culture, I found an equally strong desire against American culture, stemming mainly from Muslim merchants, who are most commonly in the North. The width of Western culture has even spilled into remote communities, which explains some of the demand for English outside of schools in the small villages. The unity of language and culture cannot be ignored, thus I find it important to discuss this culture component before sharing the pedagogical implications.

I encountered the idolization of Western, and primarily American, culture in the private language institutes, in the ALC, and in my own classes at the small public school north of N’Djamena, as well as within the community at large. Students are always asking me to translate song lyrics or shirts that might have pop culture phrases. The songs are often rap songs that are popular now. They have memorized all the rapper and singer names. “Do you know R. Kelly? Michael Jackson? Jennifer Lopez?” Students see the glamour of America from movies or magazines. They believe everything they see. People in movies really die. Cars really explode. Giant red lizards really do destroy cities and eat the people. And they still want to come to America. They want American music and clothes. The director of the ALC, Paul Gallagher, confided that “no matter how much [the center changes] their curriculum to suit Chad, there will always be students who want only the culture.” I think that ALC sees more of their culture-obsessed students because of its name, the fact that it is run by an American, and because the resources are American. I found it interesting that there is the American Language Center and the English Language Center, within 2 km of each other. Both only offer English, yet the sign out front of the ALC says “American Language” not “English Language.” In passing, one might think that the American language is most commonly English, but with the word ‘American’ more images come to mind. In my discussion with Idrissou, the director of the ELC, he told me that he used to teach at the ALC. He left because he wanted to one day make his own center that encompassed everyone, alluding to the fact that there are people who are turned off at the name “America.” As I mentioned before, Idrissou pointed out that certain strict Muslims do not feel comfortable in an American center because of the presumed prejudice against their religion. On the other side, Paul Gallagher, the director of the ALC, said he has experienced no difference because of his sign: “American Language Center”. He in fact believes that his enrollment is high because of the word “America.” Paul may be right because there are many students who seek English as a means to go to America, to absorb the wealth and fame. Those students will leave the program having had a heavy dose of American culture, still believing in the fast money and easy life that America presumably has to offer. They will dream of going to America, yet few may actually go. But this is only one type of student; there are others like those of the ELC who want English for financial and commercial reasons, having no desire to adopt the

culture. The controversy over the use of the word “America” on the sign is intriguing. With the war in Iraq, the view of Americans towards Muslims and vice versa, and the fact that America is a super-power, it is not surprising that advertising courses in “American language,” funded by the US government, are not using an entirely Chad-specific curriculum. Paul mentioned plans for future application of more relevant materials, but as of now he sees more of a demand for American culture.

Another example of the Chadian obsession with America’s presence in Iraq is “America versus Iraq” paraphernalia. Watches, wallets, shirts, belts, notebooks, and even cell phone covers carry the image Saddam Hussein growling at George Bush. Others show Usama Bin Laden next to an American flag or Bush. There are even shirts that show the image of the planes hitting the World Trade Center with an American flag waving in the background. Is this funny? Is this sad? What is the message? Who makes these objects? China exports most of the knickknacks and consumer goods to Chad. But Chadians love these images. When I ask Chadian friends why these images are on wallets, they talk of glory, of the fight, of the bloodshed. They see America as strong and Iraq as putting up a great fight. They watch America, as the world watches America, to see what will happen next. How this plays into learning English I cannot be precise. Yet I do believe that this free press worn on the shirt of many Chadian adds to the attraction of the word ‘America.’

