



American TESOL  
Institute

***The History of English in Panama***

**Economic History and Politics of the English Language**

**On the Isthmus of Panama**

***Winston Malcolm***



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## **The Privateers as the first set of English speakers on the Isthmus**

The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 opened a new era in the relations between Europe and the Americas. Institutions and customs from many European countries contended to become the dominant force in different parts of the “New World”. Citizens and governments from Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England were among the most interested in obtaining precious metals from the Americas; they used different methods, including the work of privateers from the last three of these nations, to obtain their purposes. For centuries, English speaking and other privateers lived on the Caribbean islands and parts of Central America’s Caribbean coast including the Bocas del Toro region of Panama. (Arauz, 2006)

Already in 1572, Sir Francis Drake and his men, including the famous John Oxenham who five years later became the first English speaking person to navigate the Pacific Ocean anywhere in the Americas, were communicating in English on Panamanian soil. Another English privateer, William Parker, and his men also operated on the isthmus; in 1601 they captured the Spanish colonial town of Portobello on Panama’s Atlantic coast. The next famous English privateer to set foot on Panamanian territory was Henry Morgan who after years of living along the Atlantic coast, crossed the Isthmus and stole the riches from Panama City in the year 1671. Then, between 1698 and the year 1700 citizens from Scotland, established failed colonies at Darien in Eastern

Panama. These Europeans were among the earliest people to speak English on the Isthmus.

**The first significant group of English speakers from the United States and the English Caribbean islands to reach the Isthmus**

The next significant group of English speaking people to reach Panamanian soil came from the United States. Starting in the 1840s, operations of the Pacific Mail company brought many English speaking people to the isthmus. The numbers of US citizens and other English speaking individuals transiting through the Isthmus dramatically increased with the California Gold Rush and the connected building of the Panama Railroad during the early 1850's. English speaking workers from the Caribbean islands also came to Panama during the construction of this historic railroad. During this time, the Star and Herald, Panama's first English newspapers appeared to satisfy the needs of the growing English speaking population.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's more English speaking people came to Panama from the Caribbean islands to work with the French on two failed attempt to build the Panama Canal. Also, in the early 1890s, US citizens developed large banana plantation in Bocas del Toro province with the help of large numbers of workers from the Caribbean providing this region with a distinct English dialect that persists to this day. However, it was during the

following decade that the greatest number of English speaking people arrived in Panama.

### **The Constructions of the Panama Canal as a stimulus for the use of English on the Isthmus**

Months after Panama gained independence from Colombia, in 1903, the United States began building the Panama Canal and imported thousands of workers, that again, came from the Caribbean islands. They together with thousands of US citizens lived and developed the area that was known as the Panama Canal Zone. The next decade gave birth to two several events that intensified the use of English in Panama.

As works advanced and the prospects for successfully completing the Panama Canal became clear, the United States began developing military installations in and around the Canal Zone for the protection of the future vital waterway. Thousands of U.S. soldiers would eventually make of Panama their home, joining other English speaking people on the isthmus. When the construction works of the Panama Canal concluded many of the workers lost their jobs; instead of returning to the Caribbean islands, they turned to other parts of Panama, including Panama City and Colon, the Canal's terminal cities, as well as the Bocas del Toro region where an English speaking community already had developed on the banana plantations. It would not take long for English to begin spreading to different segments of the Panamanian society.

Interestingly enough, the Panamanian upper class quickly interacted with the Canal Zone residents while copying elements of the American culture, including the English language. This segment of the population gained access to social activities and schools on the Canal Zone while controlling the governments and most businesses in Panama, especially economic activities directly linked to the US markets. Members from this social class frequently traveled to the United States for studies and returned to Panama to take up privileged positions in government and business.

At the same time, the English speaking communities of imported workers from the Caribbean had begun to grow in numbers and increasingly interacted with U.S. soldiers and other English speaking US civilian workers, as well as among themselves and other foreigners like the large Chinese and Jewish communities in Panama.

### **Growth of English Speaking Communities and Political**

#### **Conflicts due to Language**

Therefore, even before World War II, the spread of the use of English in Panama had begun to be of great concern to both the privileged elite and the masses of non-English speaking Panamanians. By 1941, Panamanian President Dr. Arnulfo Arias had promoted a law demanding the exclusive use of Spanish in areas of the country under Panamanian control. Many English

speaking Panamanians and foreigners suffered discrimination (Westerman, 1980). Shortly after, President Arias was overthrown and the law repealed, but this and other actions converted him in a national hero; he was elected President in each of the following decades until his death in the late 1980s.

