Stars & stripes and Union Jack: Exploring the presence of native-speaker cultures in an English major program ธงชาติสหรัฐอเมริกาและอังกฤษ : วัฒนธรรมเจ้าของภาษา ในโปรแกรมวิชาเอกภาษาอังกฤษ

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Abstract

As English has become the main language for intercultural communication, cultivating students' ability to communicate in English with people from differing linguistic and cultural backgrounds is imperative. A current concern of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) is the prevalence of the target culture of native-speakers in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) settings despite being questioned by a growing body of literature. This paper presents the results from an exploration of such concern in an English major program at a Thai public university. The data was drawn from a review of curricular documents and photographs of artifacts produced by the members of the program. Consistent with the literature, the results identified a strong linkage between the target language (English) and target culture. The findings support the need for changes in how native-speaker culture should be approached in English major programs and the need for developing English major programs that produce English major graduates who can thrive in the increasingly intercultural age.

Keywords:

native- speaker culture, English as an international language, intercultural communication, English major program, Thailand

าเทคัดย่อ

ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษาหลักของโลกในการสื่อสารระหว่างวัฒนธรรม ดังนั้นการส่งเสริมพัฒนาให้ ผู้เรียนสามารถสื่อสารโดยใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเพื่อติดต่อกับผู้คนจากหลากหลายเชื้อชาติภาษาและวัฒนธรรมจึงถือ เป็นเรื่องที่สำคัญมากที่สุดเรื่องหนึ่งในการสอนภาษาอังกฤษสำหรับผู้ที่ใช้ภาษาอื่น หรือ TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) อย่างไรก็ตาม แม้จะถูกวิพากษ์โดยนักวิชาการด้านการศึกษา ภาษาอังกฤษจากทั่วโลกถึงความสอดคล้องกับบทบาทของภาษาอังกฤษในปัจจุบัน วัฒนธรรมเจ้าของภาษา ยังคงมีอิทธิพลอย่างมากในการเรียนการสอนภาษาอังกฤษ โดยเฉพาะในประเทศที่ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็น ภาษาต่างประเทศ หรือ EFL (English as a Foreign Language) บทความนี้นำเสนอผลของงานวิจัยที่มี วัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการปรากฏของวัฒนธรรมเจ้าของภาษา ในโปรแกรมวิชาเอกภาษาอังกฤษใน มหาวิทยาลัยของรัฐแห่งหนึ่งของไทย ข้อมูลที่ได้มาจากการวิเคราะห์เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้อง รวมทั้งภาพถ่ายจาก วัตถุและบริบทแวดล้อมของโปรแกรม ๆ ผลลัพธ์ที่ได้ชี้ให้เห็นถึงความจำเป็นในการปรับเปลี่ยนมุมมองเกี่ยวกับ การเรียนการสอนวัฒนธรรม และแนวคิดเกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรมเจ้าของภาษาในสาขาวิชาภาษาอังกฤษให้ผลิตบัณฑิตสาขาวิชา ภาษาอังกฤษที่สามารถยืนหยัดและเติบโตในโลกแห่งความหลากหลายทางภาษาและวัฒนธรรม

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1. Introduction

This paper presents the results from an exploration of the notion of the target culture of native-speakers (henceforth "NS cultures") manifested in a Bachelor of Arts in English Program at a Thai public university. The study was inspired by my interest in the intercultural aspects of TESOL and my observation as a newly appointed teacher at an English major program. Started teaching again after spending years on my Ph.D., I began to realize that the notion of culture has rarely been challenged in practice. Another incentive of conducting this study was that English major programs in Thai universities are now mandated to undergo a significant curriculum revamp according to the Office of Higher Education Office (OHEC). Thus, it is timely to investigate the reality and rethink some questionable assumptions related to NS cultures within English major programs.

English major programs have been offered in many Thai public and private higher education institutions due to the significance of English in Thailand and internationally. Traditionally, these kinds of programs focused on English language linguistics, literature and translation studies. As English has been used in various domains, such as in economics and trade, advertising, tourism, and technology transfer (Foley, 2005, p. 226), such programs have developed into different areas of specialization and titles. These include, for instance, "English", "Business English", "English for Communication" and "English for Business Communication". Many of these programs are administered, by the Departments of English, Western Languages, or Foreign Languages in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences or Liberal Arts.

