How Green Was My Textbook?
Towards an Ecological Critical Language Awareness Pedagogy

私の教科書はどのぐらいグリーンだったか

Edward HAIG

Introduction
The origin of this paper lies in the confluence of four contemporary trends in foreign language teaching around the theme of environmental education and my attempt to extend and operationalize this confluence through the development of an ecological critical language awareness pedagogy. The present study describes these trends, gives an outline of the pedagogy and reports on its implementation in a Japanese university context. The first trend concerns subject matter: in recognition of widely held beliefs about the parlous state of the planet and the various problems faced by so many of its inhabitants, both human and non-human, increasing numbers of foreign language teachers have sought to introduce work on so-called ‘global issues’ such as human and animal rights, globalization, poverty, peace and the environment into their teaching. This trend has coincided with a second, more general trend concerning methodology, namely the movement towards teaching foreign languages via ‘authentic’ or content-based materials. In response to the conjunction of these two trends, materials writers and educational publishers, particularly in Japan, have, over the past decade, produced large numbers of textbooks on global issues themes, to such an extent indeed that globally-minded teachers now find themselves blessed with something of an embarrassment of riches. The many books available show considerable variation in terms of specific topics, approach, reading level and degree of conceptual difficulty, and on whichever criteria applied some may be considered more appropriate than others to a particular learning situation. The question of ‘appropriateness’ leads on to the third trend, namely the growing appreciation among foreign language teachers of the need to develop learners’ critical language awareness in order to equip them for ‘real’ life beyond the
classroom in an increasingly globalized and textually-mediated world. The main methodological contention of this paper is that one useful means of developing such critical awareness is to involve learners themselves in evaluating the appropriateness of their own textbooks or other teaching materials. And this in turn leads to the fourth trend concerning learner autonomy and the notion of ‘student-as-researcher’, because one way of empowering learners to take control of their own learning is to help them overcome their reverence for textual (and teacherly) authority through a critical appraisal of the teaching materials and practices with which they are confronted. Building on a critical evaluation of these trends, the pedagogy proposed centres on an ecologically-oriented version of critical language awareness which takes environmental discourse as its subject matter. The way in which this pedagogy has informed the work that my students and I have been doing is described in a case study of a course centered on an analysis of the treatment of environmental problems in English language global issues textbooks. The study shows how the pedagogy can help learners become aware of the ideological overdetermination of representations of nature in language and of how such apparently esoteric matters resonate with their own experience as learners and users of language.

**The Four Trends**

**Global Issues**

In many parts of the world global issues have become not just a personal but also a professional concern of teachers in every branch of education (Reardon, 1988). For a number of reasons global issues have acquired a justifiably significant role in foreign language classrooms (Jacobs et al., 1998) although this success, as with any innovation, has not been achieved without some controversy (Dyer & Bushell, 1996). In response to this trend foreign language curricula and teaching materials dealing with global issues have been developed in several countries, including Australia (Brown & Butterworth, 1998), North America (Capra, 1999; Stempleski, 1992), Mexico (Avila et al., 1993), Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (Jacobs, 1995), Russia, Vietnam and Korea (Cates, 1999) and Taiwan (Wilson, 1999). Partly due perhaps to the national enthusiasm for kokusaika (internationalization), the global issues message seems to have fallen on particularly fertile ground amongst the English language teaching profession in Japan (McIntyre, 1996), with numerous published materials (Cates et al., 1999) and even a computerized database of global
issues resources now available (Casey, 1996).

A key impetus to the development of global issues education was provided by the United Nations in 1975 when it organized an International Environmental Education Workshop in Belgrade. This resulted in the Belgrade Charter (UNESCO-UNEP 1976) which set out six objectives for environmental education:

- **Awareness** Acquiring an awareness of environmental problems.
- **Knowledge** Acquiring knowledge of environmental problems, including their causes and possible solutions.
- **Attitudes** Acquiring social values and feelings of concern about environmental problems and motivation to do something about them.
- **Skills** Acquiring the skills necessary to solve environmental problems, including language skills.
- **Evaluative Ability** Acquiring the ability to assess environmental measures and educational programmes from various angles including the ecological, political, economic, social, educational and aesthetic.
- **Participation** Development of a sense of responsibility and urgency about environmental problems leading to action to solve them.

From the environmentalist point of view in particular, the last of these, participation, is the most important because, as Jacobs et al. point out, ‘all the other objectives come to nothing if people do not translate their awareness, knowledge, attitudes, skills and evaluative ability into action.’ (1998: 10).

A further milestone was reached in 1987 when UNESCO held the first of its annual Linguapax conferences devoted to making language education a force for peace in the modern world. Linguapax 1 led to the Kiev Declaration which called, amongst other things, for ‘the development of appropriate methodologies for teaching foreign languages and literature in the spirit of peace education’ (UNESCO, 1987). Reflecting their popularity amongst language teachers, several national and international language-teaching organizations now have special interest groups (SIGs) devoted to global issues. One of the first national organizations to establish a group was the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT), which started its Global Issues in Language Education SIG in 1991. This has been one of the most successful and active SIGs within JALT: after reaching a peak of 700 members in the mid-90s, membership has declined somewhat but is still over 400. This decline mirrors the decline in JALT membership overall during this period which
is in turn related to the various factors currently impacting on the foreign language teaching profession in Japan, particularly at the tertiary and adult levels, such as the faltering economy and the falling school-leaver population. In Korea, the national organization KoreaTESOL set up their Global Issues SIG in 1995 and in the same year the British-based International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) founded a group of the same name. The Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) established their Global Education Study Group in 1996 and in America the world’s largest such organization, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) established a group called TESOLers for Social Responsibility in 1999. Along with the growth of these groups, there have been symposia at teachers’ conferences and special issues of language teaching journals devoted to global issues and a growing number of books on the subject. The interest in global issues is not confined exclusively to teaching practitioners and second and foreign language acquisition specialists however. In 1993 the International Association of Applied Linguists (AILA) established a Scientific Commission on Language and Ecology. This research and policy body interprets its brief quite broadly to encompass the language of ecology on the one hand and the ecology of language on the other, both now subsumed under the general heading of ‘ecolinguistics’, on the theme of which there have also been a number of conferences, journal articles and books (see Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001). Elsewhere, approaching ecological issues from the literary standpoint there is the Association for the Study of Language and the Environment (ASLE), founded in America in 1991 and with branches in several countries including Britain and Japan. This group in turn is just one part of the emerging academic movement known as Green Studies which seeks to ensure that ecological matters are given as much attention in the humanities as gender, race and class (Coupe, 2000).

