

# DOWNLOAD PDF 10. MIXED MOTIVES: IDEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN THE SUPPORT FOR ENGLISH

## Chapter 1 : Mixed motive discrimination | Revolvry

*Focus on English. Edited by Thomas Ricento Mixed Motives. Ideological Elements in the Support for English in South Africa.*

Taylor Fame and The Federalist Since its appearance in down to the present day, no praise has been too high, no tribute too exalted for The Federalist Papers. While written in the heat of the debate over ratifying the Constitution, the collection of eighty-five essays penned by "Publius" was almost instantly recognized as a work of great, even unprecedented merit. Thomas Jefferson, who was not uncritical of the handiwork of the Framers, nevertheless considered The Federalist "the best commentary on the principles of government which was ever written. Within a decade of its publication, The Federalist was being cited by Supreme Court justices to add weight and authority to their opinions. Bull , Justice Samuel Chase appealed to Publius on the issue of ex post facto laws, an author he "esteem[ed] superior" even to Blackstone "for his extensive and accurate knowledge of the true principles of Government. Thus did the vital principle of "judicial review" only implicit in the Constitution enter into constitutional orthodoxy. In subsequent cases, Marshall affirmed that "[t]he opinion of the Federalist has always been considered of great authority," and that "[n]o tribute can be paid to [the papers] which exceeds their merit. No constitution of government ever received a more masterly and successful vindication. Calhoun called The Federalist "the fullest and, in many respects, the best" work on the principles of American government,<sup>7</sup> while John Quincy Adams affirmed that The Federalist was not only a "classical work in the English language," but as a "commentary on the Constitution of the United States, of scarcely less authority than the Constitution itself. Even presidents have sought the solicitude of The Federalist, as when Ronald Reagan pledged that his "administration [was] committedâ€”heart and soulâ€”to the principles of American Federalism, which are outlined in the original Federalist Papers of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. So frequent were such references during the impeachment of President Clinton, that popular media sources ran stories on The Federalist, while legal experts and political pundits scrambled for copies of the "venerable" text. Yet prior to the twentieth century and the rise of modern scholarship little of substance was written on The Federalist, although it was almost invariably praised in passing. John Fiske, in his influential history of the "critical period" under the Articles of Confederation, called it "perhaps the most famous of American books, and undoubtedly the most profound and suggestive treatise on government that has ever been written. Allen Smith, Charles Beard, and Vernon Parrington mounted the first major challenge to the "official" interpretation of the Constitution, it would be decades before The Federalist became the object of close, widespread, and sustained scrutiny. That it has attracted the serious attention of some of the best minds in law, history, and political science tends to confirm the assertion. In his influential treatise on Revolutionary-era political thought, Gordon Wood affirmed that The Federalist propounded "a political theory worthy of a high place in the history of Western thought. It is, indeed, the one product of the American mind that is rightly counted among the classics of political theory. Indeed, it was Thomas Jefferson himself who, in preparing the curricula for the University of Virginia, placed The Federalist second only to the Declaration of Independence in a list of the "the best guides" for the study of the principles of American government. Certainly, the rest of the world has not been so effusive in praising Publius. The Edinburgh Review effused that its authors exhibited a "profundity of research and an acuteness of understanding which would have done honour to the most illustrious statesman of modern times. It is a work altogether, which for comprehensiveness of design, strength, clearness, and simplicity has no parallel. We do not even except or overlook those of Montesquieu and Aristotle. Even earlier the essays had been freely cited in the debates of the Constituent Assembly. Yet like the French governments of the time, such official disfavor did not long endure. Tallyrand, who placed Hamilton above Napoleon and Pitt among the luminaries of the age, warmly recommended the work, while Tocqueville called it "an excellent book, which ought to be familiar to the statesman of all countries. Robert von Mohl relied heavily on the work in his treatise on American

government, and in a later study recognized its perennial value as classic of political science, adding that "it is absolutely impossible to speak with greater clarity" on the subject. It is thought that the authors of the short-lived Frankfurt Constitution were admirers of the essays, while in the 1780s, as Germany moved toward forging its own federal union, a book on *The Federalist* was published which included a partial translation of the papers. Both before and after unification in 1871, the nationalist historian Treitschke acknowledged that *The Federalist* bore the original conception of the German Bundesstaat or federal system of government. Nor was admiration for the work lacking among Wilhelmine scholars. Albert Haenel declared the work an unparalleled example of political reasoning, while Hugo Preuss, father of the Weimar Constitution, looked to *The Federalist* as "the canonical book of American constitutionalism. *The Federalist* attracted little notice in Italy during the nineteenth century, although the few scholars familiar with the text found it a work of notable merit. As Italy considered decentralization after World War II, the papers suddenly became the object of considerable interest. In the mid-1950s, Aldo Garosci published one of the first full-length studies of *The Federalist*, which he considered "a book of great value," and unsurpassed for the weight and cogency of its arguments. In Mexico it has attracted the attention of scholars, one of whom praised it as a "monumental work," while others have attested to its world reputation and enduring value. The various experiments with constitutional government and federalism in Mexico and around the world have given the work a relevance and currency well beyond the interest of scholars. Given its global reputation, it is not surprising that *The Federalist* has assumed an honored position among the pantheon of literary, scientific, and philosophical classics. Finally, the work of Publius has been singled out for its important place in the broader currents of intellectual history. Peter Gay, for instance, crowned his landmark study of the European Enlightenment with a remarkable tribute to the American authors of *The Federalist*. The papers, Gay writes, did not merely reflect the "spirit of the age;" they implicitly embodied "all the great themes of the Enlightenment. It will be recalled that Publius wrote as an advocate of the Constitution in the midst of a contentious, sometimes bitter struggle over the great question of ratification. Those who opposed adoption, the Antifederalists, denounced the document in whole or part as a dangerous innovation, and predicted that it would create a "consolidated" government of, by, and for the few at the expense of the many. Given the remarkable ascendancy of the United States under the Constitution, it is not surprising that subsequent generations looked down on its original critics as false prophets and "men of little faith. In key states such as Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, sentiment against the Constitution ran high, and ratification was obtained by a only small margin, and then only after accepting certain Antifederalist objections in the form of proposed amendments. In North Carolina, the ratifying convention refused to approve the document, proposed amendments, and adjourned. So strong was the opposition in Rhode Island that the legislature failed to call a ratifying convention for two-and-a-half years after Congress first authorized the states to do so. While the outcome of the struggle was undecided, however, admiration for Publius was far from universal. As the *Federalist* essays began to blanket city newspapers at a rate of three to four a week, some readers complained of sheer "overkill. Publius was also accused of sophistry, redundancy, even irrelevance. With an air of condescension, "Countryman," one of the more able Antifederalist writers, confessed, "I really cannot find out what he would be at; he seems to me as if he was going to write a history. Indeed, it was a view shared by a majority of delegates elected to the New York Ratifying Convention, a principal target of the essays. Moreover, subsequent references to *The Federalist* were not always as exalted as suggested above. In fact, some of its warmest admirers voiced reservations about its merit as a work of political thought and questioned its authority on the meaning of the Constitution. Immediately after praising *The Federalist* as "the best commentary on the principles of government. In the first Congress, Senator William Maclay hoped to obtain a copy of the essays "without buying it," considering the purchase "not worth it. Calhoun charged that "it takes many false views and by no means goes to the bottom of the system. Georgia, bluntly observed that the Court could "expound the constitution without a reference to the definitions of a state or nation by any foreign writer, hypothetical reasoning, or the dissertations of *The Federalist*. It had never been possible to consult *The Federalist* in cases involving constitutional amendments,

