English Language Educational Policy in Saudi Arabia Post 21st Century: Enacted Curriculum, Identity, and Modernisation: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

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Abstract

There has been limited research focusing on the place of culture and resulting teaching and learning identities in EFL and how these issues impact on EFL policy, curriculum and enacted curriculum, especially textbooks. Even less research has focussed on these issues in the Gulf context. Some international research has explored the role of culture and geopolitical factors affecting EFL policies in the world. Some other studies (several in the Gulf context) have explored global historical and political developments and how they have affected cultures and hence EFL curricula within those cultures. A few studies have explored the enacted curriculum (specifically in relation to textbooks) in Gulf countries and its relationship to the local culture(s) and discourses. This paper is the first in the KSA context to examine the full range of documents including policy, curriculum and textbooks (as representative of enacted curriculum) and to explore how these documents arise out of cultural identities and in turn may have a range of effects on teacher and learner identities.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN SAUDI ARABIA POST-21ST^ST CENTURY: ENACTED CURRICULUM, IDENTITY, AND MODERNISATION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

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Introduction

There has been limited research that has focused on the place of culture and resulting teaching and learning identities in EFL and how these issues impact on EFL policy, official curriculum and enacted curriculum, especially textbooks (Field, 2000; Guillerme, 2002). Even less research has focused on these issues in the Gulf context; however, some international research has explored the role of culture and geopolitical factors affecting EFL policies in the world (Byram & Risager, 1999). Some other studies (several in the Gulf context) have explored global historical and political developments and how they have affected cultures and hence EFL curricula within those cultures (Kramsch & Lam 1996, Al-Qahatani, 2003; Karmani, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Elyas, 2008). A few studies have explored the enacted curriculum (specifically in relation to textbooks) in Gulf countries and its relationship to the local cultures and discourses (AlShumaimeri, 1999; Al-Issa, 2006). This study is the first in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) context to examine the full range of documents including policy, and to explore how these documents arise out of cultural identities and in turn may have a range of effects on teacher and learner identities.

This study begins with a brief exploration of selected English and general education policy documents, curricula and textbooks within the KSA context from a critical discourse perspective and examines how they have changed pre-21st century. First, one policy document related to education in KSA in general (pre-21st century) is analysed along with an ELT policy document of the same period. Next, two general post-2001 policy documents are examined, followed by one related to ELT policy. Then, the 'network of practices' within which these documents are situated are detailed, as well as the structural order of the discourse, and finally some linguistic analysis of the choice of vocabulary and grammatical structures (Meyer, 2001). Issues which might be problematic to the learning and teaching identities of the students and teachers interpreting these documents are also highlighted.

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The next part of the research involves mainly interdiscursive analysis and explores the English school curriculum and textbooks structurally and interdiscursively relating them to the discourse in the general Ministerial policy documents. Finally, we consider whether the network of practices at this institution and in the KSA in general "needs" the problems identified in the analysis (Meyer, 2001, p.125). The study concludes with a critical reflection on the analysis itself.

Ministry of Education General Documents, pre-2001

KSA education was affected over a long period of time (1970-2001) by the Ministry of Education (MoE) policy highlighting goals and objectives of education in the country. See Figure 1 (Arabic) and Figure 2 (translation). This was the only guideline provided to teachers and curriculum designers defining and describing how education should be conducted in the KSA over that period (Al-Attas, 1979). Consequently, during the 30 year period, all curricula, pedagogies and materials were created and selected on the basis of this document. This document addresses a range of discourses prevalent in KSA, most importantly the notion of the centrality of the Islamic religion in every facet of life (Tibi, 2001) and the notion of the 'Islamic State' operating according to the tenants of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* (Tibi, 1997). Thus it operates within religious as well as political 'networks of practice' (Mayer, 2001).

The structural order of the discourse reflects the focus and linking of religion and political life mentioned above. The preamble to the document describes how the Education policy in KSA is embedded in a belief in *Allah* and the Islamic religion, and relates this to "the demands of the Islamic Nation" (MoE 1970a, preamble). In the tenth goal/objective this merging of religious, political and educational life is reiterated by referring to all stages of education as well as the elements of the curriculum. This education policy document clearly falls within a traditional Islamic view of the world where religion and state and in this case education as an organ of the state is indivisible (Ahmad, 2004; Lewis, 2002). Knowledge (المعرفة) itself is seen as a "unified concept" (Picard, 2007, p.7) which involves both "sensory and intelligible realms" as well as "the realm of the spirit" (Ratnawati, 1996: 4).