I did a survey in all four levels of the secondary school. I asked them why they wanted English. Almost 95% said because they wanted to go to America. The other 5% said they wanted to study abroad, a few mentioned Ghana. America flashes affluence. People become hooked. They want English to go to America to [insert verb here]. Meaning, there is little realistic thought for the future of English in the children’s lives. Most do not have the luxury to fulfill their dreams of a career with English for they will have to take over the family farms. I have also encountered a strong desire for English outside the school among adults. I answer their requests for English by setting up classes. I get a lot of interest, but no one ever comes. I have asked other TEFL volunteers if they have experienced similar situations - all of them have. A few have actually been successful in giving the courses. Why is there such a desire to learn English? Is it because they see us, American Peace Corps volunteers, as more developed than they? Or is it because of their perception of American culture where affluence colors every magazine page and movie screen? What could they do with English? When asked, the answer is almost always, “Because I want to go to America. I want to be rich.” I fear that the acquisition of English will not bring them wealth nor a free ticket to America. Another example of the influence of American culture by the community is the comparison of the amount of times an American English teacher is asked to give afternoon classes versus a Chadian English teacher. Asking for English lessons from a Chadian English teacher would not even occur to most people outside of N’Djamena. But when an American Peace Corps volunteer comes to their village, it seems to be their highest priority. The high demand for the American teacher shows the curiosity over the culture outweighs the desire for the language. This could be because one rarely encounters a Westerner in Chad, but I think it is because of America’s cultural influence over the whole world. Returning to the theme of English “as development,” I see the desire to mold

themselves culturally to America, or what they see of America (Michael Jackson, fast cars, baggy clothes, and tall buildings), as a reason to learn English. Similar to Canagarajah's example of the students who wish to become 'complete,' these students and adults want to complete themselves culturally. They seem to want American culture because they are lacking as Chadians. They want the materialism and fast money, instead of corruption and poverty. Sadly, I see why. Granted there are problems at both ends of the spectrum and the one will always sympathize with the other. Becoming rich is a type of personal development. The Chadians who want this completion of character differ from Canagarajah's students, because in Sri Lanka English was a desirable status boost within the Sri Lankan society. In Chad, the English is more removed, yet with the powers of the modern world, it still reaches practically every corner of the globe and always glued to the opulent American culture.

As a former French colony, Chadians tend to be more curious about English because they distrust the French. Like Job's comment, the French did nothing with the oil in Chad, waiting for the Americans to come in and tap it. There is also a large amount of colonizer-hatred that still exists in Chad. In the South, a popular song claims, "Quand les Blancs sont arrivés, la guerre a commencé" [When the whites came, the war started.] In my experience, Chadians see the French as weak and America as strong. Young people with financial means wear American style clothing, baggy pants, baseball caps, or basketball jerseys. They listen to American rap songs and dance to American pop music. I have witnessed a fierce pull away from the French and a turn towards America. Chadians wish that Chad had been an American colony. America is idolized, lesser so in the North. As mentioned earlier, every country makes its own relationship with English. In Chad's case, English has yet to fully reach every corner, but is close. Oil, new commerce options with Taiwan or Nigeria and NGO work are the most apparent areas where English could be aiding development. Also, the American culture influence is undeniably present in Chad. Because the reasons people choose English are always different, it is necessary for the language program to be aware of any cultural glitches with America or the English language. Then, what should the English language teacher do in order to assure the most beneficially functional and effective use of English for the students regarding their own local community?

CLASSROOM IMPLICATIONS

The pedagogical implications of teaching English abroad rest largely upon a few poignant components. The first is how does the community, in which English is being taught, view the language? There should be some awareness by the teacher towards the history behind English within the region, within the school, and amongst the students. Surveying the students' past experiences with English leads to my second point, which is the necessity of communication between the students and the teacher. Questions and personal interviews could lead to a greater understanding for both the teacher and the students as to where English could take them. Open communication between the teacher and the students, and amongst the students themselves lends to the idea of voice, which Pennycook eloquently defines as "a way of addressing the conjunction between subjectivities, language practices and discourses" (1994, 296). Giroux also provides a good explanation for voice as "the means at our disposal - the discourses available to use - to make ourselves understood and listened to and to define ourselves as active participants in the world" (Pennycook, 1994, 296). Giving voice to otherwise voiceless people creates community within the classroom and change within the community. Linked to the idea of voice is making use of critical pedagogy as discussed by Freire, Pennycook, Giroux and others, where the overall goal is social change, another shield against the possible oppression of English. Therefore, how does the teacher empower the students to use such a powerful language in the most advantageous of ways?