of which twelve were adopted by The need to remedy this "defect" in the Constitution was underscored by some of the ratifying conventions, which included a bill of rights among the proposed amendments attached to their articles of ratification. In a case involving the equal protection clause, Justice Douglas cited Federalist No. No one foresaw the possibility that what they were writing would some day be cited in the law reports along with Blackstone and Kent. A review of such uses, notes James Ducayet, "fails to provide any general consensus on why The Federalist ought to be regarded as an authoritative guide to the proper interpretation of the constitutional system. Rarely has the Court gone beyond its meaning or significance. Such criticism was initially suggested by contemporaries who considered the essays ill-suited for gaining adherents to the Constitution, a view supported by historians who affirm that their actual impact on ratification was "marginal. This is not to say that the papers have entirely escaped scholarly detraction. Nor have more recent scholars failed to note if only in passing the presence of such "defects. The seeds of this view were planted by John Quincy Adams, who found it "not difficult to perceive [in The Federalist] that diversity of genius and character which afterwards separated [Madison and Hamilton] so widely from each other on questions of public interest, affecting the construction of the Constitution. Given the discrepancy between the views each man expressed at the Federal Convention and the actual provisions of the Constitution, is it not probable that they were forced to make "concessions to views they could not honestly support"? While the "split personality" thesis has not gone unchallenged, many of its implications have been absorbed by subsequent observers. In at least one case, however, a reputable scholar has unequivocally challenged the reputation of Publius. William Crosskey, in accounting for the "great mass of misconceptions" surrounding the Constitution, singles out the authors of The Federalist for especial censure. As for the claim that Publius reflects the views of those who drafted and ratified the Constitution, Crosskey claims that "[n]othing could be much further from the truth. Invariably, students of The Federalist have engaged the text from an analytical perspective, with slight consideration for its historical context or literary quality. The author of a leading study of The Federalist found "no alternatives to an analytical approach," and pronounced "the literary style" of the work of "no concern. Crosskey suggests that the emphasis on theoretical analysis at the expense of historical, political, and linguistic factors has served to conceal the true significance of the papers. Accordingly, to know something of this significance is. And most important of all, it is necessary to put the "Federalist Papers" back into their native context, that is, of the constitutional controversy that raged, in and , in the newspapers of New York. On the few occasions when the "rhetorical" aspect of the papers has been addressed, it is typically treated as a blemish and not infrequently associated with deception, confusion, and inconsistency. This practice suggests that it is possible, indeed appropriate, to separate the rhetoric of Publius from his political science, his polemic from his logic. Under this assumption, a leading student of The Federalist has observed that, "although its authors used much rhetoric" in making the case for the Constitution, "they also argued logically. Their aim was not to discuss an idea logically, but to prevail in a political contest, and they were fully prepared to do a bit of fudging in order to achieve that objective. They skirted issues and molded their phrases to suit their audience, in the manner of our public relations experts. They do, however, reflect a common attitude towards its "rhetorical" dimension"and to rhetoric in general. Insofar as The Federalist has been almost exclusively valued as a commentary on the Constitution and explication of the American polity, it is not altogether surprising that Publius should fail to garner much attention as a rhetorician. The common if unfortunate practice of equating rhetoric with "ideology," "propaganda," or "sophistry" also helps explain the lack of interest in the rhetorical Federalist. On the other hand, the simple fact that the papers were written in the context of a momentous political struggle by advocates seeking to influence the outcome, suggests that the role of rhetoric in The Federalist is neither as marginal nor inconsequential as most observers have indicated. With this in mind, a plain reading of The Federalist reveals that its authors not only employ conventions commonly associated with deliberative rhetoric, but that the entire work is written from a rhetorical standpoint: True, in some parts the papers are more patently "rhetorical" than in others, such as those which involve direct appeals to the patriotism, good sense, and candor of the reader. Yet an attention to the forms of

argument and peculiarities of usage in *The Federalist* clearly indicates that its rhetorical dimension is anything but peripheral. In no case, however, does rhetoric function as a mere appendage or ornament of disputation. Remarkably, what was obvious to contemporary readers has left remarkably little impression on posterity. Despite the original and suggestive nature of *The Rhetoric* of Alexander Hamilton, a half-century would elapse before an effort was made to examine *The Federalist* by the standards of classical oratory. In the interim, only a handful of scholars bothered to address its rhetorical dimension at all, much less under the aegis of Aristotle. Beyond illustrating the fundamentally rhetorical character of the papers, Faust developed a general theory of the rhetorical task faced by Madison and Hamilton under the assumption that "[t]he problems. Conversely, each labored to "specify at length the ways in which the national government would serve the various interests of the country, and to stress the aspects in which it conformed to certain prevailing political doctrines. Proofs for the former were largely built upon "premises concerning causes and effects"general maxims. As with the related task of demonstrating the insoluble link between "energy" in government, national security, and individual liberty, it was the chief aim of Publius "to prove that what was right was also useful, and that what was useful was also right. According to Faust, the most important of these rhetorical maneuvers was "the way in which [Publius] elevated the conflict of interests to a principle of good government. In light of subsequent scholarship, however, it was an isolated event. Like Faust, Scanlon underscored the rhetorical nature of the papers, and averred that an attention to this feature "throws more light on the specific qualities of *The Federalist* as a political argument" than does a strictly analytical approach.