These elements of religion and state and their relationship to education and the individual are reiterated throughout the document. Linguistically, there is considerable repetition in the document. The noun "Islam" or the adjective "Islamic" is repeated nine times in the short document. The adjective is linked with the concepts as diverse as "nation", "visualization", "civilization", Law, "culture" and "science", thus suggesting that the religion encompasses the whole network or "life" of the individual. Other religious terms such as references to the Prophet Mohammad (4), *Allah* (2), the afterlife/ immortal life (2) and faith (1) also permeate the document.

A great deal of attention is paid in this document to abstract concepts reflected in abstract nouns: productivity (1), creativity (1), happiness (2), spiritual agonies (1), dignity (2), glory (2), corruptions (1) and duty (1). In contrast, there is a dearth of concrete, tangible objectives in the document. The only subject/ field mentioned is that of "Science" and this is also linked inextricably to Islamic discourse in the concept "Islamic Sciences."

Interestingly, the personal pronoun "he" is used throughout the document to refer to the concept of "student", except in clause 9 where female students are specifically referred to. Here, a female student's "right to education" is qualified with the rider that it should be provided "according to her [female] instincts and nature", be it based on "protecting her dignity and image" and be based on Islamic law. This focus on Islamic religion, Islamic Law, Islamic "civilization" and "nation" permeating education so much so that it becomes almost entirely "Islamic Education" is likely to cause difficulties in the teaching of English (see Elyas as & Picard, 2010) which some might view as a vessel for Western and even anti-Islamic values.

Figure 1. The Ministry of Education Policy Document in 1970, Arabic Version (MoE, 1970a).

في المملكة العربية السعودية

تمهيد

الحمد الله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على خاتم الأنبياء والمرسلين سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين وبعد فإن :

1- السياسة التعليم هي الخطوط العامة التي تقوم عليها عملية التربية والتعليم أداء للواجب في تعريف الفرد بربه ودينه وإقامة سلوكه على شرعه وتلبية لحاجات المجتمع وتحقيقا لأهداف الأمة وهي تشمل حقول التعليم ومراحله المختلفة ، والخطط والمناهج والوسائل التربوية والنظم الإدارية والأجهزة القائمة على التعليم وسائر ما يتصل به

والسياسة التعليمية في المملكة العربية السعودية تنبثق من الإسلام الذي تدين به الأمة عقيدة وعبادة وخلقا وشريعة وحكما ونظاما متكاملا للحياة ، وهي جزء أساسي من السياسة العامة للدولة وفق التخطيط المفصل فيما يلي:

الباب الأول: الأسس العامة التي يقوم عليها التعليم

2- الإيمان بالله ربّا وبالإسلام دينا وبمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم نبيًّا و ر سو لاً.

3- التصور الإسلامي الكامل للكون والإنسان والحياة، وأن الوجود كله خاضع لما سنّه الله تعالى، ليقوم كل مخلوق بوظيفته دون خلل أو اضطراب.

4- الحياة الدنيا مرحلة إنتاج وعمل، يستثمر فيها المسلم طاقاته عن إيمان وهدى للحياة الأبدية الخالدة في الدار الآخرة، فاليوم عمل ولا حساب، وغداً حساب ولا عمل.

5- الرسالة المحمدية هي المنهج الأقوم للحياة الفاضلة التي تحقق السعادة لبني الإنسان، وتنقذ البشرية ممَّا تردت فيه من فساد وشقاء.

6- المثل العليا التي جاء بها الإسلام لقيام حضارة إنسانية رشيدة بناءة تهتدي برسالة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلَّم، لتحقيق العزَّة في الدنيا، والسعادة في الدار الآخرة.

7- الإيمان بالكرامة الإنسانية التي قررها القرآن الكريم وأناط بها القيام بأمانة الله في الأرض(وَلَقَد كرمنا بَنِى ءَادَمَ و حملناهم في البر والبحر ورَزَقْناهُم مِّن اَلطَّيباتِ وَفَضَّلناهم ْعَلى كثِير مِّمَّن خلقَنَا تفضيلاً) سورة الإسراء، الآية: 70c " .

8- فرص النمو مهيَّأة أمام الطالب للمساهمة في تنمية المجتمع الذي يعيش فيه، ومن ثم الإفادة من هذه التنمية التي شارك فيها.