2. TQF 1 for English major programs

Such diversity of the English major programs in Thai universities led to the standardization of curricula nationwide by OHEC in 2017. Through Thai Qualifications Framework (TQF) for B.A. in English B.E. 2560 (A.D. 2017), OHEC prescribes a set of program specifications and students learning outcomes that universities must adopt (or adapt) by the 2019 academic year (Ministry of Education, 2017).

The learning outcomes comprise five domains, namely: Ethic, Knowledge, Intellect, Interpersonal and Responsibility, and Thinking and Numerical Analysis. This paper focuses on the Knowledge domain as one of its four outcomes is related to assumptions regarding learning NS cultures:

Based on related literary theories, students must be able to read, interpret, analyze and critique poetry and literature and **British and American plays** written in or translated into English in order to understand significance of individuals, societies and cultures that will lead to peaceful co-existence (Ministry of Education, 2017, p.3, my translation, emphasis added).

The explicit mention of "British and American plays" implies that the knowledge of British and American literature is necessary for English majors as it would enable them to understand "individuals, societies and cultures," presumably of the British and Americans. It also suggests that such understanding "will lead to peaceful co-existence", between Thai people and those from the U.K. and U.S.A. This assumption is problematic because it assumes that understandings of NS cultures will benefit learners in their communication. It also assumes that learners, who are non-native speakers (NNSs), will use English to communicate with NSs (Tantiniranat & Fay, 2018, p. 77). Most of English users today do not have English as their first language, but as a second or a foreign language (Crystal, 2003, p. 69), and, in fact, NNSs have outnumbered native-speakers (NSs) since the beginning of the millennium. Thus, it is likely that Thais use English to communicate with other NNSs rather than with NSs from countries like the U.K. and U.S.A. (Graddol, 2006).

Focusing on the knowledge about NSs' societies and cultures seems contradictory with another learning outcome in the Knowledge domain which states that "Students must be able to analyze the development of English language, including World Englishes" (Ministry of Education, 2017, p.3). World Englishes is a paradigm that has emerged from the global spread and development of English, and thus problematizes the relationship of English with particular groups of speakers. It also contradicts the OHEC's own view that recognizes that English is diverse in their studies and that English is important as the main medium of communication within government and business sectors as well as for general communication (Ministry of Education, 2017, p.1).

In addition, one of the learning outcomes of the Interpersonal and Responsibility domain is that students must be able to efficiently apply the body of knowledge in English to work with others, possess leadership, understand their own roles, be open-minded and able to adapt to diversity within the workplace and society (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 3). This statement tends to regard English as a tool for communication between people from any societies and cultures rather than those from the British and American spheres.

3. The place of NS cultures in TEFL

As reflected through a top-level policy discussed in the previous section, an assumption underpinning English major programs in Thailand is regarding the importance of learning NS cultures. The notion of native-speakerism has been dominant in the TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) paradigm. TEFL is prevalent in contexts where English does not have an official and/or legal status i.e. Expanding Circle countries like Thailand (see Kachru, 1996).

In TEFL, it is widely believed that NSs "have a special claim to the language itself, that it is essentially their property" (Holliday, 2005, p. 8). This "native-speakerism ideology is so deep in the way in which we think about TESOL that people are standardly unaware of its presence and its impacts" (Holiday, 2005, p.10). This assumption is evident in the Thai context where the word "native-speaker" is translated into "owner of the language" (Methitham, 2009, p.94; Tantiniranat, 2017, p.49).

Further, given that English major programs nationwide are administered under Departments of Western Languages or Department of Foreign Languages, an assumption underpinning these programs is that English is generally regarded as a Western language and/or foreign language. As a result, it can be implied that students are "outsiders", "foreigners" or "linguistic [and cultural] tourists' (Graddol, 2006, pp.82-83). They can never become a "native-speaker" because "in the literal sense, it is impossible for an L2 user to become a native speaker, since by definition you cannot be a native speaker of anything other than your first language" (Cook, 2007, p. 240). This dichotomy between "foreignness" and "nativeness" has "become naturalized into taken-for-granted, normal, non-ideological aspects of every-day discourse" (Fairclough, 1995, p.28, cited in Holliday, 1999, p.251).