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### Chapter 2 : Ideology - Wikipedia

*This title deals with the ideological implications of the spread of English. It examines why and how English became a pre-eminent language, and what this means for thousands of languages and speech communities large and small, throughout the world.*

You can help by adding to it. February The gold standard formed the financial basis of the international economy from to Capitalism was carried across the world by broader processes of globalization and by the beginning of the nineteenth century a series of loosely connected market systems had come together as a relatively integrated global system, in turn intensifying processes of economic and other globalization. Industrialization allowed cheap production of household items using economies of scale while rapid population growth created sustained demand for commodities. Globalization in this period was decisively shaped by 18th-century imperialism. Also in this period, areas of sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific islands were colonised. The conquest of new parts of the globe, notably sub-Saharan Africa, by Europeans yielded valuable natural resources such as rubber , diamonds and coal and helped fuel trade and investment between the European imperial powers, their colonies and the United States: The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea, the various products of the whole earth, and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep. Militarism and imperialism of racial and cultural rivalries were little more than the amusements of his daily newspaper. What an extraordinary episode in the economic progress of man was that age which came to an end in August The United Kingdom first formally adopted this standard in Soon to follow were Canada in , Newfoundland in , the United States and Germany de jure in New technologies, such as the telegraph , the transatlantic cable , the radiotelephone , the steamship and railway allowed goods and information to move around the world at an unprecedented degree. The postwar boom ended in the late s and early s and the situation was worsened by the rise of stagflation. The extension of universal adult male suffrage in 19th-century Britain occurred along with the development of industrial capitalism and democracy became widespread at the same time as capitalism, leading capitalists to posit a causal or mutual relationship between them. Moderate critics argue that though economic growth under capitalism has led to democracy in the past, it may not do so in the future as authoritarian regimes have been able to manage economic growth without making concessions to greater political freedom. Moderate critics have recently challenged this, stating that the current influence lobbying groups have had on policy in the United States is a contradiction, given the approval of Citizens United. This has led people to question the idea that competitive capitalism promotes political freedom. The ruling on Citizens United allows corporations to spend undisclosed and unregulated amounts of money on political campaigns, shifting outcomes to the interests and undermining true democracy. According to Hahnel, there are a few objections to the premise that capitalism offers freedom through economic freedom. These objections are guided by critical questions about who or what decides whose freedoms are more protected. Often, the question of inequality is brought up when discussing how well capitalism promotes democracy. An argument that could stand is that economic growth can lead to inequality given that capital can be acquired at different rates by different people. In *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* , Thomas Piketty of the Paris School of Economics asserts that inequality is the inevitable consequence of economic growth in a capitalist economy and the resulting concentration of wealth can destabilize democratic societies and undermine the ideals of social justice upon which they are built. Singapore has a successful open market economy as a result of its competitive, business-friendly climate and robust rule of law. Nonetheless, it often comes under fire for its brand of government which though democratic and consistently one of the least corrupt [66] it also operates largely under a one-party rule and does not vigorously defend freedom of expression given its government-regulated press as well as penchant for upholding laws protecting ethnic and religious harmony, judicial dignity and personal reputation. Hall and David Soskice argued that modern economies have developed two different forms of capitalism: Germany, Japan, Sweden and Austria. Those

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two types can be distinguished by the primary way in which firms coordinate with each other and other actors, such as trade unions. In LMEs, firms primarily coordinate their endeavors by way of hierarchies and market mechanisms. Coordinated market economies more heavily rely on non-market forms of interaction in the coordination of their relationship with other actors for a detailed description see Varieties of Capitalism. These two forms of capitalisms developed different industrial relations, vocational training and education, corporate governance, inter-firm relations and relations with employees. The existence of these different forms of capitalism has important societal effects, especially in periods of crisis and instability. Since the early 1980s, the number of labor market outsiders has rapidly grown in Europe, especially among the youth, potentially influencing social and political participation. Using varieties of capitalism theory, it is possible to disentangle the different effects on social and political participation that an increase of labor market outsiders has in liberal and coordinated market economies Ferragina et al. This signals an important problem for liberal market economies in a period of crisis. If the market does not provide consistent job opportunities as it has in previous decades, the shortcomings of liberal social security systems may depress social and political participation even further than in other capitalist economies. Academic perspectives on capitalism In general, capitalism as an economic system and mode of production can be summarised by the following: High levels of wage labour.

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### Chapter 3 : LINGUIST List Ricento, Ideology, Politics & Lg Policies

*This title deals with the ideological implications of the spread of English. It examines why and how English became a pre-eminent language, and what this means for thousands of languages and speech.*