### **World War II and the increased US presence to protect the Panama Canal**

During World War II, the U.S. developed more military bases on the Isthmus to protect the Panama Canal and much more soldiers were assigned to the area. These new installations together with increased military transits through the Canal stimulated economic activities that demanded more English language communications in Panama.

After World War II, economic activity on the Isthmus declined and many English speaking Panamanians migrated to the United States. English speaking Panamanians, mostly blacks from Caribbean descent, on the Canal Zone and other parts of Panama, working under US controlled institutions and companies generally enjoyed better wages than the rest of the majority of Panamanians. (Conniff, 1985). This maintained the feelings of resentment that translated into discrimination against the minority English speaking population supported by US interest on the Isthmus.

The development of Black communities on the Canal Zone produced another authentic way of speaking English among those Panamanians that remained largely isolated from both Panama's main cultural life and the white US rulers on the Canal Zone.

On the other hand, English speaking people of Caribbean descent also developed communities in areas under Panama's control near the Canal. The City of Colon is located at the Caribbean entrance to the Panama Canal. During construction of the Canal, most Caribbean workers disembarked and stayed at Colon and its surroundings. As the original Caribbean population grew with its distinct culture, including the English language, more and more people from the Caribbean and of Caribbean descent within Panama, migrated to this city. A unique English dialect still remains very popular in the area. Neighborhoods of largely English speaking Caribbean descent also developed in areas such as Rio Abajo, Pueblo Nuevo, Villa Caceres, Juan Diaz providing the metropolitan area of Panama City with many English speaking that interacted socially with US the soldiers and civilians on the Canal Zone.

### **The Impact of the United States military on the English Speaking**

#### **People of Caribbean descent**

The presence of the United States military in Panama, for years, served to attract many Panamanians, especially those from Caribbean descent that had



some English skills. Other Panamanians became spouses of members of the US military that was stationed in Panama. Today, these people are spread all over the United States. However, the greatest concentration of Panamanian in the US is located in New York City, especially in some areas of Brooklyn and Queens. For the most part they are descendants of the English Caribbean people that migrated to Panama in the past century. A relatively smaller concentration of Panamanians descendants from the English speaking Caribbean islands can be found in many parts of the US.

Most Panamanians that migrate to the United States are bilingual; however, they generally choose to speak Spanish to friends and relatives as a sign of identification and to foster affective ties and occasionally to build friendship with other Spanish speaking individuals. The vast majority uses English for other purposes including religious or social events with majority Panamanians. The assimilation of Panamanians into the broader US culture is relatively easier than that of other Spanish speaking nationals because of their English background and awareness of US customs previously achieved in Panama. The important point here is to demonstrate how fluid and useful language can become as a means for diverse economic and social transactions. The English speaking communities of Caribbean became a great pool of labor on the Canal Zone as well as fertile ground for social interaction of many US soldiers and an attractive source of recruitment for the US Arm Services and migration to the United States given the affinity of language. To learn more about this people go online and visit the National Panamanian Friendship Reunion Website.

## **Dialects of Panamanian English**

Each different group of Panamanians has developed their own distinct variety of English. The middle class Panamanian tend to speak and write Standard English learned in schools and colleges; for the most part, however, their speech reflects a distinctive accent due to the influence of the Spanish background. Panamanians born and raised on the former Canal Zone also tend to use Standard English learned in school. They too, have a distinct accent which represents a blend of their Caribbean background and the influence of their permanent immersion in the United States culture, especially with expressions, slangs, and patterns closer to some Southern States and uniquely developed as consequence of the nature of separate Canal Zone communities.

Speakers from the Bocas del Toro region, for the most part, acquired English at home from their parents and grandparents. Their variety of English is further away from Standard English since it was not learn at school; it retains a strong British accent while at the same time many Southern slangs and expressions are used due to the influence of citizens from these States in the exploitation of the banana and cacao businesses.

The most curious English dialect in Panama, however, is that spoken by the people of Colon; it has a Caribbean background, but much more interrelated with Spanish and Canal Zone influence than that of the Bocas del Toro Region. The typical 'Colonense' English is more inclined towards usage in

the context of popular expressions than concerns for forms of Standard English. However, this is probable the most representative type of Panamanian English and the one with most probability of surviving as authentically local product even among the Panamanian communities in the United States where there is a significant representation of people from Colon.