9- تقرير حق الفتاة في التعليم بما يلائم فطرتها ويعدها لمهمتها في الحياة على أن يتم هذا بحشمة ووقار، وفي ضوء شريعة الإسلام، فإن النساء شقائق الرجال.

10- طلب العلم فرض على كل فرد بحكم الإسلام، ونشره وتيسيره في المراحل المختلفة واجب على الدولة بقدر وسعها وإمكانياتها.

11- العلوم الدينية أساسية في جميع سنوات التعليم الابتدائي والمتوسط والثانوي بفروعه، والثقافة الإسلامية مادة أساسية في جميع سنوات التعليم العالي.

Figure 2. The Ministry of Education Policy Document (line-by-line translation by the authors) (MoE, 1970a).

Preamble: To be thankful to *Allah*, the God of them all, and prophet *Mohammed* (PBUP): The system of education in KSA stems from the demand of the Islamic nation. Education is an imperative duty to educate oneself about his Allah and nation to support his nation according to the nations' demands and goals. Therefore, the objectives of the education system in KSA are as follow:-

1. To believe in *Allah* and *Mohammad* (PBUH)

2. To achieve the Islamic visualisation of the universe, humans, and life so that each individual will conduct his tasks without any interruptions from external sources

3. To teach the Muslim how to depend on his faith for productivity, creativity and to guide his immortal life

4. To believe that Mohammad's message will bring happiness to humanity and He is the saviour against corruptions and agonies

5. To believe that Islam's civilization requires both wisdom [derived from faith] and human constructions to achieve glory on earth

6. To follow the highest example that Islam has brought to human civilization through Prophet Mohammad's example to achieve glory on earth and happiness in the afterlife

7. To believe in and protect human dignity as stated in the *Qur'an*

8. To assist the student to contribute to the society he lives in.

9. To state that girls have a right to education according to her instincts and nature and that this right should be based on protecting her dignity and image and on the Islamic *Sharia.*

10. To assert that education is a core component of every individual in Islam; and spreading education at all stages of life is a duty of the Nation.

11. To assert that the Islamic Science courses are a core component of every stage of the curriculum in Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools. Also, the Islamic culture is a Core Component in Higher Education.

(Ministry of Education, 1970)

Policy for ELT for all Schools Levels, pre-2001

Like the general education policies, the English Language Teaching policies are/were centrally determined by the MoE, more specifically, by the Curriculum Department Centre for Development (CDCD). Over the period 1970 to 2001 the policy represented in Figure 3 (original Arabic) and Figure 4 (translation) was promulgated.

Figure 3. The Curriculum Department Centre for Development, ELT section (Arabic Version) (MoE, 2002).

أحد أهداف نظام التعليم في المملكة توفير الطلاب مع الكفاءة في اللغة الإنجليزية كوسيلة لاكتساب المعرفة في مجالات العلوم والفنون والاختراعات الجديدة ، ونقل المعارف والعلوم الأخرى المجتمعات المحلية ، في محاولة للمساهمة في انتشار الدين الإسلامي وخدمة الإنسانية.

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(Ministry of Education, Policy of English, 2002)

Figure 4. The Curriculum Department Centre for Development, ELT section (line-by-line translation by the authors).

Translation: One of the goals of the education system in the Kingdom is to provide students with proficiency in English as a way of acquiring knowledge in the fields of sciences, arts and new inventions, and of transferring knowledge and the sciences to other communities, in an effort to contribute to the spread of the faith of Islam and service to humanity.

(Ministry of Education, Policy of English, 2002)

English like the rest of the curriculum is represented as directly linked to "the faith of Islam" (الدين الإسلامي) and thus in the KSA 'network of practices' should serve the purposes of the Islamic religion and Islamic nation-state. The structure of the discourse also reflects subjugation of the subject English to the demands of the state and religion. The policy starts with a clear statement about 'one of the goals of the education system in the Kingdom', which emphasises the role of the Islamic State. It finishes with the role of English to "contribute to the spread of the faith of Islam and service to humanity" (للمساهمة في انتشار الدين الإسلامي وخدمة الإنسانية), emphasizing the vital importance of Islamic faith in every subject.

An analysis of the vocabulary in this document reveals that although the policy relates to the subject of English, "English" is only mentioned once in the document. Instead, "knowledge" is mentioned twice, "science" is mentioned twice, along with "art" and "new inventions". It is possible from this emphasis, that English plays an instrumental role in the acquisition and transfer of knowledge in general and scientific and technological knowledge, in particular. This is consistent with the 'strong Islamization' position that English teaching is a tool for the access to and spreading of "modern-day knowledge" (Ratnawati, 1996, p.8). The responsibility of the Muslim to spread as well as acquire knowledge is also highlighted with the words, "transferring knowledge and sciences to other communities" (Figure 4, lines 3-4).