While there is still some controversy and debate both within and around the field of global issues education concerning such questions as the ethical validity of introducing explicit values into what some see as the ‘neutral’ activity of language teaching, whether language teachers working in foreign countries have the right to ‘impose’ their values on the native population (Dyer & Bushell, 1996), and at a more fundamental level whether or not the world really is in such a bad state (Lomborg, 2001), it seems highly probable as the impact of globalization on human rights, health, peace and the environment intensifies that global issues will become an increasingly influential trend in language teaching, particularly since
this trend fits so well with the second one.

**Content-Based Learning**

Although the idea that the best way to learn a language is to study it in context has a long history (Kelly, 1969), it has given rise to much discussion in recent years concerning the importance of content in second and foreign language acquisition, particularly its value as the very basis for language learning (Brinton et al., 1989). These days there is widespread agreement that a narrow focus on the grammar structures of isolated sentences is not the most effective way of learning a foreign language and that the use of authentic content-oriented texts, that is, texts not originally intended for language teaching purposes, offers a better way of contextualizing and thereby promoting learning (Kasper, 2000). Conversely, content-based learning (CBL) is credited with not just enhancing language acquisition outcomes but also improving such factors as self-confidence, critical thinking skills, creativity, risk-taking and a general improvement in well-being and positive attitude (Parmenter, 2000).

It is important to remember that CBL is far from monolithic but rather takes many forms that are themselves constantly evolving (Mackenzie, 2000). However, from what we have already seen it is not perhaps surprising that global issues have proved a popular source of material for content-based learning and that so many global issues-themed textbooks have been produced by Japanese publishers. It should be noted here that while the university English language readers considered in this paper do not fully meet the strict definition of authenticity (Nunan, 1989) since they are, by definition, textbooks, their aim may fairly be regarded as being to bring substantive information and knowledgeable opinion on global issues into the classroom not only for the purpose of teaching English but as a worthwhile end in itself. Some of them, such as those containing selections of articles from *Time* magazine or internet sites may be considered closer to the ideal of authenticity than the ones written by professional textbook writers, but even in these latter the emphasis is usually on information and opinion rather than the mechanics of language acquisition. This is reflected in the fact that over one third of the books contain reading materials only with no explicit language study exercises at all. As we shall see however, in the case of those books that do contain such exercises, there is often a curious mismatch between the limited view of learning which these reflect and the progressive emphasis on providing meaningful content about global issues,
which means that these texts fall somewhat short of satisfying some of the Belgrade Charter’s key objectives. And of course we must not forget that what a textbook is, and how it is used in the classroom, are two very different things. So-called ‘communicative’ textbooks, for example, are frequently taught in far from communicative ways (even by teachers who believe themselves to be engaged in communicative work), while more traditional texts may well give rise to authentic communication under suitable conditions (Frohlich et al., 1985). Although it is hoped that future work will broaden the scope of this research to examine more ethnographically how these books are used by teachers and students, in the present study the focus of analysis was on the textbooks qua texts and on the ideologies inherent within them.

Questions about the meaning of ‘authentic’ notwithstanding, the trend towards CBL, which is particularly noticeable in post-secondary education and English for Special Purposes contexts where academic or vocational language skills are important, means that the balance is tilting steadily away from the traditional narrowly linguistic focus and there is now a strong emphasis on helping learners to acquire information via the second or foreign language, in the process of doing which they will be able to improve and develop their abilities in the target language (Snow & Brinton, 1997). This focus on meaning does not mean that form is ignored – study time may well be devoted to structure analysis, pronunciation practice or improving spelling – simply that this is located within an overall framework of learning about some particular subject and arises out of that study. While CBL may appear to be putting the cart before the horse from the orthodox language teaching point of view by prioritizing content over form, in fact one of its most radical features is that in both its overall aim and in practice, content-based learning seeks ultimately to overcome the artificial division between language instruction and other academic subjects which exists in most educational institutions (Brinton et al., 1989: 2). One of the merits of this approach is that it naturally encourages the integration of practice in the four major skills of language learning with the development of higher order study skills. Students must not simply read authentic texts to understand them but must also critically interpret and evaluate what they read. This critical reflection serves as a basis for informed discussion with peers and teachers which in turn is a useful preparation for academic writing. It is this need to develop and draw on higher order skills entailed by the content-based approach which signals the point of confluence between this trend and the third one.
How Green Was My Textbook?

Critical Language Awareness

In addition to the ‘facts’ they are intended to transmit, all textbooks simultaneously encode and communicate, more or less overtly, the values and ideologies of the writer(s) and their institutional and social backgrounds (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is predicated on the belief that gaining an awareness and understanding of this phenomenon is an essential aspect of what it means to acquire literacy in a language. Nowhere perhaps is this ideological loading more common or the need for critical awareness of language greater than in the case of foreign language textbooks (Littlejohn & Windeatt, 1989; Cates, 1993). This is because such textbooks are in the unique position of trying to teach a ‘contentless’ subject, for how can the set of rules of an abstract semiotic system be taught except through the use of illustrative examples? The converse of this lack of specific content – notwithstanding the traditional fascination with pens, be it the existential status of English pens in Japanese classrooms or their relative spatial location vis a vis the tables of French aunts in the case in British schools – is that potentially anything may be taken as illustrative grist to the language pedagogue’s mill. Grammatically, it makes no difference whether the cat sat on the mat, the boss sat on the safe or the logger sat on the chain-saw but the choice of examples, where this is systematic in some way, such as in the inclusion or exclusion of ‘controversial’ issues, entails presuppositions about the place of values in education and of education in the wider society. Many people believe that impressionable young minds (including those of university students) ought not to be exposed to anything too explicitly ideological in the classroom, but this ignores the ‘common sense’, ‘taken-for-granted’ ideology of the sociopolitical context in which all teaching materials, pedagogical practices and institutional structures are embedded and is itself an irredeemably ideological belief. The following sentences are taken from an English language textbook for junior high school pupils published in Moscow four years before the collapse of the Berlin Wall: ‘Before the Great October Socialist Revolution many children did not go to school. … They could not afford it.’ (Bogoroditskaya et al., 1985: 34) This particular choice of content may well strike contemporary readers in Japan as ideologically-loaded, but is that how it was intended by its authors or interpreted by its target readers? Or was it to them just a matter of common-sense (something which as McGurty and Silova show has changed dramatically in Russian textbooks since the break up of the Soviet Union (1999)). It may well have been nothing more than common sense that prompted
the author of a British textbook analyzed by Cates (1993) to write the following exercise to practice the conditional pattern *If I were ... I would...*:

*If I were rich, I would ...*
build a new home / buy a yacht / fly to Brazil / travel the Silk Road / give my parents a new car / buy a swimming pool / do nothing / stop working / own a restaurant.