Wed, 25 Jul Review of Ricento, ed.: Both were held in Seattle, Washington. Of the other two papers, one was previously published in TESOL Quarterly and the other was written especially for this collection. Introduction, editor Thomas Ricento provides a detailed orientation to the aim of this volume and the theoretical framework with which the ten studies were conducted. In addition, Ricento generalizes four major themes out of the contents of these papers: Instead, the flow is bi-directional; and 4 Certain ideology challenges or even contests the efforts of dominant social groups to legitimate their power. Chapter Two, Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in Language Policy and Planning, also by editor Thomas Ricento, examines the evolution of language planning and policy. In so doing he identifies three types of forces that shape language policy formation - macro- sociopolitical factors, epistemological factors, and strategic factors. According to Ricento, the early work in language planning and policy in the early s was heavily influenced by decolonization, structuralism, and pragmatism. The second stage of language planning and policy from the early s through the late s was affected by the failure of the decolonized nations to modernize themselves, the challenge to autonomous linguistics by critical sociolinguistics, and the lack of access to socioeconomic prosperity based on education on the part of socially dominated individuals and communities. As Ricento notes, the third phase from the mids to the present is still in the formative stage, although he still characterizes it as being swayed by the new world order, postmodernism, and the assertion of linguistic human rights Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas In so doing she observes that these two policies differ radically and the principle of plurality and equity was not respected by the policy. Lessons from Colonial Language Policies. In this chapter Pennycook first examines four different but interrelating and interacting motivations that helped to shape colonial language policies, and then looks at their implications for current policies. The four motivations are: Based on the discussion of these "four poles" p. For instance, by "complicity" it is meant that although Anglicist and Orientalist adherents held different opinions about the role of English vs. In Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States Chapter Five , Terrence Wiley first reexamines the language tolerance hypothesis proposed by Kloss and pinpoints the limitations in this hypothesis: Then after the discussion of non-formal language policies, Wiley scrutinizes the US policies toward respectively native Indians and European immigrants. Regarding the Indians, the US policy went through appeasement, removal, and coercive domestication. And the aim of its language policy was deculturation through behavioral assimilation, but not structural integration. In contrast, the emphasis on the use of English in the US policy toward European immigrants was motivated by "both behavioral assimilation and structural incorporation of peoples that were deemed worthy of amalgamation" p. The paper concludes that throughout the US history there has always been the pressure of linguistic assimilation, be it explicit or implicit. Furthermore, language has always been exploited as a means of social control. His comments on these books are that "Crystal regards English as a panacea, for Fishman et al it is a more or less mixed blessing, and Graddol tells the jury to go away and think - but one suspects that the jury is predominantly white, western and male" p. In this paper Phillipson also discusses some other issues, for instance, in Section Two he problematizes some commonly used concepts, such as "world language", and "language spread". Phillipson also talks about English linguistic imperialism and the inequality in communication created by the use of English on international occasions. In relation to the latter issue Phillipson holds that Esperanto serves better than English for the purpose of international communication. And the paper concludes by calling for the inclusion of "a linguistic human rights approach" in the formation of language policy p. Chapter Seven, English, Politics, Ideology: In this chapter Pennycook first discusses the dual interpretations of the ideological implications of the spread of English. According to Pennycook, "ideological" means "political" on the one

hand, and on the other, it implies that "English is the purveyor of thoughts, cultures and ideologies that affect the ways in which people think and behave" p. Next Pennycook examines these two interpretations in relation to six different frameworks for understanding the global position of English, viz. For instance, "colonial celebration" views the spread of English as intrinsically beneficial to the world. Regarding the ideological implication of the spread, this understanding does not acknowledge the existence of political significance, but it does recognize the "discursive effects" of English and deems these effects to be good. Another instance is about "postcolonial performativity", which explores how English is applied for the purpose of, e. Concerning the ideological implication of the spread of English, this perspective provides "a political standpoint both on the structure of linguistic imperialism and on the agency of resistance" p. It also suggests that although English may exert cultural influence, yet there is no absolute or necessary effect. Strategies from the Periphery", A. Suresh Canagarajah first tells a story to illustrate the point that local people can adopt strategies to negotiate ideologies through English. Canagarajah then demonstrates how people from the Periphery used different strategies in different historical contexts to achieve their ends. In the period of colonization, English was used to represent a local discourse, which is termed the "strategy of discursive appropriation" p. This strategy echoes the distinguishing of medium from message Kachru In the decolonization stage, new meaning was provided for the dominant English discourse to suit the local interests and ideologies, which is called the "strategy of reinterpretation" p. After independence, English was used by the new elite to strengthen their power, which is termed the "strategy of accommodation" p. And in the present day Sri Lanka, people have mingled the vernacular with English to form a system of hybrid codes to achieve symbolic purposes. In this case not only the English discourse, but also its sign system has been contextualized, so it is termed the "strategy of linguistic appropriation" p. In this chapter Sonntag demonstrates how different language policies can be motivated by analogous ideologies. Specifically, both pro-English and anti-English leftist advocates in North India are attempting "to re-appropriate vernaculars as part of an anti-elite project" p. On the other hand, the ideologies of the left and right are fundamentally different even if they formed temporary alliances on certain language policies. In so doing Sonntag argues that while ideologies inform language policies, they do not decide them. Sonntag also remarks that language policies, which are applications of ideologies, are dependent on the changing social contexts. In other words, they are more adapting. In contrast, "Ideologies, although not necessarily consistent, are more persistent" p. In the last chapter in this collection, which is titled Mixed Motives: Ideological Elements in the Support for English in South Africa, Stanley Ridge shows how "both an emphasis on English and an emphasis on African languages can be racist and dehumanizing. By the same token, both can be liberatory and affirmative" p. This once again echoes the theme that different language policies may share the same underlying ideology. Many other factors will also help to determine the role of English and other national languages in South Africa. Each of the ten papers in this collection presents fascinating and complex discussions of the interaction among ideologies, politics, and language policies. The collection also boasts its breadth in terms of both theoretical and geographical representation. In addition, a variety of research methodologies are employed, ranging from macro-sociopolitical and structural examination to postmodern approaches. In a word, this collection will make an excellent reading to students of language policy studies and sociolinguistics. It is understandable that this volume collects studies that almost exclusively deal with language policies regarding English in the Inner Circle and Outer Circle countries or regions Kachru , given that English is predominantly used in these areas. Even so, it might be advantageous if this volume also collects studies that focus on the English language policy in the Expanding Circle countries *ibid.* Certain standpoints expressed in this volume might also be open to further discussions. I suspect that when the author first used this term, what he or she had in mind is something like the important role that English plays in international communication or the enormous number of countries in the world where English is used, rather than the absolute number of people that use English. Phillipson also hints that Esperanto, rather than English, may be a "more efficient and equitable solution to some problems of international communication or to making foreign language learning in schools more effective" p. But it may not be a more

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equitable solution. For one thing, Esperanto is not a language that draws its element from every language in the world. Consequently, certain people are still in disadvantages in using this language. And Esperanto is not a "democratic" language as the author claims p. English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures. World Englishes and culture wars. The University of Hong Kong: Phillipson, R and T. His research interests are sociolinguistics and Chinese linguistics.