Limited evidence of the 'weaker Islamization' position is also reflected in this policy since English is also described as instrumental in the spread of Islamic faith and "service to humanity" in the document. This reflects some of the arguments on the TESOL Islamia website (Karmani, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, Al-Faruqi, 2005; Ratnawati, 2005) that Islamic education requires English because of the large number of English speaking Muslims and the need to spread the faith of Islam to this cohort. No guidance on how English should be taught or the essential elements of such a curriculum is provided. However, the emphasis on and repetition of science and technology and the importance of religious faith in the learning of English suggests that the content should include the vocabulary and grammatical structures necessary to acquire these discourses.

Analysis of MoE Policy Document, post-2001: Ten Year Plan (2004-2014)

Many changes were made for the first year of 2001 (see Figure 5). The MoE consequently developed "The Ministry of Education Ten Year Plan (2004 – 2014)" which set the following goals for that ten-year period.

Figure 5. General Objectives for Curriculum Development Program

- Forming general curriculum and specialized material standards along with curriculum developments
- Building houses of expertise and instructional design centres.
- Developing primary levels curriculum that enhance stable personality and values and develop life skills for the learners.
- Developing secondary school curriculums to contribute in preparing for labour market.
- Complete development of interactive digital curricula which balances between the presented amount of knowledge within learner's needs and requirements.
- Orientation of staff working in creating the curricula.
- Prepare experts in creating curriculums.

(General Objectives of the Curriculum Development Program, 2005)

In this document, Islamic religious and national "aspirations" are sidelined to brief mentions of "legitimacy and national balanced vision" which appear to refer to a valuing of both Islamic and 'global identities'. The rest of the document, however, focuses on educational discourse, as well as the role of the individual and global "digital" interactions. Educational terminology is ubiquitous in the document with terms such as "education(al") (3 times), "curriculum"/ "curricula" (10 times), "learner(s)"/ "learning"/ "learnt" (8 times), "skills" (3 tokens) and "content" (1 times) appearing frequently. This is significant, since this is the first unified curriculum initiative in KSA. The KSA individual interacting with other individuals within a 'global', information-age digital world is stressed. Within this "digital curriculum" (3 tokens) the emphasis is on "self-learning", learning "processes", life and problem-solving skills in preparation for the "labor market", thus encouraging towards individualistic "identity" (Hofstede, 2001). However, the role of the teacher is still to provide "suitable education" in keeping with "this era" and Islamic values and to teach students to "integrate knowledge" and interact in keeping with a collective Islamic identity. Therefore, there is a clear limitation on encouraging the students' individualistic "identity" within the framework of their Islamic paradigm.

The 'weak Islamization' role of the teacher in the global/digital era is clearly incredibly challenging since the students have the ability to access information freely themselves. Some of these challenges should be addressed to describe the teacher narratives' dilemma in dealing with these competing discourses. Also, the challenges indicated by the competing discourses/identities in the different parts of the *Tatweer* documentation are evident in the student data described in other research papers.

In order to put *Tatweer* into practice, the KSA government undertook a massive retraining initiative from 2007 onwards. Some 1,700 male and female teachers and school administrators, representing 50 secondary schools Kingdom-wide ended their 15-day training course this week in preparation for launching KSA's most important educational revamp: the King Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz Project for Developing Public Education (*Tatweer*). The training course took place in three different cities: Taif, Abha and Jeddah.

The Kingdom has allocated around $293, 000,000 for the *Tatweer* project and is planning to take education to new horizons to cope with transformations around the world. Teachers, students' advisors and school principals take different courses that can enable them to deal with their students from different angles to help them succeed at all levels. According to Abdul-Wahhab Al-Mikaimzi, chief of Public Relations in the Ministry, the project consists of four axes: 1) developing teachers' skills; 2) developing curricula; 3) enhancing school activities; 4) and improving school environment.