But far from being a neutral or natural example of language use, it is clear that this exercise, in both its choice of topic and the limited range of options, is not merely giving practice in the grammar point but also reinforcing values of consumerism, materialism and individualism. Learners are presented with a very limited range of options: either buying something expensive for themselves or their families or spending money to enjoy themselves in extravagant ways. There is no suggestion that the money could be used to alleviate poverty and sickness, tackle homelessness, protect human rights, promote literacy or protect the environment. Moreover, choosing a different stem such as *If I were homeless...* or *If I were an African elephant...* would entail a very different set of options, lead to different conversations and promote a different set of values.

The same Russian textbook concludes a reading passage about Lenin and Red Square thus: ‘The children are to complete what the revolutionaries started. They will build Communism. Lenin's dream will come true.’ (89) As above, we may well ask whether this is any more or less ideological or common-sensical than, for example, the following fragment of dialogue found in a 1984 British cartoon-style textbook by Littlejohn and Windeatt (1989: 173):

*Young Woman:* It’s OK, Professor. We’re British. Is this an ice-gun?
*The Professor:* Yes, but ...
*Young Woman:* Look out, Professor! It’s Boris Petrov. He’s a spy! He’s Russian!

Admittedly, this textbook is aiming to capture the interest of its young readership by making use of the Cold War spy story genre, but nevertheless it casually reinforces unhelpful stereotypes of ‘enemy’ countries rather than promoting international understanding and world peace, an aim after all which is frequently espoused by the language teaching profession and governments (not least in Japan) as one of the goals of foreign language education.

Amongst language teaching professionals, whereas teachers and teacher-trainers
talk freely about methodology they are far less likely to talk about ideology, and may indeed be quite hostile to the introduction of the sort of critical theory that is now widely accepted in many other areas of education (Pennycook, 1994). This hostility was apparent recently for example at the 1999 AILA conference in Tokyo when the doyen of British applied linguistics, Henry Widdowson, denounced critical applied linguistics as ‘hypocritical applied linguistics’ (Widdowson, 1999) and another influential scholar, N. S. Prabhu, attacked what he called ‘misapplied linguistics’ (Prabhu, 1999). The inherent conservatism in foreign language teaching circles compared to other areas of education is due to a combination of factors, including the socially and economically insecure position of many of its personnel, the often marginal status of the subject in the curriculum, the dominance of certain forms of knowledge such as formal linguistics and cognitive psychology over others, native-speaker ethnocentrism and the widely-held belief in the need to sustain ‘standards’ in such matters as grammar and pronunciation (Honey, 1997). Despite these obstacles however, notions such as critical pedagogy and engaged pedagogy are beginning to find a wider acceptance in foreign language teaching, particularly at the tertiary level (Pennycook, 1999; Norton & Toohey, 2003) and prominent in many of the new approaches is an interest in what is variously called critical literacy or critical language awareness.

Symbolic of the openness and reflexive character of these projects is the fact that there are already signs of critical spaces opening up in the more progressive quarters of applied linguistics about whether such rationalist approaches can keep their emancipatory promises (Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1993) or whether it is not in fact time to move beyond critical applied linguistics to a brave new world of ‘critical applied postlinguistics’ or ‘postcritical applied linguistics’ (Pennycook, 2001). While Pennycook’s arguments regarding the need for critical approaches to education to remain a ‘movable praxis’ rather than merely settling down into a new form of dogma are entirely reasonable, and while his postmodern promotion of critical applied linguistics as a form of anti-disciplinary knowledge rather than merely interdisciplinary seems to accord well with broadly ecological developments in other disciplines (cf. Sayer’s ‘postdisciplinary’ social science, Sayer, 2000), his characterization of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical language awareness as mired in outdated Marxist structuralism (Pennycook, 2001: 38–39) is, I believe, less creditable since it appears to be little more than a rhetorical device for opening up a discursive space for his own poststructuralist position and ignores the progress
made by CDA in the last decade (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) towards the very sociologically-informed, reflexive form of praxis which he advocates. Indeed, in their more recent work on the dialectic of semiosis and critical realist philosophy Norman Fairclough and his co-workers appear to have embarked on an exploration of the meaning of discourse and its implications for critical praxis even more searching than Pennycook’s own (Fairclough 2002; Fairclough et al., 2003).

Critical discourse analysis is not so much a specific branch of linguistics but rather a general orientation towards language which foregrounds the ways in which language conventions and practices are suffused with power relations and ideological processes of which people are often unaware. CDA operates with a three-dimensional model of discourse: first comes the text itself, the basic unit of communication; next, it sees texts as the products of discursive practices or interactions, that is, as the result of processes of textual production and distribution and simultaneously as resources for the processes of textual consumption and interpretation; finally it sees these discursive practices as constituting one ‘moment’ of the network of wider social (political, ideological, etc.) practices with which they articulate (Wodak, 2001). Although it is not formally aligned with any one theory of language CDA, particularly in its Faircloughian formulations, has developed an extremely fruitful dialogue with Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1994; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 139–155). This influential theory conceives of language as a social semiotic and attempts to show how meaning is realized through all strata of the language system from genre and register down through the discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar to phonology and graphology.

The aim of CLA is to adapt the research tools of CDA, including the metalanguage of SFG, into pedagogical tools for classroom use. The necessity of providing learners with such critical tools is, as Fairclough maintains in the introduction to his key edited collection, *Critical Language Awareness*, that:

‘a language education focused upon training in language skills, without a critical component, would seem to be failing in its responsibility to learners. People cannot be effective citizens in a democratic society if their education cuts them off from critical consciousness of key elements within their physical or social environment. If we are committed to education establishing resources for citizenship, critical awareness of the language practices of one’s own speech community is an entitlement.’ (Fairclough, 1992: 6)

Although Fairclough is here referring to first language education, CLA has been
How Green Was My Textbook?

applied to second and foreign language education by several teacher-researchers including Malischewski (1990), Wallace (1992; 1999) and Kumaravadivelu (1999). One of the most influential workers in this field is Hilary Janks who was responsible for the publication of the *Critical Language Awareness Series*, a set of six books of classroom materials designed for use in South African secondary schools (Janks, 1994). The activities in the books are based on authentic texts, in which Janks and her colleagues raise critical questions about the ideological underpinning of particular discourse features. In Australia, similar work to CLA is being developed under the heading of ‘critical literacy’, two principle of which are summarized by Comber (1994: 661) as the problematizing of classroom and public texts and the repositioning of students as researchers of language. These principles point to the connection between this trend and the fourth one concerning learner autonomy and the notion of student-as-researcher.