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### Chapter 4 : Ideology, politics, and language policies : focus on English - University of Manitoba Libraries

*The item Ideology, politics, and language policies: Mixed motives: ideological elements in the support for English in South Africa / Stanley G.M. Ridge.*

If negotiations are successful, the FARC will release some or all of the hostages in exchange for the Colombian government releasing some or all of the guerrilla members it is detaining. It is distinctly possible that such a humanitarian agreement, if successful, will be the first step towards full-blown peace talks. What are the prospects for such talks, and, ultimately, for the resolution of the conflict? Gaining deeper understanding of the FARC, and especially what motivates its cadres to continue fighting, is an important first step towards answering these questions.

**Background** The FARC originated from an alliance of miscellaneous leftist guerrilla and neighborhood gangs, which rose out of the period of La Violencia, a time of violent civil war between armed militants of the Liberal and Conservative parties which began in and lasted about a decade. Since then, it has had a long and tumultuous history of fighting against the Colombian military and right-wing paramilitary groups. The paramilitaries, which were originally formed to protect landowners from guerrilla kidnappings and the destruction of their homes and ranches, later merged into an ultra-right umbrella group and sponsor of death squads called the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia AUC. Initially, the party achieved some limited electoral success, but it was soon decimated by assassinations committed by drug lords, paramilitaries, and elements of the Colombian military. The talks accomplished little and were terminated by

More specifically, its leaders advocate various economic changes in Colombia, including land reform and other measures to directly benefit the poor. Other FARC demands include an opening of the political process, the halt of neoliberal reforms that hurt the poor, and an end to U. The relationship between FARC propaganda and its actual political goals is not entirely clear; as Dr. It is unknown to what degree the rebel group is directly involved in trafficking, but there is significant evidence that it has at least some presence in the international drug trade. It is even less popular in urban areas. This is not all that surprising, as its detractors say that the FARC is extremely out of touch and unconcerned with the interests of the Colombian public today, including the rural populace. Perhaps more importantly, the populace itself is often the target of guerrilla violence. Most prominently, the organization terrorizes Colombians with abductions for ransom, probably its second-most important source of income, after drugs. The FARC kidnaps hundreds of victims every year, and while the guerrillas used to target only the rich, members of the middle class are increasingly becoming its victims as well. For these reasons, the guerrillas, certainly together with the paramilitaries, are generally seen by Colombians as violent criminals rather than as saviors of the country or benefactors of the poor. Is desire for social and economic change really what the FARC stands for? Many suggest that the FARC is little more than a criminal enterprise bent on maximizing profits from drug-related activities. Studies by Paul Collier, a researcher at the World Bank, have indicated that the existence of internal conflict is more contingent on whether there are resources which potential rebels can use to finance their rebellion, rather than the presence of heightened grievances over the status quo. The significance of these findings is highly debated, but nevertheless, they do lend credence to the view of the FARC as a criminal group more than anything else. This suggests that at least some elements of the FARC are willing to put profits above ideology, but given the lack of evidence that such arrangements have been sanctioned by senior commanders, these incidents do not necessarily imply anything about the organization as a whole. For all their trouble, however, members of the FARC seem to gain minimal material benefits from their endeavors. Despite the hardships and dangers of guerrilla life, there is strong evidence that the FARC pays no regular salary, but simply provides its cadres with food and shelter. Not even senior members of the FARC seem to benefit personally from the inflow of wealth. According to the abovementioned Crisis Group report, drug profits are used to further the goals of the organization, not benefit of commanders or members of the secretariat. The display of wealth is rare among FARC commanders, with the exception of expensive guns. On the other hand, while there are definitely social

problems which need to be addressed, it is hard to see the rebel group as primarily interested in social change. Rather, the FARC seems to have become caught up by external events in which its ideological underpinnings seem to have fallen by the wayside in the struggle to survive. It has devoted its energy to maximizing its drug profits, and is relatively cavalier about the lives of those it claims to represent. Part of the difficulty in understanding the motivations of the FARC is that it is made up of many different but powerful voices, and at least professes to be governed on the basis of democratic principles. Even a single individual may have multiple motivations. Ideological commitment among newer FARC members may be much weaker, however, as the rapid recruitment rate since may have precluded full ideological indoctrination of new recruits. This could mean an even less ideological FARC will continue to emerge, as this generation of recruits moves up the ranks. If most guerrillas are not necessarily socialists, why do they fight for the FARC? The Colombian National Development Report provides a list of different motivations people give for fighting in the FARC, based on a number of first-hand interviews. Aside from true ideological believers, guerrillas report being motivated by desire for belonging, camaraderie, respect, or even adventure. They may want revenge, or at least defend themselves and their communities. Others have joined because it is the family tradition, and many stay because fighting for the FARC is the only life they know. Some simply feel they have no other options. Some fighters have been forcibly recruited, but seem to be a minority. Which of these objectives is most important? Can we narrow the motivations of the FARC down to one or two essential factors? Colombia is a country wracked by violence and crime, which until recently had the highest kidnapping and murder rates in the world. These groups frequently had to defend the communities from paramilitary and government raids. The FARC has continued to serve as a protector, most recently defending drug growers from aggressive eradication efforts by the U. Its occasional savage tactics, kidnappings, and taxes on revenues from drugs and other sectors have helped to negate much of the popular support it might receive from such a role, but nevertheless some see the FARC as a way to participate in self-defense. This is not simply a desire for better material standards, or even a sense that they have been unjustly relegated to poverty, although these elements may be part of the picture. Rather, Braun suggests that many guerrillas, including Commander-in-Chief Marulanda, feel that they are not properly respected by the urban elite, and that they have not been sufficiently included in the social and political life of the country. By waging a successful insurgency, guerrillas are able to show that they are important players in Colombian affairs, and to be ignored only at great costs. The lower ranks of the FARC might have their own reasons for following their leaders, as described above, but it is likely that many of the leaders of the organization simply enjoy their power. This could also help explain how FARC leaders might be motivated by drug profits. While FARC commanders, on the whole, apparently do not gain personal riches from drug wealth, being leaders of a wealthy organization gives them both influence and prestige. The FARC is one of the wealthiest insurgencies in the world, and one of the most powerful as well. Senior commanders of the FARC are able to directly gain more influence as they control more wealth, and local commanders are promoted largely on the basis of how much money they are able to earn for the organization. Implications for the Peace Process What does the foregoing discussion suggest about prospects for peace in Colombia? Might it be possible to persuade the guerrillas to disarm through a negotiated deal, and if so, how? To the degree that the FARC is motivated by wealth or power, weakening the FARC militarily and economically is an important part of any successful strategy for peace. If commanders have little wealth and power to lose, they will have fewer qualms about giving up their arms. Even if the FARC is mostly motivated by grievance or ideology, reducing its drug revenues is important to undermining its military capabilities. President Uribe has been pursuing a hard-lined policy of no negotiations and getting tough with the guerrillas since he came into office in . Indeed, the Colombian state has been fighting the FARC, more or less aggressively, for decades, and they remain not only undefeated, but strong and surprisingly resolute. He suggests that because members of the FARC want to feel respected and included, peace talks with the government are very important to the guerrillas, especially to leaders like Marulanda. These negotiations give the guerrillas a role in determining the shape of Colombian society, and implicitly recognize the FARC as a