Panamanian Spanish has borrowed many words from the dialects of Caribbean English in Panama. This is especially true with types of music like Calypso and REGETON, the later originated in Panama. Many culinary words in Panama also refer to dishes prepared by the English speaking Caribbean community on the Isthmus. In sports, vocational occupations and home remedies these groups have also made important contributions to popular expressions used by Panamanian speakers of Spanish. On the other hand, other English expressions originated with US citizens on the Canal Zone have remained common among some Panamanian speakers of older generations.

Despite these differences it is still possible for all these English speakers to understand each other even with some difficulties and adjustments at times, just as individuals of different social class and regions are able to communicate using different dialects of the English language in the United States and other parts of the world. Language also created strong identification among Panamanians and interacted with racial discriminations and other forms of more subtle oppression. Panama is an interesting case where descendants of colonial blacks (those that came to the country as slaves during the time of

colony) that don't speak English joined other non-blacks in discriminating against the English speaking blacks of Caribbean descent.

### **A Social Revolution and its Political Impact on groups of Language Users**

Paradoxically, during the 1970s, Panamanian military rulers displaced the traditional upper- class white from political power and turned to the English speaking Panamanian workers on the Canal Zone and the rest of the country for support in the negotiations with the United States for a treaty that would provide for Panamanian sovereignty over all the entire country including the former Canal Zone.

Although there were some concerns related to the possibility of massive replacement of English speaking Panamanian under Panamanian control, the Panamanians of Caribbean descent, including most living in the United States, supported Panamanians military's aspirations for control of the Canal.

As it turned out, the negotiations provided for a transition period between 1979 and the year 2,000 when the Canal was finally turned over to Panama. During this period most English speaking Panamanians that once lived on the Canal Zone, were required to reside in other parts of Panama; they and their children expanded the use of the distinct English dialect from the

black Canal Zone communities into Panama City, the city of Colon and their surroundings.

During the transition period, the US transferred many assets to Panama including valuable military installations where thousands of English speaking Panamanians worked. Thousands of Panamanians lost their jobs in this process and the Panamanian government became interested in finding productive uses for these resources. Some proposal quickly became popular like those seeking to convert these properties, located close to the wonderful Panama Canal, into tourist resorts and technological hubs to take advantage of the telecommunication equipment and other infrastructure previously installed by the US (Malcolm, 2011).

### **United States Soldiers Depart and Panamanian Fears About Extended English Use Disappears**

Ironically, it was the departure of the United States military and civilians from the former Canal Zone that created new political perceptions and economic needs in Panama that opened the doors for viewing the extensive use of English as a strategic tool for economic development. Panama's need to provide employment to former Canal Zone workers combined with large properties and installation that became national assets awaiting to be placed in productive use became drivers for the widespread development of English

teaching in the country. Panamanians woke up on the first day of the twenty-first century with new responsibilities in the global economy: The transition period stipulated in the Carter- Torrijos treaties had been successfully completed; the Canal and the Canal Zone was now Panamanian responsibility. Panamanians now had to look at English, the language of international business, under a new, positive perspective.

Consequently, Panamanian government urgency in finding ways to compensate for falling revenues due to departing US citizens and declining expenditures related to the former Canal Zone and the Panama Canal, led to increased interest in developing tourist activities, and promoting the country as a haven to attract retired and pensioned individuals seeking lower cost of living and other special incentives. The subsequent development of the hospitality industry, transportation and other services to attend the growing inflow of visitors was already creating an expanded demand for English speaking individuals in the country when Panama became aware of its potential to serve the call center industry and laid the basis for what is today one of the most expanding industry with high demand for individuals with proficiency in English skills.

In the year 2003 Panama's National Assembly passed legislation compelling all private and public educational institutions of primary and secondary level to teach English. The law goes on to declare an issue of public interest the teaching and learning of the English Language. The same law

established the obligation for all public and private universities to establish necessary mechanisms and programs to assist anyone aspiring to obtain a college degree, in addition to Spanish must learn English or another international language. Starting from January 2003, all educational institutions were given period of five years to establish the corresponding systems and procedures.