Another assumption which has underpinned TEFL is that native-like competence is the ultimate goal of English language teaching and learning (Cook, 2009, p. 12; Jenkins, 2006, p. 139; McKay, 2003, p. 5). This competence does not include only the linguistic, but also the NS cultural components (Hülmbauer et al., 2008, p.28; Kirkpatrick, 2007, p.379; Byram, et al., 2002, p.5).

The native-speaker's cultural components focus on the knowledge of people, societies and culture of the Inner Circle countries such as U.K., U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Tantiniranat & Fay, 2018, p.76). This focus on the "target-language culture" (Alptekin, 1993) implies that students have to learn "culture" of the target language that they are learning.

The term "culture" in this context is "coincidental with countries, religions, and continents" (Holliday, 2005, p.17) and is associated with national stereotyping, for instance, being French, British or Thai. It is also known as *Big C culture*, *high culture*, *achievement culture*, and *Capital C culture* which includes, for instance, "elements of British and American cultures – history, geography, institutions, literature, arts, and music" (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, pp. 5-6). In this paper, I use "NS cultures" in this large culture sense to refer to the representation of history, arts, music, literature, etc. of the NSs living in the Inner Circle countries.

In English language education, NS cultures are typically promoted through textbooks and other teaching materials. Traditional English major programs typically offer undergraduate courses on British and American literature (Bayyurt & Altinmakas, 2012, p. 171). Further, they are promoted in extra-curricular activities such as festivals like Halloween, Thanksgiving and Christmas (Methitham, 2011, p.64).

Nevertheless, learning English does not necessarily mean learning solely the cultures of NSs. English has become the main language for intercultural communication (Sharifian, 2009, p. 2) in which "the boundaries between one language and culture and another are less clearly delineated" (Baker, 2011, p. 199). The teaching and learning of target-language culture is, therefore, becoming less relevant (Richards, 2003, p.17; Corbett, 2003, p.27; McKay, 2003, p.10), and "it would be more realistic to speak of one language which is not always inextricably tied to one particular culture, as is the case with English" (Alptekin, 1993, p.140). Teaching English as an International Language (TEIL) is an emerging paradigm in TESOL. According to McKay (2018), "EIL is not linked to a particular social/cultural context in the same way that French, Korean or Japanese are intricately associated with a particular culture. In this way EIL is or should be culturally neutral" (p.11). Being "neutral" here means to move away from the target cultures. This is in line with Risager (2006 cited in Baker, 2009, p.571) who views that in a context where English is used as a lingua franca, the language can "be separated from the cultures of the inner circle countries". Instead, given the role of English in intercultural communication, the language can be associated with various cultures, including NS cultures, learner's own cultures (McKay, 2002; 2018) and international cultures (Matsuda, 2012). These cultures, however, should be dealt with in a way that recognizes their multiple, complex and dynamic nature to avoid oversimplifying cultures and stereotyping (Baker, 2015a, p.14)

4. Related studies

Previous studies have been conducted to explore the dominance of NS cultures in various Expanding Circle contexts. Many of these studies focus on NS ideologies as portrayed in textbooks (e.g. Alptekin, 1993; McKay, 2003; Siegel, 2014). In the Thai context, scholars such as Baker (2015b; 2016) and Jindapitak (2013), have also problematized the NS cultural norms in textbooks and proposed for the inclusion of various cultures, including students' own cultures. Recently, Suwannasom (2016) argues that, against the backdrop of ASEAN (the Association of South East Asian Nations), it is vital for Thai English teachers and students "to be aware of the importance of intercultural understanding and the differences between their own culture and other cultures of English speaking people, which is not restricted to native speaker's culture" (p.2).

The NS cultures ideologies are not only present in textbooks, but they have also been embraced by TESOL practitioners. For instance, Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2015) report that preservice teachers in Portugal ranked British and American cultures as the cultures that ought to be taught in English language classrooms. Nevertheless, recent studies have reported a shift away from teaching NS cultures. For instance, Iranian school teachers in the study by Moradkhani & Asakereh (2018) believe that students should not only be familiar with cultures and customs of English-speaking countries but from other countries. This supports Bayyurt (2006) who found that Turkish teachers voice that "international culture", i.e. both NS cultures and student's own culture, should be emphasized in English language classrooms.