germane actor. On the one hand, it means that the FARC wants to contribute something, and be perceived as helping the nation. If the FARC can be seen as forcing the government to make important societal changes, it might be willing to give something up in return, and possibly even begin disarming. On the other hand, the guerrillas want to retain their importance in Colombia, and a demobilized FARC would patently be on a fast track to irrelevance, and likely extinction. If the guerrillas demobilize, they would lose their military power and gain little political leverage because they most likely would fare poorly in elections. Thus, even if the demands of the FARC are met, it might still be reluctant to lay down its arms. This is even more likely to be the case if its leadership turns out to be mainly motivated by personal power. The failure of past peace talks does not encourage optimism for the future. During the talks with President Betancur in the s, for example, the FARC made a list of almost impossible demands that has been compared to a grandiose Christmas list for Santa Claus, and the talks proceeded to collapse. According to Colombian scholar Jesus Enrique Mendoza, it is possible that the FARC did not really strive for peace because they profited economically from the war, but in order to preserve their image as fighters for social justice, they made a show of engaging in peace talks. Again, however, the history of assassinations might be the real reason the FARC is reluctant to make a peace deal. Indeed, while he was in the process of negotiating with the guerrillas, then-President Pastrana acknowledged in an interview with COHA that if he was a FARC guerrilla, he most likely would not lay down his arms for fear of being assassinated by his alleged protectors. Whatever the reason, the FARC has been an intrinsically difficult group with which to negotiate. It would be a mistake, though, to see the leaders of the FARC as united in their attitude towards talks. Marulanda, now an old man, may want to be remembered as someone who brought peace to Colombia, knowing that a successful overthrow of the government could not happen during his lifetime. If true, this would be encouraging for any prospects of peace talks, at least in the near-term. If Marulanda dies in arms or is usurped, however, the hardliners may take control. Nor should it be considered a classic Marxist insurgency or counterinsurgency. It is, rather, a mix of all these elements. In looking for solutions to the Colombian conflict, we might need to take a multi-pronged approach. While it may be important to continue applying pressure on the FARC, refusing to compromise in negotiations is unlikely to be a winning strategy.

**Chapter 5 : Tensions between Xhosa and "Coloured" in the Western Cape**

*Ideology and Policy in the Politics of the English Language in North India Selma K. Mixed Motives: Ideological Elements in the Support for English in South Africa Stanley G. Sonntag M. Ridge References Index vi TABLE OF CONTENTS 9.*

This article may contain an excessive amount of intricate detail that may interest only a particular audience. March This section needs attention from an expert in Law. Please add a reason or a talk parameter to this template to explain the issue with the section. WikiProject Law may be able to help recruit an expert. March Attack at the Bologna railway station on 2 August by the neo-fascist group Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari. With 85 deaths, it is the deadliest massacre in the history of Italy as a Republic. There are over different definitions of terrorism. Experts and other long-established scholars in the field are equally incapable of reaching a consensus. Coady has written that the question of how to define terrorism is "irresolvable" because "its natural home is in polemical, ideological and propagandist contexts". Revolutionary terror is not terrorism. The violence exercised on 11 September aimed neither at equality nor liberty. Nor did the preventive war announced by the president of the United States. Shock and Awe" as a subcategory of "rapid dominance" is the name given to massive intervention designed to strike terror into the minds of the enemy. It is a form of state-terrorism. The concept was however developed long before the Second Gulf War by Harlan Ullman as chair of a forum of retired military personnel. These difficulties arise from the fact that the term "terrorism" is politically and emotionally charged. During the s and s, the United Nations attempts to define the term floundered mainly due to differences of opinion between various members about the use of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberation and self-determination. Since , the United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly condemned terrorist acts using the following political description of terrorism: Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them. Code Title 22 Chapter 38, Section f d defines terrorism as: Involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law; Appear to be intended i to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; ii to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or iii to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the U. A definition proposed by Carsten Bockstette at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies , underlines the psychological and tactical aspects of terrorism: Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear sometimes indiscriminate through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets sometimes iconic symbols. Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. For example, carrying out a strategic bombing on an enemy city, which is designed to affect civilian support for a cause, would not be considered terrorism if it were authorized by a government. This criterion is inherently problematic and is not universally accepted,[ attribution needed ] because: Jihadi , mujaheddin , and fedayeen are similar Arabic words that have entered the English lexicon. It is common for both parties in a conflict to describe each other as terrorists. On one point, at least, everyone agrees: Use of the term implies a moral judgment; and if one party can successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint. If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive or, at the worst, an ambivalent light; and it is not terrorism. There is the famous statement: It assesses the validity of the cause when terrorism is an act. One can have a perfectly beautiful cause and yet if one commits terrorist acts, it is terrorism regardless. Later, these same persons, as leaders of the liberated nations, are called "statesmen" by similar organizations. This was highlighted by the Quinn v.