I see the initial step for the teacher as a movement towards critical pedagogy: the acknowledgement of the politics behind teaching English. The teacher must be aware of what he/she is teaching. "The understanding of education must see pedagogy as a question of cultural politics and the focus on politics must be accountable to broader political and ethical visions that put inequality, oppression, and compassion to the fore" (Pennycook, 1999, 334). The teacher needs to be aware of the powerful messages that are sent through the use of English, as well as transmit this awareness to the students. A historical analysis of the use of English within the local and regional community could be the first step towards the acknowledgement of the local sociopolitical ramifications of English. When did the language arrive? When did the demand for English rise/fall? Who had access to English when it first arrived? Who has access now? Another area of exploration is the language program itself. How is it funded? What is the local view of this school? A lot of research can reveal immense amounts about the students and the local community, which will later serve as valuable resources when the class begins to explore ways to interact with the community.

As an English teacher in Chad, I have come to understand the socio-political role of English in Chad. Really, I have come to see how my students and the vast population of English students and even non-students view the language. First of all, the language arrived early with the missionaries, yet did not take control as France did. English spread slowly because French was the language of the schools. English is on the rise now, fifty years after the end of colonization and with the arrival of America's Esso to drill oil. English was limited to areas where there were British and American missionaries, which was mainly southern Chad. Now, English is centered around the

capital and biggest city, N'Djamena. People come to the city in search of jobs and feel they need English to obtain such jobs. The Chadian government has recently asked the United States to send TEFL aid in the form of Peace Corps volunteers to teach in Chadian public schools. We came, met and listened to the villagers, and began teaching. In the past two years, I have learned Chad's history and understand the culture. I feel as though knowing my students and some of their background knowledge of English and Western culture helps me create ways to reach out to them. I used the above questions as a starting off point to develop more culturally specific questions. Where do people meet? What do people talk about? What do they eat? What are their family values? From learning about their culture I was able to teach them my language through familiar dialogues.

There is little that is more effective in this world than someone who listens. A teacher who listens to his/her students knows their students, and in turn the students trust the teacher. A teacher who takes the time to learn why the students are studying English, what their goals are, and their reactions to learning English can better serve the students. Also a teacher who takes time to listen to the students gives the students a voice, creating a place for the student's voice to be heard. Pennycook writes of his view of voice as "a pedagogy that starts with the concerns of the students...through an exploration of students' histories and cultural locations, of the limitations and possibilities presented by languages and discourses" (1994, 311). A student armed with both a dominant language and a space to be heard can see great changes made. Catherine Walsh, who has written several articles upon her extensive research made upon high-risk students learning English as a second language, emphasizes the importance of "pedagogies that include the experiences, perceptions, and voices that have traditionally been shut out." She sets a pedagogical goal of "critical bilingualism," where one is "conscious of the socio-cultural, political, and ideological contexts in which the languages (and therefore the speakers) are positioned and function, and of multiple meanings that are fostered in each" (Pennycook, 1994, 310). A language teacher is thus a catalyst for the empowerment of students with a language in order to fight the oppression caused by the English language, so as to be able to use the language to the advantage of the speaker as well as the community. While Henry A. Giroux, a professor of Secondary education at the University of Pennsylvania who is now working to integrate cultural studies into education, uses the term critical pedagogy, he too emphasizes the link between education and political issues. He discusses the concept of ethics within the classroom, "suggesting that the issues we face as teachers and students are not just questions of knowledge and truth but also of good and bad, of the need to struggle against inequality and injustice" (Pennycook, 1994, 298). Similarly, he places emphasis upon naming the difference within society, in order to label the according discriminations to alter the tensions that such labels cause between groups. Like others, Giroux opts for a social change through education. While English is guilty of perpetuating much of the discord among societies, it is powerful and with the right care and attention, could possibly work towards monumental national transformations and thus development.