Few empirical studies have investigated TESOL practitioners' attitudes towards NS cultures in the Thai context. Methitham (2009) studied the signs of colonialism in a Thai ELT context. The participants were a group of teachers teaching at three universities and 11 secondary schools in the lower-northern region of Thailand. Drawing from a questionnaire and email interviews, the study identifies sign of colonialism in four aspects: "scholastic", "linguistic", "cultural", and "economic". With reference to "culture", it concludes that the participants believe that knowing "Western native-speakers' culture" will enable their students to learn English better.

In line with a growing body of literature that questions the teaching and learning of NS cultures, CEFR, with which Thai universities need to align, stresses that language education should equip students with proficiency "in several languages and experience of several cultures" in order to engage in intercultural interactions (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168).

Hence, it is pivotal that policy makers, language educators and practitioners in Thailand rethink our assumptions about NS cultures in TESOL practices.

5. Purpose and scope

Far too little attention has been paid to the notion of NS cultures in English major programs in Thai universities, especially at this important time when Thailand is looking outward to ASEAN and the world and when all English major programs are mandated to revise their curricula. Therefore, I conducted the present study to explore the extent to which and how NS cultures are manifested in the studied English major program.

I purposefully selected an English major program at a Thai university where I am currently working. Currently, there are 23 teachers and about 690 students enrolled in the four-year undergraduate program. When it was established in the late 1950's, the focus was on the study of English language and literature. Later, in 2011, the it began to offer two tracks of studies: English language and literature (ELL) and Business English (BE). The latter arose from the growth of business and commerce and the demand in human resources in the area.

In this study, I focused on cultural artifacts (Spradley, 1980; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) such as curricular documents, bulletins, images, and artwork produced and used by any individual or group of teachers, students, staff and/or administrators of the program. The artifacts are outputs of the program's "small culture" — cohesive behaviors, values and/or activities of a small social grouping (Holliday, 1999, p. 237), and "may reveal much about the places where they were seen as necessary or desirable" (Yin, 2003, p.86).

6. Materials and methods

I began collecting a selection of documents after October 2017, when I started working at the program. These documents comprise curricular and policy documents and the program's publications. To identify NS cultures, I paid attention to the word "culture" and statements that explicitly mention NS cultures.

In addition to texts, I used images as sources of data. I collected images used in the programs' promotional materials and publications and took photographs of artifacts found around the department. The visual objects are ubiquitous in the program's setting and can offer "insight that is not accessible by any other means" (Banks, 2007, pp. 3-4). To identify NS cultures, I paid attention to any cultural icons for instance, pictures of persons or objects representing a country, flags, architecture. Following Holliday (2005), cultural icons are "social

concepts that are venerated by a particular cultural group and which, in the case of English-speaking Western TESOL, are sustained" (p. 41). These cultural icons are significant because they:

play the role of conceptual anchor around which cores of understanding gather. They are among the products of the cultures while at the time rallying points for cohesion through cultural identity, expression, and exclusivity ... and also naturalized into the 'think-as-normal' of the culture..." (p. 42)

The sources of the data included five documents, four images, three researcher-generated photographs and fieldnotes. I coded the documents and photographs and wrote analytic memos. (Milles et al., 2014) Finally, I noted the emerging patterns and offered my interpretation of the patterns.

7. Results and discussion

I will begin by discussing the findings drawn from my analysis of the curriculum document as curriculum is the heart of every program. I will then provide further evidence from other sources of data: the program's publications, images available on the program's website and photographs of artifacts.

7.1. NS cultures in the curriculum

While the selected program is currently revising their curriculum to meet with the TQF1's requirement, I studied the current 2016 curriculum which was in use during this study. The curriculum requires English majors to take and pass 130 credits, at least 93 of which are major specific courses. These comprise 27 credits of core courses and 66 credits of major courses. The curriculum offers a broad range of courses in English studies ranging across literature, linguistics and communicative skills. Three courses in the curriculum contain the word "culture" in the title.

First, one out of nine core courses offered to all English majors is "English Language and Culture" which is described in the curriculum as: "A study of background and origins of the English language and Western culture through printed media which reflect the aesthetics of language and culture of English native-speakers" (emphasis added).

The second course is one of the major courses. As English majors follow one of the two tracks, ELL and BE, they take different groups of major courses. The major courses of the ELL track are language and literature based. There is one course related to culture, "British

and American Literature and Culture" which is about "Background of literature related to **British and American culture**, analysis of outstanding prose and poetry samples of **the two cultures**" (emphasis added).