**Learner autonomy and student-as-researcher**
The notion of learner autonomy is a complex and contested one with deep historical roots in various cultures (Benson & Voller, 1997). However, in the field of English language teaching it has been primarily through the tradition of twentieth-century liberal western thought that autonomy has become established as a key principle of modern education. Even within this western tradition however we find that the term has been used in many different and frequently contradictory ways. Definition is made particularly difficult because, as Benson and Voller have noted (1997: 5), there is a fundamental ambiguity in the term due to two basic tensions: between freedom from restraint and responsibility on the one hand, and between the individual and the social on the other. One consequence of this is that the socially transformative ideals of radical educationalists such as Freire and Illich which were a significant strand in the development of the notion of learner autonomy have frequently been lost in its practical implementation in such things as computerized language labs and self-access centers, which tend to reflect a decidedly instrumental rationality. Nevertheless, three major conceptions of autonomy may be recognized (Benson, 1997): the technical (positivist), the psychological (constructivist) and the political (critical). The technical view focuses on learning outside of conventional classroom settings and without teacher intervention; the psychological view sees autonomy as the development of a capacity within the individual learner to take responsibility for her own learning; and the political view sees the concept
in terms of empowering learners to take control of their own learning.

Learner autonomy is closely linked to a parallel trend towards a learner-centered pedagogy and the view of language learning as the active production of knowledge (Nunan, 1988). These trends have been developed more recently, particularly in the United States, into the so-called ‘student-as-researcher’ (SAR) approach (see contributors to Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998). Although these ideas have yet to make much of an impact in the field of foreign language teaching (where the notion of teacher-as-researcher is still seen by many as daringly avant garde) this approach argues that a good education should prepare students as people who can ‘read the world’ in such a way that they can not only understand it but also change it with regard to issues like social justice, equity, peace and the environment, and as such displays clear connections with the concerns of global issues education. However, the SAR approach differs in having a more specifically oppositional political orientation, albeit within the carefully delimited bounds of American individualistic liberal-humanism. Reading the world also involves reading oneself and one’s role as a player in the world. SAR aims to empower students to identify the social, political and pedagogical contradictions in their own lives, to understand how these have shaped their own consciousness and thereby to acquire new ways of reading the world that challenge the taken-for-granted apolitical views of reality and knowledge with which they are usually confronted. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998) refer to this new way of reading the world as ‘power literacy’ and clearly the SAR approach seems to have much in common with CLA.

Towards an Ecological Critical Language Awareness Pedagogy

We have seen that a confluence has been developing between the four pedagogical trends of global issues teaching, content-based learning, critical language awareness and the ideas of learner autonomy and student-as-researcher. Content-based learning theory argues that a particularly effective way of learning a language is to use it to learn about a certain subject. Global issues teaching seeks to make foreign language education a site for language learners to find out about and, ideally, work towards overcoming global problems. Critical Language Awareness can help here because it seeks to equip learners with the critical tools to describe, interpret, question and potentially resist representation practices and the social and power relations the underlie them. And the trend towards learner autonomy and the concept of student-as-researcher is allied to this in that it seeks to position learners as active
How Green Was My Textbook?

Having summarized the trends we are now in a better position to ask exactly how these four areas may be combined and operationalized in a way that would allow for EFL teaching to contribute to the development of an ecologically sustainable culture. Before doing so however, it is necessary to note that as a result of their growing popularity all four areas have now risen from the disputed margins of the pedagogical map to a commanding position on the moral high ground: it is difficult to imagine any even vaguely progressive teacher these days being in favour of teaching language through the grammatical analysis of isolated sentences and of giving learners less responsibility for their learning, or being against encouraging learners to adopt more sustainable attitudes and behaviours and developing a more critical awareness of how language is used. For this reason it is somewhat difficult to criticize these areas but I believe it is possible to identify certain aspects in each one which are problematic from the environmentalist point of view and suggest ways in which an ecological pedagogy could help to overcome them.

To begin with content-based learning, the problem with this is that so many materials contain content that is ecologically questionable, particularly if we take the ecological as embracing the social (human ecological) here. Quite apart from the obvious materialism, ethnocentrism and sheer triviality of much of the content, a great number of studies have shown how various forms of bias including sexist (Jones, 1997; Rifkin, 1998; Nakai, 1999), racist (Brosh, 1998) or heterosexist (Cohen, 2002) values and inaccurate stereotypes of foreign cultures (Enomoto, 1999) are subtly imported into the content of language teaching textbooks (and likewise learner dictionaries (Prechter, 1999) and commercial language tests (Wallace, 1997)). Of course, choosing a suitable textbook remains a case of caveat emptor and to assist this task various checklists and selection criteria have been produced (e.g. Breen & Candlin, 1987; Sheldon, 1988), but they either ignore these ‘peripheral’ concerns or give them a low weighting compared with essential factors like language level, availability and price. So while we may support content-based learning in principle we must be aware that it inevitably involves exposure not only to the target language or the explicit content but also to a more or less hidden curriculum of values, attitudes and beliefs. With respect to global issues-themed materials, although these may be expected to avoid some of the problems noted above, as the following analysis will show this is not always the case. Furthermore, in light of the growing recognition of the significant role of language itself in the creation,
construal and possible solution of environmental problems (Hajer, 1995; Harré et al., 1999), it is surprising how little attention is given to this aspect of language in global issues textbooks. Not only is the sustainability or otherwise of our language resources rarely commented on, but also the very language used in these textbooks frequently exhibits features that encode unecological modes of thinking. The solution to this problem proposed here is to make the critique of global issues textbooks themselves the ‘content’ of the course. In this way, the distinction between language study and content study may be overcome because while students study about the environment they also study English, and while they study English they also gain an understanding of how language functions in representing natural and social reality, how it establishes relationships and constructs positions for writers and readers and how it organizes messages in ideologically coherent ways. Asking ‘how’ questions of this kind in turn leads to asking ‘why’ questions such as why the environment is represented in certain ways rather than others and what alternative representations might have been chosen but were not. The critique of global issues textbooks suggested here, particularly the aim of going beyond mere description to the higher stages of interpretation and explanation calls for the use of Critical Language Awareness and it is to the problems with this approach that we must now turn.