Specific methodologies for students to get the most out of their English lessons need to be made by the centers themselves. For example, workers who seek advanced English skills should look for a

center that is willing to cater to their needs. The language program is then responsible for listening to its students and providing relevant curriculum. For example, when a group of oil workers sign up for English classes, it is necessary for the teacher to be aware of their desires. They want to return to the field with oil, measurement, climatic, or mechanical terms, field discourse methods (i.e. how to ask off from work because of illness; how to fill in a measurement table; how to explain a malfunction of a machine), and a familiarity of basic conversational English. Another example could be if an AIDS prevention NGO, such as le Programme Nationale de Lutte Contre le Sida (PNLS) or CARE, enrolled in an English language program. These workers would be looking for body vocabulary and contraceptive device terms or sexual discourse methods that are careful not to offend, plus knowledge of basic conversational English. The students might not have such a specific reason for English, in which case the teacher should recognize that English in a country like Chad is not going to be the same as that in England, the US, or even Nigeria or Ghana. Students will not be interested in a main character constantly “going shopping for new clothes in a mall.” Or this same main character “playing in the snow” or “watching TV.” Now, Chad uses Go For English, which is a Cameroonian publication. But, at most schools there are small lending libraries with old, dusty copies of past English books that English teachers cannot use because they are so non-Chadian. Often Chadian teachers do not have access to Go For English. In which case, they are forced to use these old texts or do pure repetition, which is usually how they themselves learned in their English classrooms. There comes a time for cultural lessons, where such differences can be highlighted, yet for the functional use of English in Chad these scenes seem unnecessary. The teacher is free to bring other topics into the classroom but must remember the immediate desires of the students. Pennycook warns of how an English language program that does not address country-specific topics is not helping the students to further development. “An English language program limited to specific discourses and uncontroversial themes might be acceptable to donors in a development project; however, a language program relevant to students’ cultures and needs involves engagement with the social, historical, political, and economic concerns that constitute their daily reality” (Appleby et al, 328). I was pleased with the concern for relevant material that I found in almost every institute. Most of the teachers seemed to pour their hearts into research and topics for their dialogues in order to accommodate their students. Many teachers did phone dialogues. Often these were for a job interview or if you worked as a receptionist (see Appendix B.). If the topics continue to be Chad specific, the students will be more likely to succeed in applying their English to help the development of Chad (see Appendix E). And therefore, with these cases, English would fall under the category of a language “*for*” and possibly “*of*” development. As my classroom is filled with young adults, most of whom do not come into frequent contact with American culture and are not immediately thinking about the job market, I face

the challenge of making them excited about learning a foreign language. In fact, I find myself encouraging them to stay in school. Unfortunately, most of my students leave before they reach tenth grade. They leave because they want to earn money, fast money, as a merchant, as a carpenter, as a prostitute, as a brick builder. They also leave because they do not feel like going to school or because they become pregnant. Yet as an English teacher, I do spend hours in the classroom, working on the four skills in the most culturally relevant and interesting way possible with a piece of chalk and a blackboard. It is challenging, but I have had the most luck with community-specific dialogues. Using events that have happened or constantly happen in the community, I create dialogues that the children love. For example, they love “to go to the market,” “to go to N’Djamena,” and to talk about what jobs the students do after school. (see Appendix C) As an English teacher who is aware of the possible political implications of the language, I steer away from irrelevant material and look to the class for how to share this language. Maybe one or two of my students will continue in their English studies, study abroad, find a job in Chad, or bring in development ideas, all the while using English as a resource. Maybe not. But I wish that those who want English recognize the power they could access with the right means, as English is an undeniably dynamic force in the global arena.