While there is a major course related to culture for ELL track students, the curriculum does not offer any course related to the notion of culture to BE track students who are the majority. Their major courses are business communication skills-based, for instance, reading, writing, speaking for business communication. It is interesting for future studies to further probe assumptions regarding the relationship between business communication and the notion of culture.

The third course dedicated to culture is a 3-credit major elective course (out of 21 credits) entitled "Cross Cultural Experience". Although it is an elective course, it is required by both ELL and BE students. The course's description is as follows:

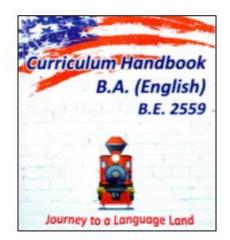
The course requires extensive vocabulary building and includes general information concerning the culture, geography, history and social concerns of six selected English-Speaking Countries and the EU; and addresses the concept of globalization, Thailand and ASEAN compared and contrasted to the English-speaking countries (emphasis added).

The review of the curriculum, specifically the names and descriptions of the three courses above reveals some assumptions regarding the notions of culture and NS cultures. First, the term "culture", e.g. as in the title of the course "English Language and Culture", generally refers to the taken-for-granted notion of NS cultures.

Second, learning the literature of the target language seems to be regarded as a means of learning the high culture of the target culture. The term "culture" here tends to attach simply to the "countries, religions, and continents" (Holliday, 2005, p. 17) and does not consider how multilingual and multicultural these countries, religions or continents can be.

Third, the contents regarding NS cultures are covered extensively in the curriculum. This can be seen from the description of the course "Cross Cultural Experience". Although it covers the "concept of globalization", "Thailand" and "ASEAN", the cultures of "six selected English-Speaking Countries" are also included. It also requires a comparison between students' country and cultures with those of the "English-speaking countries". Further, by putting the "English-Speaking Countries" first, this suggested to me the prioritization of learning NS cultures before those of Thailand and ASEAN.

The significant place of NS cultures in the curriculum is supported by the images of the flag of the U.S.A., the Stars and Stripes, on the cover of the curriculum book itself (Figure 1).



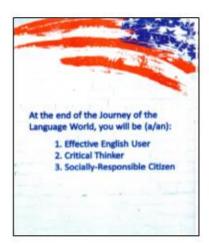


Figure 1: The front and back cover of the curriculum book

7.2. NS cultures in extracurricular activities

In addition to the curriculum document, NS cultures are explicitly promoted by the department through extracurricular activities such as in the annual dramas produced and performed by third-year ELL track students. The students' choices are usually British or American dramas, e.g., "Corpse Bride" and "The Great Gatsby," because this activity is part of the "Drama" course which focuses on Western dramas. Also, a department memo states that the objectives of this activity were for students to practice their English skills, including listening, speaking, pronunciation, and reading as well as promoting their understanding of native-speaker cultures.

While such cultural activity primarily aims at exposing students to NS cultures, it can also become a "two-sided sword" because "if this cultural promotion is not taken into account critically, the students will run a risk of being subject to linguistic and cultural imperialism" (Methitham, 2011, p. 64).

7.3. NS cultures from students' perspectives

The preference of NS cultures is not only manifested at the curricular and department levels but also reflected in students' discourse. An article written by a student in a department bulletin discusses that a tip for improving English is to immerse in an English-speaking environment – i.e. to be surrounded by "native-speakers" and "getting used to native accents, pronunciation and intonation". As for culture, the article suggests that through watching

movies, students can learn cultures "such as English culture which is important to understand along the process of learning the language".

This statement also suggests that the student may assume that learning NS cultures is crucial for learning English which corresponds to Methitham (2011), who argues that a consequence of cultural promotion (in this case through movies) is that students "are likely to prioritize nativeness as the only way to become competent in English" (p. 64).

7.4. NS cultures and English major identity

Another evidence that demonstrates the dominance of NS cultures in the selected program can be seen through the pervasive use of NS cultural icons in representing the English major program.

The flag of the U.K. or the Union Jack is the most frequently used cultural icon and is usually present in association with the word "English major". For example, Figure 2 depicts a poster produced by a program admin staff in which the Union Jack is placed above the phrase "3rd-year English Major".