As noted above, CLA and CDA have been criticized from both the left and the right wings of applied linguistics and have not been slow in replying to both. Recently, however, they have been exposed to a fresh line of criticism from the environmentalist quarter that has yet to receive an adequate response. The most incisive of these arguments have been advanced by Andrew Goatly who argues that CDA should give greater prominence to the ecological dimension in its critique of texts and classroom practices (Goatly, 2000). He acknowledges that there are connections between the patterns of gender, class and ecological domination – gross disparities of wealth are ecologically unsustainable; the rights of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity go hand in hand with biodiversity; and feminism has a lot to contribute to the environmentalist objections to warfare and nuclear contamination – but, as he observes, ‘In the context of the ecological crisis a single-minded preoccupation with sexist and capitalist-imperialist critical discourse analysis is rather like addressing the problem of who is going to fetch the deck-chairs on the Titanic, and who has the right to sit in them.’ (Goatly, 2000: 277) While allowing that an unmodified, traditional CDA can be usefully employed to address environmental is-
How Green Was My Textbook?

issues, Goatly believes that what is really needed is a new Ecological Critical Discourse Analysis which is based on a fundamental critique of the language system as a whole. He argues that in English the ‘ordinary language’ of everyday life, especially the prototypical transitive clause, is inadequate to the representation of the physical world demanded by modern scientific theories such as relativity, quantum mechanics, chaos theory and especially ecology, and suggests ways in which the grammatical resources of the language can be used and developed to become more ecologically adequate. In particular he argues against the position of Halliday and Martin (1993) that adequacy can be achieved by science abandoning nominalization or grammatical metaphor, and points out that, on the contrary, by emphasizing the primacy of process these characteristic structures of scientific language actually avoid the anthropocentrism of ordinary language. Goatly’s discussion of the desiderata for what he calls a more ‘consonant’ green grammar is of a somewhat technical nature but can be categorized into two parts, the first relating to vocabulary and the second to grammar.

1. *Pro-Ecological Lexical Metaphorical Modification.* This involves rewording common-sense phrases by substituting words with a negative loading like ‘cancer’ for economic ‘growth’ and referring to ‘ecology’ or ‘nature’ rather than ‘environment’ since the latter term is interpreted according to the metaphor IMPORTANT = CENTRAL. More generally it involves blurring the human-environment distinction by exploiting metaphors such as, on the one hand, ‘alimentary canal’ or ‘stubble on the chin’ and, on the other, ‘foot of a hill’ or ‘the rape of the countryside’.

2. *Grammatical Modification.* This is divided into three types:
   (A) Location Circumstance as Actor. This means giving the ‘environment’ of a process a more active role by saying, for example, ‘The log is crawling with ants’ rather than ‘Ants are crawling all over the log’.
   (B) Animation and Personification. This involves using grammatically inanimate objects as Actors in Material processes such as ‘The forest touches our heart’ and ‘The river arrested our gaze’ rather than as merely Experiences in Mental processes such as ‘We noticed the river’ and ‘We love the forest’. It also refers to rewording Relational processes such as ‘There are five trees in the valley’ into Material ones such as ‘Five trees stand in the valley’.
   (C) Inanimate actors in Ergative clauses. This refers to constructions such as ‘the cloth tore’ and ‘the rice cooked’ which represent nature as active and background
Clearly, in terms of adapting Goatly’s ideas to the English language classroom, these points are still technically quite advanced and so for teaching purposes I have adapted his proposed simplification (2000: 286) to yield a pair of non-technical questions which may be asked of any text: (1) What elements of nature figure most prominently in the text? (2) What degree of power does the text confer on nature?

In SFG terms, the first question allows for the probing of Participants and the second for a more detailed investigation of roles ranked from most to least powerful according the following hierarchy: Actor in Transitive Material clause; Actor in Intransitive Material clause; Sayer in Verbal clause; Phenomenon in Existential clause; Senser in Existential clause; Goal in Material clause; and Circumstance. Using these questions within the CLA framework students may not only begin to appreciate differences between texts in terms of how they choose to portray nature but also gain a better understanding of what ideologies underlie these choices.

The degree of choice we have in what and how we represent the world, interact with others and construct our sense of who we are depends crucially on what semiotic ‘affordances’ (Gibson, 1979) our ecosocial environment provides us with (Lemke, 1995). This leads to a critique of the trend concerning learner autonomy and the tendency for the technical view to predominate in language education. This tendency is due in large measure to the overwhelming ascendancy of the positivist paradigm in language teaching research. My own position on autonomy draws on all three conceptions (technical, psychological and political), although in line with the epistemology of Systemic-Functional Grammar it emphasizes the social nature of knowledge construction and consequently the balance is weighted towards the political view. This is, however, a broadly defined conception of politics which embraces questions regarding the ecosocial context of learning, classroom roles and relationships, control over types of learning tasks and the nature of the content to be learned. While recognizing that in choosing not to accept the conventional depoliticization of language learning teachers ‘will always tread a fine line between propagandizing on the one hand and the abandonment of responsibility on the other’ (Benson, 1997: 34), I believe that ultimately we cannot help taking this course if we wish to avoid being trapped with our students in our own (natural) history, unaware of alternative possibilities for acting in, on and with the world.

Finally, my criticism of the student-as-teacher paradigm stems from the fact that
How Green Was My Textbook?

although its notion of power literacy has much in common with CLA there is one significant difference: just as the field of discourse analysis known in North America as Rhetorical Criticism (Foss, 1996) operates largely in ignorance of CDA and SFG and thus for all its radical intentions can say very little of substance about precisely how power gets realized in language, so SAR lacks CLA’s well-developed sociological theory and linguistic metalanguage for talking about power and discourse. Therefore, the new language teaching and learning pedagogy that I have been working towards here is one that takes an ecologically informed conception of CLA as the central theoretical and methodological strand while retaining the valuable features of the other three trends, as outlined above. It also, following Pennycook, tries to maintain an immanently critical view of its own situatedness in social and institutional networks of power relations, specifically with regard to the roles of materials, teachers and learners in the classroom ecology, and aims to equip learners with the tools to make their own discoveries about the nature of language and the language of nature. An example of how this pedagogy has been used in practice should help clarify the approach I am advocating and it is to this that I shall now turn.