In fact, the government had done its best to spread knowledge and science everywhere in the KSA. This leadership is trying to develop education and is employing the latest possible technology to help build KSA citizens at all levels. If education is a never-ending process, we believe that developing that education is a necessity. He further stated that the project aimed to make students analyse and think to come up with solutions", and that the "teacher's role will be to just monitor the class and distribute roles among learners. This change role of the teacher is also highlighted by Ali Sambo Director of the Educational Training Department at the Taif General Directorate of Education who argues that the teachers' role in the classroom involve should involve providing students with information sources either in libraries or online to make students carry on their own research. A number of pragmatic measures have been put in place in order to facilitate these new teaching/learning relationships. One issue specific change is the change in the classroom environment. One of the ways of promulgating of the new teaching/learning environment involves the setting up of "models schools". Al-Rasheed, (2008) stressed that the new 50 schools will reflect how our schools ought to be" (p.12). Al-Rasheed further stated that "the principals in these schools have no other choice but to succeed," (2008, p.13) said, adding that collective work is the secret for success.The *Tatweer* clearly indicates a completely new direction for education in KSA, focusing on developing digital and information literate student. The implication for both teacher/learner relationship and hence teacher/learner identities is likely to be dramatic, especially when this new dynamic is contrasted with the past and current pedagogical practices.

Policy for ELT for all Schools Levels post-2000
Post-2000, the General Director of Curriculum Department Centre for Development (GCDCD) Dr. Al-Mikaizmi put forward a new policy related to ELT. The central control of the Ministry of Education and the value they placed on this policy is emphasised by the fact that this policy is pasted on the second page of each student's English textbook at Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools in KSA. Interestingly, this policy has not been revised with the advent of *Tatweer*, although it is likely the emphasis on information literacy is likely to also impact on the teaching of English. This document is represented in Figure 6 (Arabic) and Figure 7 (English translation) below:

Figure 6. Policy for ELT 21 century for all school levels. (Arabic Version)

لإعداد أطفالنا لاستخدام اللغة الإنجليزية ، التي أصبحت واحدة من أكثر تستخدم على نطاق واسع لغات في العالم، لاستئناف دور المسلمين في الحضارة الإنسانية من خلال المعرفة في الحصول على كتب الآداب والعلوم في هذه اللغة ويمكن القيام بذلك دون تعزيز الأخلاق والأعراف والممارسات التي تتناقض مع معتقداتنا الدينية.

(MoE, General Director of Curriculum, 2002)

Figure 7. Policy for ELT 21 century for all school levels. (English Version)

Translation: To prepare our children to use English, which has become one of the most widely used languages in the world, for the resumption of the Muslims' role in human civilization through gaining knowledge in Arts and Science written in this language. This can be done without promoting moral and customs which are contradictory to our religious beliefs and customs.

(MoE, General Director of Curriculum, 2002)

Once again like the policies above, policy towards English is located within the 'network of practices' of the Islamic religion and State as represented by the emphasis placed on the "Muslim's role" (line 3), "religious beliefs and customs" (line 5-6). However, in the structure of the discourse, English is given a more prominent role with the document starting with the acceptance that the role of ELT is to "prepare our children to use English" and continuing with an acknowledgement of the prominent role of English as a global language in the words, "which has become one of the most widely used languages in the world" (line 1-2).

Like in the previous policy documents, the role of English as an instrument to acquire other knowledge "Arts and Science" is emphasized. However, this policy appears to follow a 'weaker Islamization' position than the former one. The emphasis is no longer merely on "modern-day knowledge" in the form of Science and technology and knowledge in "Arts" is placed alongside and equal to Sciences, as represented by the parallel grammatical structure. Importantly, the 'weaker Islamization' position that English teaching of both language and culture can be done "without promoting morals and customs which are contradictory to [the Islamic] religion, beliefs and customs" (also reflected in Hare, 2002) is explicitly stated in this document. More details of what this policy entails and how it should affect the teaching of English as a foreign language in KSA are provided in the "General Objectives of Teaching English" first detailed by the Ministry of Education in 2001. These interestingly, unlike the other documents described above, are provided in both English and Arabic on the Ministry's website.

These objectives are located within a far broader 'network of practices' than previous policy documents. Firstly, the role of English teaching and English learners and teachers within the international community is highlighted. This is, on the one hand, is linked with the "spreading Islam" (Objective 8) and but on the other hand is linked more broadly with promoting cultural understanding of Islam and Islamic cultures among other nations (Objectives 2, 7, 8, 11 and 12) and the respect of other cultures within KSA society (Objective 2 & 10). This falls within the discourse of inter-cultural and inter-faith dialogue which has been used in a number of Western countries to combat radical anti-Islamic action post 9/11. Most prominent examples of this movement include King Abdullah's historic inter-faith dialogue under chairmanship of King Juan Carlos of Spain in 2008, the Ahmadiyya Centre in Malta in 2010 (which was founded in Pakistan in the 19th century). The instrumental function of English as a means of operating in the work environment (Objectives 1, 4 & 7) is also emphasised in this document as well as once again the importance of English in acquiring and spreading knowledge (Objectives 1 & 11). However, knowledge per se is less prominent in this document and linked with economical, personal and 'international' goals. Thus this document falls within economic, political, ideological and religious 'networks of practice'.