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### Chapter 6 : Colombia: The Multi-faceted Motivation of the FARC and Prospects for Peace – COHA

*This classification is useful for understanding not only the ideological and political consequences of the spread of English in the world, but also the assumptions different analysts have brought to their analyses of this spread.*

Cited by other publications No author info given Current issues in LPP research and their impact on society. Current Issues in Language Planning 7: Language policy and planning in urban professional settings: Current Issues in Language Planning Class, Ethnicity, and Language Rights: National narratives, institutional ideologies, and local talk: Language in Society Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development The language planning situation in Sri Lanka. Unpacking the Ideology of Cosmopolitanism in Language Education: Insights from Bakhtin and Systemic Functional Linguistics. Critical Inquiry in Language Studies Medium of instruction ideologies: Language Policy and Planning in Transition. Current Issues in Language Planning 9: Global English, Hegemony and Education: Educational Philosophy and Theory Language Policy and Latina Immigrants: Language education policy and practice in East and Southeast Asia. Issues surrounding English, the internationalisation of higher education and national cultural identity in Asia: Critical Studies in Education Critical Inquiry in Language Studies 4: Mapping ecology of literacies in educational setting: Language and Education Journal of Early Childhood Literacy Australian Journal of Linguistics International Multilingual Research Journal 9: English language ideologies in the Chinese foreign language education policies: What Teachers Should Know. Language ideology and language planning in Estonian higher education: Macro-language planning for multilingual education: The pivotal and peripheral roles of bilingual classroom assistants at a Swedish elementary school. Please note that it may not be complete. Sources presented here have been supplied by the respective publishers. Any errors therein should be reported to them.

**Chapter 7 : Ideology, Politics and Language Policies : Thomas Ricento :**

*This article reports a rhetorical discourse analysis of learner perspectives on language diversity in a contemporary South African high school. Based on four group discussions with Grade 12 isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English-speaking learners, the analysis traces two interrelated clusters of argument.*

**Introduction** The tenth year of democratic rule in South Africa seemed an appropriate time for me to investigate identity negotiation through language among South African school children in a context of rapid social change. Webb and Kembo-Sure It is the complex relationship between language, social identity and power that explains why people have language attitudes. Thus a common language or language varieties can be used to create positive social identity. As Hogg and Abrams It is well known that in Africa, a former colonial language is normally used to foster nation building, as the diverse indigenous languages in each country are seen to create divisions by the ruling class. The township we selected, Wesbank, developed in out of a large squatter community that became established on the west bank of the Kuils River in the Oostenberg Section of Greater Cape Town. The majority of the population of Wesbank speaks Afrikaans as their first language, or are bilingual speakers of English and Afrikaans. Substantial numbers of Xhosa speakers have moved to the Western Cape from the Eastern Cape since Although their culture and language have managed to survive the periods of colonization and apartheid, there is some evidence emerging of a language shift towards English, particularly among the young, well-educated urban sectors of the community Ridge, Wesbank Senior Secondary School, where our research took place, is a dual-medium English and Afrikaans one, and Xhosa is offered both as a first language and an additional language. It has many Grade 8 learners from the other black townships in Cape Town, and in we found that all of them at the behest of their parents had been placed in the English First Language English L1 stream, even though they often had an extremely limited command of the language. English served as the common language between the two main speech communities at the school and was the language used most frequently at assemblies and in staff meetings. However, my research assistants and I observed that on the playgrounds, and as soon as the learners left the school, they reverted to their mother tongues and tended not to mix with members of the other speech community.

**Findings and conclusions** In terms of language attitudes as indicators of group identity, this initial study revealed certain emerging patterns among three distinct groups of learners in Wesbank Senior Secondary School. These learners, who appeared to be in a state of language shift towards English only, also seemed more positively disposed towards Xhosa as a language as well as to the speakers of Xhosa. They did not overtly reveal any of the petty racism of the Afrikaans L1 learners, and appeared to have been influenced by their daily contact with their Xhosa classmates as well as their study of Xhosa as an additional language. Their data revealed strong positive, in fact, passionate, allegiance to their mother tongue. But there are other, more compelling reasons. Hogg and Abrams, cited earlier. In terms of language as a marker of identity, the data of the Xhosa learners revealed that they did not apparently feel concerned about preferring English to their mother tongue in many domains. They saw the language as being a common language in South Africa, and as having largely instrumental purposes in their lives, helping them to find better jobs and education, and giving them a passport out of the townships. Xhosa remained closely related to their sense of themselves and their culture and traditions, and some of them were prepared to acknowledge the importance of Afrikaans in the Western Cape. At the same time, they could also have been affected by the clear messages sent out by the government and other black role models, viz. In contrast to Afrikaans, and with the exception of some singers and entertainers, there are simply too few role models who stand out as constant users of Xhosa in all domains, and this has serious implications for the status and survival of the language. Bilingualism and language shift. In eds Wasserman, H. Using historical data to explain language attitudes: A South African case study. Africa and Applied Linguistics, eds Makoni, S. In de Klerk ed. Going to a better life. Perspectives on the future of language in education for San and Khoe South Africans. Comparative Perspectives on Language

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and Literacy: Cultural anthropology and linguistics. Georgetown University Press, Ideology, politics and language policies: Language attitudes, language planning and education. The Khoesan languages of South Africa. Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics. An introduction to the languages and linguistics of Africa. Oorspronklike Vrye Afrikaan adres: Indien die artikel se inhoud hierbo nie vertoon nie, sal dit mettertyd bygevoeg word wanneer die artikel nagegaan word.