A Study of Global Issues EFL Textbooks

Background

Although there have been many studies of sexist, racist and other forms of ideological bias in the content of textbooks and other language learning materials, some of which were referred to above, there have been far fewer studies specifically looking at environmental content. For example, Nakabachi (1992) examined the occurrence of global issues topics in Japanese high school English textbooks. He found that all 48 books in his study contained global issues topics and indeed that fully 20% of all units were on such topics. More recently, Jacobs and Goatly (2000) have investigated the occurrence of environmental issues in 17 ELT course books from the point of view of whether, and if so to what extent, they promote active participation in environmental protection. They found that only 2% of the activities (as opposed to units in Nakabachi’s study) in the textbooks had any environmental content, and of these only 1% (representing just one activity) asked for actual participation in environmental protection although some other activities involved such things as surveying classmates about their participation or asking students to describe how they could participate. To the best of my knowledge, the present study
differs from all preceding ones in four important respects: firstly, it looks at textbooks which explicitly set out to deal with global issues topics rather than general course books; secondly it was conducted as a joint project between myself and a group of students working in collaboration as the central part of an English language course; thirdly, it attempted to go beyond simple quantitative content analysis by putting into practice an ecological critical awareness pedagogy of the kind described in the previous section; and fourthly, due to the diversity of personnel and my own intellectual reservations regarding some aspects of environmental discourse it was conducted from a less committedly environmentalist (though not necessarily any more objective) point of view.

The Course
The course was an English reading class for undergraduate students of a Japanese national university held during the spring semester of the 2002 academic year. The class of 37 second year engineering students met for 90 minutes once a week for fourteen weeks. The first few weeks were spent discussing the rationale and aims of the course, the materials to be studied and the ecological critical language awareness methods to be employed. For the remainder of the course students worked in groups to analyze the textbooks and prepare group presentations of their findings while I tried my best not to interfere! At first the students seemed rather uncomfortable with the degree of responsibility and freedom that we had negotiated, the complexity and unfamiliarity of the work involved and the idea that I was to take a facilitating rather than a fount-of-wisdom role, but as the weeks passed these feelings were replaced, on the whole, by more positive ones as they grew accustomed to the new approach (and the date of the presentations drew near).

The Global Issues Textbooks
Every year during the autumn curriculum planning season Japanese educational publishers bring out a crop of new reading textbooks for use in college and university English courses, sample copies of which are liberally distributed to wherever teachers of such courses are rumoured to congregate. Thus one may discover piles of these books, sometimes quite large and dating back many years, in most of the departmental common rooms and part-time teachers’ lounges of Japanese institutes of higher education. Over the past ten years or so, whenever I have come across these collections I have taken from them any books whose subject matter was re-
lated to global issues. For this survey then, I was able to draw on 28 such textbooks that I had collected between the spring of 1991 and April 2002. The sampling procedure was therefore neither a wholly randomized one nor one based on rational criteria such as popularity, measured in terms of number of copies sold. Nevertheless, given the sample size it is reasonable to expect that a study of their contents may shed some light on the overall patterns to be found in such books. Details of the books and the three letter identification codes by which they will subsequently be identified may be found in the Appendix.

General Analysis

(1) Characterization of the texts

The oldest text was *Our Planet in Danger* (OPD) published in 1990 and the most recent were *Health and the Environment* (H&E), *Greening Up The World* (GUW), *Taking Action on Global Issues* (TAG) and *Issues of Global Concern* (IGC), all published in 2002. All but six books were of a standard format: A5-sized, paperback, 90–120 pages and costing on average 1,400 yen. The remainder were similar but slightly larger, B5-sized, and costing slightly more at 1,800 yen on average. On their front covers they give the title and author’s name, usually followed with the phrase, ‘edited, with notes, by …’ and the name of the Japanese editor(s). Inside there is usually a foreword (*hashigaki*), written in Japanese, introducing the original book (if any), the writer(s), their interest in global issues, the format of the units and sometimes suggestions for how the book should be used. The books generally consist of between 12 and 20 units, with each unit centered round one reading passage, and there are about 20 pages of Japanese notes at the end of the book which contain translations of selected vocabulary items, biographical, cultural and other information relevant to an understanding of the reading passage. In ten of the books each unit consisted of nothing but a reading passages, but in the others there were comprehension and/or vocabulary exercises. Most units were accompanied by at least one photographic or other illustration but these were never in colour, although all the books had colour-printed covers. *Echoes of the Environment* (EOE), produced by the Japanese branch of ASLE, wore its green credentials on its sleeve by being the only book to state that it was printed on recycled paper. It is not known how many of the others used recycled paper but quite probably, since they do not mention the fact, none of them did.
(2) Classification of topics

This stage of the analysis simply involved skimming each of the books and recording what topics were dealt with. Each chapter or section was classified according to topic wherever this was possible. It may be noted here that this classification process itself was a useful exercise in helping students become more aware of how knowledge is partitioned differently according to the viewpoint of the observer since the process involved considerable discussion about how the classification should be made. Issues mentioned only in passing were not counted but where one chapter or section dealt substantially with more than one topic each one was counted separately. In total 94 topic categories were identified, ranging from acid rain to zoos. Two books, TFN and TRF, only dealt with one topic (fertility and rainforests respectively), and NCH dealt with only two (extinction and survival). Excluding these three texts, the average number of topics per book was 13. Of the 94 categories, 29 only occurred in one text. These included topics such as bioregionalism (POW), Antarctica (PTE) and the Gulf War (OPD). The ten most common topics were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of texts</th>
<th>Number of texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Climate Change (including CFCs)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food (including GMOs)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biodiversity (including conservation)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deforestation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General (‘State of the World’)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That these topics should be so widely chosen is not perhaps surprising given that they are all currently the focus of much attention in the mass media and elsewhere. On the other hand, two other topics which are very much in the news these days, AIDS and globalization were only dealt with once each (by WUW and IGC respectively).