CONCLUSION

In my attempts to clearly paint a picture of English *in, as, for, and of* developing countries, I have found that the notion of development changes from country to country and the role of English will also change, which therefore places importance on the language program to assess its students' needs. The drives of Canagarajah's students to learn English in order to become a complete person may not be the same drives of equal students in Chad. Similarly, English may not serve the same role in local life in Chad as it does in India. As a francophone country, Chad has more American impact because of oil while India was colonized by the British thus having a history of English as a language of business. Each country will develop its own relationship with the language. Each country will also develop its own relationship with the culture that follows the language. In my experience in Chad, Western culture and materialism is on the rise. I predict this obsession will grow as Chad itself develops, moving towards a country of people with more buying power. Overall the political role of English within Chad lies within government funded programs, the exploitation of oil, and individual growth. All of which is influenced by Western culture. And, all of which can expose developing nations to international information that could possibly boost the country's developmental process. Because of the ever-changing developing sector, I still have questions regarding the level of involvement English holds in specific developing countries, such as those spawned by my internship in Haiti or my TEFL experience in Chad, I am optimistic that as critical pedagogy spreads, societal and developmental changes will occur through the use of the English language.

“The project of possibility requires an education rooted in a view of human freedom as the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity” (Simon, 1987 in Pennycook, 1994, 295).

APPENDIX A.

Interview Questionnaire

- I. Type of students
 - Were the students businessmen?
 - Were they students in another school?
 - Were they jobless?
 - What do most students do with their certificates?
 - Why English?
- II. History of the centers and curriculum
 - Who created the center?
 - When?
 - What resources do they offer?
 - Are the materials relevant to Chad?
- III. Views expressed by students/teachers of English in Chad
 - Where do they hear/use English?
 - How does it immediately impact the community

APPENDIX B.

Sample Vocational Dialogues

I. SECRETARY DIALOGUE

PHONE RINGS.

Secretary: Peace Corps office*. Can I help you?

Caller: Hello. Yes. Is Daniel in?

Secretary : Yes he is. Please hold the line.

Caller: Thank you.

Secretary: Daniel will be right with you.

Caller: Thank you.

II. SECRETARY DIALOGUE

PHONE RINGS

Secretary: Peace Corps office. Can I help you?

Caller: Hello. Yes. Is Blaise in?

Secretary: No, I am sorry. He is not here.

Caller: When do you expect him?

Secretary: He just left to go to the bank. Can I leave him a message?

Caller: Yes. Please tell him that Susan called.

Secretary: I will. Thank you.

Caller: Thank you. Bye.

*Can insert any business name

APPENDIX C.

Sample Culturally Specific Dialogues*

MARKET DIALOGUE

MARKET SCENE. TOMATOES, ONIONS, AND GARLIC DRAWINGS SIT ON THE BENCH IN FRONT OF THE SELLER.

Buyer: Good Morning. How are you?

Seller: I am fine, and you?

Buyer: Fine, thanks. Do you have any tomatoes today?

Seller: Yes. Here they are.

Buyer: How much for three tomatoes?

Seller: Three tomatoes are 100 francs.

Buyer: Ok. I want three tomatoes.

Seller: Can I get you something else?

Buyer: No thanks. Not today.

STREET SCENE

Khaltouma**: Hello Mahamat. Where are you going?

Mahamat: Hello. I'm going to the market.

Khaltouma: What are you going to buy?

Mahamat: I am going to buy onions. Where are you going?

Khaltouma: I am going to Saleh's house. His mother is sick.

Mahamat: Oh. I am sorry.

Khaltouma: The doctor is there. I am going now.

Mahamat: Ok. I will see you later.

Khaltouma: Bye

*Other topics could include questions like: “What *are* you going to do today?” “Can you ride a bike?” “What is your favorite animal?” “What jobs are in your town?”

**I choose a name from the class, often switching names when I switch classes.

APPENDIX D.

Lesson plan for Bean Recipe**

Class: 5 *Duration:* 2 hours *Materials:* blackboard and chalk *Skills:* writing, reading, speaking, listening

Students will be able to:

- use cooking vocabulary
- create recipes on their own
- increase food vocabulary
- work as a group to agree on one recipe
- decipher between the first person and imperative

Warm-up: Elicit the food vocab we have already learned. List on the board.