Chapter 8 : Capitalism - Wikipedia

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Antoine Destutt de Tracy The term "ideology" was born during the Reign of Terror of French Revolution , and acquired several other meanings thereafter. The word, and the system of ideas associated with it, was coined by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in , [3] while he was in prison pending trial during the Terror. The coup that overthrew Maximilien Robespierre allowed Tracy to pursue his work. He devised the term for a "science of ideas" he hoped would form a secure foundation for the moral and political sciences. He based the word on two things: He conceived "Ideology" as a liberal philosophy that would defend individual liberty, property, free markets , and constitutional limits on state power. He argues that among these aspects ideology is the most generic term, because the science of ideas also contains the study of their expression and deduction. In the century after Tracy, the term ideology moved back and forth between positive and negative connotations. He describes ideology as rather like teaching philosophy by the Socratic method , but without extending the vocabulary beyond what the general reader already possessed, and without the examples from observation that practical science would require. Taine identifies it not just with Destutt De Tracy, but also with his milieu, and includes Condillac as one of its precursors. Destutt de Tracy read the works of Locke and Condillac while he was imprisoned during the Reign of Terror. The term "ideology" has dropped some of its pejorative sting , and has become a neutral term in the analysis of differing political opinions and views of social groups. Some have described this kind of analysis as meta-ideologyâ€”the study of the structure, form, and manifestation of ideologies. Recent analysis tends to posit that ideology is a coherent system of ideas that rely on a few basic assumptions about reality that may or may not have any factual basis. Ideas become ideologies that is, become coherent, repeated patterns through the subjective ongoing choices that people make, serving as the seed around which further thought grows. According to most recent analysis, ideologies are neither necessarily right nor wrong. Believers in ideology range from passive acceptance through fervent advocacy to true belief. This accords with definitions, such as by Manfred Steger and Paul James , that emphasize both the issue of patterning and contingent claims to truth: Ideologies are patterned clusters of normatively imbued ideas and concepts, including particular representations of power relations. These conceptual maps help people navigate the complexity of their political universe and carry claims to social truth. Charles Blattberg offers an account that distinguishes political ideologies from political philosophies. Minar describes six different ways the word "ideology" has been used: As a collection of certain ideas with certain kinds of content, usually normative As the form or internal logical structure that ideas have within a set By the role ideas play in human-social interaction By the role ideas play in the structure of an organization As meaning, whose purpose is persuasion As the locus of social interaction For Willard A. Mullins an ideology should be contrasted with the related but different issues of utopia and historical myth. An ideology is composed of four basic characteristics: Terry Eagleton outlines more or less in no particular order some definitions of ideology: In his work, he strove to bring the concept of ideology into the foreground, as well as the closely connected concerns of epistemology and history. In this work, the term ideology is defined in terms of a system of presentations that explicitly or implicitly claim to absolute truth. In the Marxist economic base and superstructure model of society, base denotes the relations of production and modes of production , and superstructure denotes the dominant ideology religious, legal, political systems. The economic base of production determines the political superstructure of a society. Ruling class-interests determine the superstructure and the nature of the justifying ideologyâ€”actions feasible because the ruling class control the means of production. For example, in a feudal mode of production , religious ideology is the most prominent aspect of the superstructure, while in capitalist formations, ideologies such as liberalism and social democracy dominate. Hence the great importance of the ideology justifying a society; it politically confuses the alienated groups of society via false consciousness. Some explanations have been presented. Antonio Gramsci uses cultural hegemony to explain why the

working-class have a false ideological conception of what are their best interests. Marx argued that "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production. Moreover, Mannheim has developed, and progressed, from the "total" but "special" Marxist conception of ideology to a "general" and "total" ideological conception acknowledging that all ideology including Marxism resulted from social life, an idea developed by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. A number of propositions, which are never untrue, suggest a number of other propositions, which are. In this way, the essence of the lacunar discourse is what is not told but is suggested. For example, the statement "All are equal before the law," which is a theoretical groundwork of current legal systems, suggests that all people may be of equal worth or have equal "opportunities". This is not true, for the concept of private property and power over the means of production results in some people being able to own more much more than others. This power disparity contradicts the claim that all share both practical worth and future opportunity equally; for example, the rich can afford better legal representation, which practically privileges them before the law. Althusser also proffered the concept of the ideological state apparatus to explain his theory of ideology. His first thesis was "ideology has no history": For Althusser, beliefs and ideas are the products of social practices, not the reverse. His thesis that "ideas are material" is illustrated by the "scandalous advice" of Pascal toward unbelievers: Ideology and the Commodity in the works of Guy Debord[ edit ] The French Marxist theorist Guy Debord , founding member of the Situationist International , argued that when the commodity becomes the "essential category" of society, i. Relevant discussion may be found on Talk: Please help to ensure that disputed statements are reliably sourced. July Learn how and when to remove this template message The German cultural historian Silvio Vietta described the development and expansion of Western rationality from ancient times onwards as often accompanied by and shaped by ideologies like that of the "just war", the "true religion", racism, nationalism, or the vision of future history as a kind of heaven on earth in communism. He said that ideas like these became ideologies by giving hegemonic political actions an idealistic veneer and equipping their leaders with a higher and, in the " political religions " Eric Voegelin , nearly God-like power, so that they became masters over the lives and the deaths of millions of people. He considered that ideologies therefore contributed to power politics irrational shields of ideas beneath which they could operate as manifestations of idealism. The proselytizing zeal of propagandists derives from "a passionate search for something not yet found more than a desire to bestow something we already have. Hoffer asserts that violence and fanaticism are interdependent. Without the leader, there is no movement. Often the leader must wait long in the wings until the time is ripe. He calls for sacrifices in the present, to justify his vision of a breathtaking future. The skills required include: Original thoughts are suppressed, and unity encouraged, if the masses are kept occupied through great projects, marches, exploration and industry. Results indicate that where people live is likely to closely correlate with their ideological beliefs. In much of Africa, South Asia and the Middle East, people prefer traditional beliefs and are less tolerant of liberal values. Protestant Europe, at the other extreme, adheres more to secular beliefs and liberal values. Alone among high-income countries, the United States is exceptional in its adherence to traditional beliefs, in this case Christianity.

## Chapter 9 : Mixed motive | Revolvy

*Ideology, politics, and language policies: focus on English. Selma K. Sonntag --Mixed motives: ideological elements in the elements in the support for.*