(3) Geographical focus

In this analysis the books were scored according to the actual continent, country or region dealt with in each of the main topics. The ten main areas were as shown below. Places only treated once included The Phillipines (GUW) and Indonesia (WIC). Notable for not being treated at all was Japan’s neighbour Korea. The high proportion of topics relating to the USA and the UK is a reflection of the Anglo-Ameri-
can bias in these supposedly ‘global’ texts. The rest of the world tends to figure in accounts of environmental problems whereas the USA and UK, while they may have problems, are also represented as providing solutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of times featured</th>
<th>No. of times featured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil/Amazon</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia/E. Europe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Authors
Two books stood out as differing from the others in terms of authorial voice, namely ATE and POW. The former, by Peter Milward, was written in a literary and Christian vein with much approving reference to the works of Shakespeare and the Bible. The latter, excerpted from a book by Gary Snyder, reflected his Zen-influenced nature-writing point of view. The other books were far less distinctive, being written in either a mainstream feature article journalistic or a bland essayistic style. The journalistic texts, when sources were acknowledged at all, represented collections of articles excerpted from magazines such as *Time* or *The Economist*. Here the tone was very much that of conservative mainstream American and British media. Only TAG included articles from more alternative publications such as the *New Internationalist* or Amnesty International’s website. This gave rise to much discussion in the class about who chooses the contents of textbooks, how and why, and whose voices are heard and whose silenced by these choices. The essayistic texts were mainly by Japan-based native English speaking language teachers and (semi-) professional textbook writers. Assigning authorial nationality and gender was surprisingly difficult, particularly in books which did not acknowledge clearly where the original source materials were taken from. However, from those books where authorship was clear, the following results were obtained: USA: 13 books; UK: 10 books; Japan: 6 books; and Canada: 1 book. Thirty-eight male and 18 female authors were clearly identifiable. Again we find here a distinctly squed distribution in favour of men from the United States and Britain, which no doubt largely accounts for the geographical distribution of topics and perhaps also the general enthusiasm for technocratic solutions to environmental problems, an enthusiasm shared, at least initially, by most of the students in the class.
(5) View of language learning
This was revealed in the limited number and types of exercises provided. First of all it was noticeable how uniform the units were, with many books having identical task formats in every one. Only one (YMW) showed any significant variation in tasks between units. Generally there was a great preponderance of very traditional, closed (yes or no, multiple-choice) comprehension questions; translation to and from Japanese of isolated sentences; and gap-fill vocabulary exercises. Those texts which had accompanying audio-cassettes used them for closed comprehension or vocabulary exercises or for dictation. Very few of the texts included more open tasks or encouraged critical thinking, problem-solving, role-play or writing. Above all, only a small number had exercises to stimulate discussion (either in English or Japanese) of the issues covered and what students might be able to do about them. The overall impression given by these texts was that for all their modish interest in global issues topics their view of language learning is a deeply conservative and authoritarian one in which learning a language is a matter of reproducing rules and patterns, established as facts, rather than a problem-solving activity based on hypotheses and experiment. There is virtually no attempt to develop critical thinking skills or to portray language use as the negotiation and interpretation of meaning. Most fundamentally, the texts subscribe to and perpetuate a theory of knowledge as being compartmentalized and discrete in which language learning is seen as separate from other areas of learning, let alone other areas of life.

(6) Participation
Scoring the texts in terms of the Belgrade Charter’s six objectives proved extremely difficult for the students and myself. This is perhaps partly due to the vagueness of the objectives themselves, particularly where they tended to overlap (such as between raising awareness and giving knowledge). However, the main reason was that we were faced with a virtual desert of positive factors to score. With a very strong sense of grasping at straws we were able to recognize just four of the texts as providing any significant encouragement towards participation, namely EOE, IGC, TAG and YMW. EOE included substantial discussion topics about possible steps students could take. IGC provided discussion exercises and suggestions for ‘further research’ such as websites worth looking at. TAG had a similar ‘Further Activity’ section but this was more like an extra study task (i.e. homework) than
practical environmental activity. Of all these, YMW included the most varied participation suggestions, but none of them required participation *per se*. The somewhat disheartening conclusion for environmentalists is that, as with their approach to language learning tasks in general, the textbook writers (or their publishers) are unwilling to go beyond the safe and conventional and link the topic material with the real-world lives of the students.

**Ecocritical Analysis**

Turning now the more linguistic consideration of the texts, the pedagogical challenge here was to make the insights of CLA available to the students in as simple a way as possible. Building on the work of Kress (1989), Wallace (1992) and Goatly (2000) I provided the students with the list of eight fairly open-ended questions shown below with which to probe the texts and generate discussion. A comparison of two very short excerpts from markedly different texts studied by one particular group of students may serve to illustrate the sort of answers obtained. The two excerpts, reproduced below, were (1) part of a section called ‘Understanding the Commons’ from *The Practice of the Wild* (POW) by the American poet and nature writer, Gary Snyder, and (2) part of a speech on climate change entitled ‘Opportunity not Obstacle’ by Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister from *Selected Netzine Articles on Environmental Issues* (SNA).

1. Gary Snyder, *Understanding the Commons*

Between the extremes of deep wilderness and the private plots of the farmstead lies a territory which is not suitable for crops. In earlier times it was used jointly by the members of a given tribe or village. This area, embracing both the wild and the semi-wild, is of critical importance. It is necessary for the health of the wilderness because it adds big habitat, overflow territory, and room for wildlife to fly and run. It is essential even to an agricultural village economy because its natural diversity provides the many necessities and amenities that the privately held plots cannot. It enriches the agrarian diet with game and fish. The shared land supplies firewood, poles and stone for building, clay for the kiln, herbs, dye plants, and much else, just as in a foraging economy.

2. Tony Blair, *Opportunity, Not Obstacle*

I would strongly argue that tackling climate change should be approached not as an obstacle but as an opportunity. I understand why, for instance, there is some concern that the demand for reductions in emissions might be damaging for business and economic development. But I believe there is no contradiction between continuing to generate wealth while halting and revers-
ing the side effects of those developments which are contributors to climate change. This is important. As I have said, we all have our part to play in combating climate change. … But the active support of the business community is vital.

Q1. What is the topic?
This seemingly simple question can provoke considerable discussion since the precise form of the answer is open to wide interpretation. In this case the answers generally agreed upon were that Snyder is writing about ‘the commons’ and how important such places are to both humans and the rest of nature, while Blair is talking about climate change and the financial opportunity this represents to business, specifically British technological business.

Q2. Who is writing/speaking to whom?
Asking this question recognizes that the (imagined) reader is a part of the text. As a successful author Snyder is writing a book of ‘nature writing’ essays, the potential readership for which covers a spectrum of people from those in his primary audience who share his values and beliefs through those who are indifferent to those who are strongly opposed. Blair, on the other hand, is speaking as a political leader to an audience of, in this case, British business leaders. The question of ‘spin doctors’ was raised here, since students wondered whether Blair composed the speech himself or whether civil servants or political assistants wrote it for him.

Q3. Why is the topic being written about?
No text is produced without a purpose although it may sometimes be difficult to be sure what the purpose is. In the case of these two texts there was much discussion about the possible answers, which I took to be a reflection of the growing confidence and sophistication of the students. All agreed that Snyder for example must have felt the commons were worth the trouble of writing about, but some thought that he was writing in order to persuade people to protect the commons, while others thought he was more interested in just expressing his feelings and displaying his talent. There was even less agreement about Blair’s motivation: some thought he wanted to shore up his political standing with the rich people and green voters prior to an election, some thought he wanted big business to donate money to the Labour Party, and some thought he was genuinely concerned about solving the problem of climate change.
Q4. *How is the topic being written about?*
This and the following question form a pair which direct students’ attention to not just what is in the text but what is backgrounded, omitted or simply not considered for inclusion. Together, they help challenge the common-sensical assumptions about what constitutes the genre of, as here, ‘nature essay’ or ‘political speech’ in modern Western cultures. Clearly, Snyder is writing about the commons from a perspective composed of both eco- and anthropocentric elements, and sees them as providing things which private property cannot. There is a sense of nature as benign and communities living in harmony with it. Blair, on the other hand, in this paragraph at least, takes an extremely limited anthropocentric view which valorizes the role of (private) business in treating a human technology-created environmental problem with essentially a prescription for more of the same medicine.