Presentation: Explain a step by step process using 1,2,3,.....Then ask “How do you make beans?” “What is number one?” Elicit recipe one step at a time from students, helping them with English words when French comes out. Write the recipe on the board.

Example of finished recipe: (depending on the level it is more elaborate)

1. Light the fire.
2. Wash the beans.
3. Put water in a pot.
4. Put the pot on the fire.
5. It boils.
6. Add the beans.
7. Add natron, salt, and oil.
8. It boils.
9. Eat.

Work with the verbs, explaining the difference between the command form and the first person.

Work with the vocabulary that is new.

Read and repeat, as a group, as small groups, as individuals. Familiarize the class with the recipe.

Practice: Ask students to find a partner. Ask the partners to choose between rice, pasta, milk, and tea. Write a recipe. Students make their own recipes.***

Consolidation: In partners, students present their recipes orally. Other students are allowed to point out mistakes in cooking. “Add salt to pasta.” “Put the water on the fire.”

This lesson plan provokes much discussion, as many households do not make the exact same bean recipe. It also allows students to be creative. Some want to make sauce even, with recipes that have many steps. Others prefer the simple texts, “How do you make tea?” Also, the subject matter involves the girls in the class who are usually very quiet. The teacher can make them the

judges of each recipe. “Did he make it well?” For, it is the girls who will be preparing the meal after school in this society. The recipes and market lessons have prompted students to start small conversations in the market or at my house, asking pertinent food questions. We have been happy with these topics.

**The topic here can also be used as a dialogue. Topics such as food, clothes, or local jobs that deal with local items are great because the teacher can use realia. Plus, just knowing that the students have had this conversation before and the next time they will be remembering at least a few of the English terms is great.

***I often use the *Practice* part of my lesson for a written production. The students are not familiar with fine motor skills, and therefore cannot write very well. I see the more practice writing or drawing the better.

APPENDIX E.

The following is an example of a possible lesson plan that could lead to future development work with students. It makes the students aware of the of the disease as well as conversant about such topics in English (or French).

Sample AIDS Lesson plan

Duration: 2 hours *Class:* 6 or 5 (lower level) *Materials:* Already written T/F sentences ; blackboard and chalk

Students will be able to:

- bring AIDS information to their homes
- use illness vocabulary
- work with present tense

Warm-up: “My _____ hurts” mime. Teacher holds a body part and acts sick. Students say “My head hurts.” “My stomach hurts.”

Presentation: Teacher writes the difficult words to the passage on the board: weak, scared, to take, fever. Teacher explains the words and the subject of the passage.

Teacher writes passage on board. Students copy in their notebooks.

Kadiga is sick. She does not want to go to school. Her mother says, “Kadiga, are you sick?” Kadiga says, “Yes, I am sick. My stomach hurts. My head hurts. I have a fever.” Kadiga is very thin. She is weak. She cannot walk well. Her mother takes her to the hospital. The doctor tells her she has AIDS. Kadiga and her mother go home. At home, no one talks to Kadiga. No one eats with Kadiga. Her friends do not visit. Kadiga is sad and scared.

Discussion of text. What happened? Who is Kadiga? Why is she sick? Why is she sad? Would you talk to Kadiga? Why? What happens when you have AIDS?

***Practice:** TEACHER HAS SLIPS OF PAPER WITH TRUE AND FALSE SENTENCES ABOUT AIDS WRITTEN ON THEM. STUDENTS CHOOSE ONE. THEY READ IT OUT LOUD AND SAY ‘TRUE’ OR ‘FALSE.’**

ex. You can get AIDS by eating with someone.

You can get AIDS by using dirty needles or razors.

You can see if someone has AIDS by looking at them.

We put all the 'trues' with one student and all the 'falses' with another. When finished these students read out the sentences again. Students are allowed to debate if it is really true or not. This sparks a lively discussion and people see what they don't know.

*I do this part in French because the comprehension level of both AIDS and English is so low. Depending on the level, I also hold the discussion section in French.

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