Figure 2: The Union Jack in a poster

Figure 3 below demonstrates the cover photo of the department's Facebook page that also contains the Union Jack and images of iconic buildings in London, England, such as Tower Bridge, the Tower of London and Elizabeth Tower (Big Ben). The use of these icons and the texts on the photo are discussed later in this section.

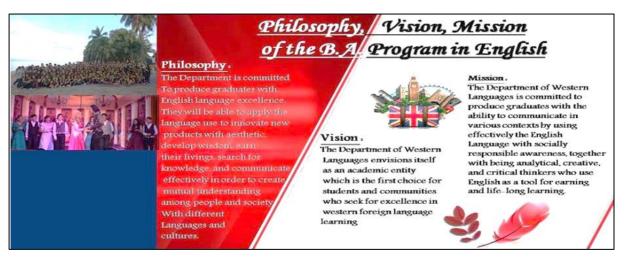


Figure 3: The Department Facebook cover photo

Similarly, English majors usually incorporate the Union Jack in their artifacts such as the program t-shirts (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Students' t-shirt

In addition to the British flag, Big Ben seems to be the most popular cultural icon among students used to represent their field of studies. As shown in Figure 5, a student-designed pin features Big Ben, the flag of England (the St George's Cross), and the word "Eng", an abbreviation for "English".



Figure 5: Students' designed pin

The findings suggest that NS cultures are the dominant cultures in the curriculum and are manifested extensively in the discourses of the department and students. These are not surprising to me as a former English major several years ago and as a teacher who has been teaching in some Thai universities. An internet search of a phrase such as "English major" would produce similar results too as the program and other similar traditional English major programs in Thailand are still predominantly rooted in the Western/foreign languages paradigm.

Nevertheless, the philosophy of the English major program in question (as shown below and in Figure 3) tends to demonstrate that the notion of cultures does not refer specifically to NS cultures but to cultures that are not tied to any specific society.

Philosophy

The Department is committed to produce graduates with English language excellence. They will be able to apply the language use to innovate new products with aesthetic, develop wisdom and their livings, search for knowledge and communicate effectively in order to create mutual understanding among people and societies with different language and cultures (emphasis added).

To sum up, the investigation of selected curricular and policy documents along with the artifacts produced by the members of the program shows that NS cultures are pervasive in the curriculum and extra-curricular activities. They are manifested in the department's policies, publications, objects as well as in student's discourse, as the taken-for-granted

cultures. Additionally, NS cultural icons are usually identified with the identity of the English major program and students.

8. Conclusions

This study strengthens the idea that NS cultures have been taken for granted for too long in English major programs despite being challenged by TESOL scholars. The findings can be used to raise awareness of English major programs' administrators, students and teachers in orienting their position in response to the current roles of English in the world.

First, the insights gained from this study may be of assistance to the development of an English major program which embraces the TEIL paradigm to better respond to the current role of English as an international language for intercultural communication purposes. However, the study does not suggest a radical change in the program reengineering but a curriculum revision that addresses future employment needs for English major students in the international market.

Second, the evidence from this study suggests that English major programs should initiate more extra-curricular activities that promote language and cultural diversities. These activities should enable and encourage students to use English to discuss their own local cultures, regional cultures, specifically those of ASEAN countries, and international cultures.

Finally, the findings may be of interest to English language teachers who wish to better prepare students to use English in interacting with people from differing cultures. Following Tantiniranat and Fay (2018), teachers need to be able to identify the cultural assumptions in their practices and develop their pedagogic thinking that aligns with the current roles of English. According to Holliday (2018), "This means shifting the perception of what makes English authentic away from what amounts to a constructed 'American' or 'British' culture, and towards language that is meaningfully rooted in the lived experiences of students" (p. 3, emphasis in the original).

9. Limitation and recommendations for future studies

In this small-scale study, the data was drawn primarily from ethnographic materials. Future studies may incorporate self-report data such as questionnaires and interviews and include perspectives of stakeholders, especially teachers (e.g. Bayyurt, 2006; Methitham, 2009; Azuaga & Cavalheiro, 2015). Further, as the study explored an educational setting, it does not claim the generalizability of the findings; however, the insights gained from this study could

be applied to similar English major programs within Thailand and beyond. The study can be a starting point for further discussions and studies that seek to better understand the relationships between the notion of culture specifically in business English field.

Notes

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