Figure 8. General Objectives of Teaching English (English Version). (MoE, General Director of Curriculum, 2002).

The general objectives of teaching English in Saudi Arabia according to the new curriculum document published in 2001 aims for the students to be able to:

1. develop their intellectual, personal and professional abilities.
2. acquire basic language skills in order to communicate with the speakers of English Language.
3. acquire the linguistic competence necessarily required in various life situations.
4. acquire the linguistic competence required in different professions.
5. develop their awareness of the importance of English as a means of international communication.
6. develop positive attitudes towards learning English.
7. develop the linguistic competence that enables them to be aware of the cultural, economical and social issues of their society in order to contribute in giving solutions.
8. develop the linguistic competence that enables them, in the future, to present and explain the Islamic concepts and issues and participate in spreading Islam.
9. develop the linguistic competence that enables them, in the future, to present the culture and civilization of their nation.
10. benefit from English –speaking nations, in order to enhance the concepts of international cooperation that develop understanding and respect of cultural differences among nations.
11. acquire the linguistic bases that enable them to participate in transferring the scientific and technological advances of other nations to their nation.
12. develop the linguistic basis that enables them to present and explain the Islamic concepts and issues and participate in the dissemination of them.

(Al-Hajailan, 2005)

Interestingly, the structure of the discourse reflects both the discourse of *Tatweer* (Modernization) and tolerance in response to calls by Western governments and media and local business interests as well as the 'weaker Islamization' position (also reflected by Policy Figure 8 above). The instrumental motivation of developing "intellectual, personal and professional abilities" is placed first and followed by a number of objectives (Objectives 2 – 7) which focus on instrumental, communicative goals (as is common in the Communicative Language approach (CLT)). This appears to be appealing to proponents of 'modernization' (often equated with Westernization) both abroad and locally. On the other hand, towards the end of the document the emphasis changes to the role of English in spreading Islam, Islamic culture and fulfilling the needs of the Islamic Nation State. This is particularly significant, since in the well-known Arabic proverb it states:

خاتمة مسك

Translation: The last sentence prevails as the most important take-home message.

A linguistic analysis of the objectives once again suggests a focus on instrumental goals of so-called "communicate competence" (Johnson & Brumfit, 1981; Brumfit, 1984; Byram, 1997). The word كفاءة "competence/basis" is repeated six times in the document. Abstract concepts of "awareness", "understanding" and "respect" are once again highlighted, but in this document, a two-way communication is emphasised rather than just the promotion of Islamic values as in previous documents. In this document, the subject is given more prominence with the word "English" being repeated four times in the document. The Islamic religion is still prominent in the document, but religious references have been reduced to three thus suggesting that discourses of "more English and less Islam" (Karmani, 2005a) has had a practical impact on the wording of the documents. However, as noted above, the 'last word'/ emphasis of the document is the "dissemination" of Islam through the medium of English.

Conclusion

In EFL classrooms, issues of socio-cultural identity and representation are very important. In EFL settings, many linguists have argued that language learning is problematic when the home and classroom/textbook cultures are at odds or when the values and even teaching methods presented in class are alien and unappreciated (see e.g. Canagarajah, 1993; Pennycook, 1989, 1994).

In this context, both the students and their teachers' primary discourses are at odds with the materials they are exposed to in the textbooks. However, as Kramsch (1993a) elegantly puts it, "socio-cultural identities and ideologies are not static, deterministic constructs that EFL teachers and students bring to the classroom and then take away unchanged at the end of a lesson or course." As the students and teachers are exposed to the materials, their learning and teaching identities are likely to change. Additionally, the rapidly changing policies and socio-political environment and mixed messages presented both in the media and policy documents are also likely to cause ideological conflicts within the students and teachers. Thus, as is common in complex learning environments, the situation in a sense 'needs' the 'problem' (Meyer, 2001, p.) of the inappropriate textbooks and divergent learning plan and curriculum since it is within this potentially explosive situation that teachers are forced to make active decisions on what to teach and how to teach it and students are made aware of the role of culture in language learning.

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