Q5. *What other ways of writing about the topic are there?*
This is perhaps the most difficult of all the questions, since it is by definition the most open-ended. Snyder could conceivably bring big business into his narrative as a heroic saviour of the commons, but this is about as likely as Blair talking about the commons (or even The Commons) playing an important role in tackling climate change. Students wondered why, as the leader of what they imagined to be a socialist party, Blair was so enamoured of big business and why he did not talk about the role of trades unions or the damage to jobs or the need to alleviate poverty. This led into a discussion of Third Way politics and a comparison of Blair with Japan’s Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi.

Q6. *What elements of nature figure most prominently in the text?*
This question probes the roles played by nature in the transitivity structure of the clauses. In Snyder we find a type of landscape, the commons, which is conventionally represented as a Location Circumstance, being represented as the subject of active transitive clauses (*embracing, adding big habitat, providing necessities and amenities, enriching diets and supplying several things of use to humans*). Outside the transitivity structure we also find the wilderness personified as something having *health*. In Blair, nature has no role whatsoever, unless we consider climate change as part of nature in which case it is represented as a problem to be tackled. In fact nowhere in the speech does nature figure apart from as carbon in ‘carbon emissions’.
Q7. What degree of power does the text confer on nature?
Clearly, Snyder has chosen to upgrade the power of nature from being merely a Circumstance to being a beneficent and cooperative Actor. The only power conferred by Blair’s speech, by contrast, is the extremely minor one as the Goal of the tackling process.

Q8. How might you use what you have learned from asking questions 1 – 7?
In this particular group the answers to this question tended to fall fairly low on the Belgrade Declaration’s list. The reading and analysis had, the class agreed, helped raise their awareness and given them greater knowledge of environmental issues and the role language plays in constituting these. And some of them stated that the Ecological Critical Language Awareness approach, albeit in the paired-down version in which they had used it, had helped to sharpen their skills at interpreting and evaluating texts. But none of them felt that their attitude to environmental problems had changed very much or that they were more inclined to participate in environmental protection activities. The commonest answer was that they would pay more attention to these kinds of language use issues when they read other texts and perhaps be more suspicious of what politicians said about the environment. However, some students in other groups, working on other texts, did claim to have changed their attitudes somewhat on certain environmental issues, particularly those where their identities as consumers were engaged, such as in buying fair trade coffee and other products or boycotting unsustainable forestry products. Some had even begun to put their yen where their hearts were on these issues.

Conclusion
As we have seen, the Ecological Critical Language Awareness pedagogy employed in this case study met with mixed success. On the positive side, students learnt something about alternative modes of being and doing in the foreign language class, of paying a particular kind of attention to language in its relation to power, and of how in particular language is used to represent nature and our relation to it from a variety of ideologically motivated points of view. Along the way they gained exposure to a considerable amount of information about the environment in English, including a range of new vocabulary items, though how much of this was retained was not measured. I would also like to add that in spite of the serious nature of many of the topics, the atmosphere of the class was generally easy-going and cheer-
ful. On the negative side, there were several problems with both the theory and the implementation that I shall end this paper by briefly considering.

Firstly, there is the question of whether the pedagogy is likely to lead to desirable outcomes either in purely language acquisition terms or in terms of encouraging environmentally-friendly behaviours, including greener modes of language use. As the students’ responses to Question 8 show, there is little evidence that a more explicit focus on language will encourage a greater level of participation among students. Even those who seemed to be genuinely prompted to action may just have been stimulated by the novelty value of the class since, as with any teaching innovation, the very fact that it was an innovation may have raised the stakes for both teacher and students, with corresponding ‘improvements’ in performance at least in the short term. In the longer term, while I am aware that there are teachers who make some sort of verifiable green action on the part of their students an absolute requirement of passing their courses, I have tended to shy away from doing this. I believe that my role as an educator is to show students’ alternative ways of viewing the world and that it is then up to them whether they choose to take up the options thus presented. No doubt my very enthusiasm for global issues-based study and sometimes disparaging comments on what I view as unecological attitudes and practices leave few students in any doubt about where my sympathies lie, and this may well have some influence on them, but I fear I have tarried just a little too long in the Po-Mo Saloon to be as zealous a green knight as I used to be. There is also the issue of students suffering the ill effects of a surfeit of green rhetoric: I have been told by a number of language teachers in various countries that their students have had so many worthy global issues lessons in high school that they are heartily sick of hearing about them. I would like to think that my more metacritical approach would be refreshingly different for such students, but for some the very mention of ecology might put them off from even enrolling in the course.

A second problem relates to the pedagogy’s implementation of CDA theory. Simply put, of the three dimensions of language use conceptualized in this theory, the present study only dealt with the first, textual dimension and not with the interactional or social dimensions. In fact, this is a failing common to much work that calls itself CDA. There is a great need for critical discourse analysts to move beyond the relative safety of describing the textual dimension and engage in more ethnographic work on how participants in interactions, be they students in a language class or anti-globalization protesters in a pub, interpret specific texts in spe-
cific contexts and under specific ‘orders of discourse’. In the present case, much more research needs to be done on exactly how students work, individually and collectively, to co-construct meaning with the authors of the texts.

Finally, as many observers claim that the dominant form of semiosis in advanced capitalist societies is moving from the logocentric to a more iconocentric one we must ask whether this pedagogy can be expanded to encompass other semiotic systems. The work of the social semioticians Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996) on building an SFG-inspired theory of the grammar of visual design has opened up a highly promising line of research into just this question. I am currently working on bringing some of the more elementary aspects of their theory into this pedagogy to enable students to analyse the numerous visual images that so often accompany written environment texts.

REFERENCES


How Green Was My Textbook?


APPENDIX: Global Issues Textbooks

The 28 textbooks analyzed in this study are show below, preceded by their respective three letter identification codes.


Paul Allum and Yamamura Saburo.


Jim Knudsen, edited with notes by Takao Maruyama.


Kazuya Asakawa, Chisa Uetsuki, Caitlin Stronell and Beverley Lafaye.

Deborah Cadbury, edited with notes by Hisanori Karibe, Hisaaki Sasagawa and Ryoichi Koyama.


D. F. Owen, annotated by Masayuki Ikeda and Takehiro Hayashi.