Furthermore, the law compelled all official institutions, decentralized, autonomous, municipal, and private to promote and carry out special programs at the institutional and community levels for the teaching of English. Ironically, since then, the Panamanian society has have to draw heavily on the stock of people from black Caribbean descent for the widespread teaching of English that is necessary to keep pace with this legal mandate and the rapid developments in the international economy. These dynamic realities served as driver that modified the Panamanian government official attitude and the gradual acceptance of non-English speakers of the need to look at the English language with a different perspective than in the past.

Furthermore, the reversion of the Canal Zone to Panamanian sovereignty not only stimulated the use of English for the use in areas of new economic activities on the isthmus, but it also opened the way for the expansion of already existing international businesses and an expanded demand for English coming from these traditional sectors. An interesting development has been the expansion of the Colon Free Zone at the Atlantic entrance to the Panama

Canal. This is the world's second largest duty free zone; it deals with suppliers and consumers from the world over. Other activities that are demanding more workers with English language skills are the extraordinary expansion of the Panamanian ports and other maritime activities, warehousing, international banking and insurance, tourism, hospitality, legal services, economists and accountants and experts in information technology required for providing services to the growing amount of non- profits and for profits organizations seeking to take advantage of Panama's special location and liberal tax laws.

### **The current crisis in the Teaching of English on the Isthmus**

With all these developments, the demand for workers with English skills in Panama far exceeds the supply of these resources in the local market. This is a significant bottleneck. Few people could see this coming after the turn-over of the Canal Zone to Panama. In theory and practice the situation remains interesting. For example, the greatest problem that the local Chambers of Commerce and even the authorities at the University of Panama see is the low quality of English teaching (in terms of Standard American English) as the preferred form of English usage in contrast with the supply of English teachers of majority Panamanian Caribbean descent or other local bilingual background. While Panama's heritage and close relations with countries like Great Britain, the English speaking individuals from the Caribbean islands and



the United States has provided the isthmians with a relative advantage with respect to other Latin American countries, but in terms of criterion based performances that most employers use to guide their decisions, quality improvements may ultimately require a stronger commitment to obtain help from the countries with the type of native speakers that have the skills demanded to be competitive in the international business environment.

Nevertheless, despite government official promotion of English in the country, the less educated cling to Spanish since they see learning another language as a goal that is difficult for them to achieve, and more pressing issues take up their energies at the survival level. These people also see the use of Spanish as their only source of power in the country.

On the other hand, middle class individuals are now proudly showing their English skills as a sign of social status, material achievement and potential source of power in this new environment. The wealthiest exhibits mixed feelings. They realize that the tool of Standard English, once used to help maintain their privileged position, must now become a shared type of information or instrument in the hands of workers in order to improve their businesses and the country's productivity in the international system. In these circumstances, while the public schools provide insufficient hours of English instruction, the best private schools provide almost all content subjects in a bilingual format. Those parents that can afford to send their children to private schools are in a better position to see the market rewards these efforts.

Nevertheless, a continuation of this situation may only aggravate the already poor income distribution in this country.

## **Questions**

1. What was the main motivation that took the privateers to Panamanian shores?
2. How does the historical development of the United States have connections to the use of the English language in Panama?
3. Explain the role of the English language as it relates to the use of people from the Caribbean to help build the Panama Canal.
4. How did the English language provide the people of Bocas del Toro with advantages to obtain works with the US military and the Panama Canal?
5. Why did most people of Panama react against the use of the English language during significant part of the country's history?
6. What segments of the Panamanian population did many US soldiers targeted for their social relations? What role did language play in this behavior?
7. How can the teaching of English in private schools impact the distribution of income in Panama?

## ***Assignments***

1. Ronald Carter and David Numan ( p3) explain that for purposes of international communication through English, spoken variety does not normally lead to significant difficulties. Explain how this fact applies to the historical use of English in Panama.
2. Catherine Wallace (p21) indicates that some researchers view reading and writing practices as having currency and prestige because of social and historical factors particular to the cultural setting. Explain how does that view fits into this case?
3. Barbara Seidlhofer(p57) indicates that ‘recent years have seen a reconceptualization of the role of English in the world together with a broadening of attitudes towards different native and non-native varieties, including accents. Explain how this concept applies to the evolution of English on the Isthmus of Panama.
4. Agnes Lam (94) explains that ‘ in many multilingual societies there are more bilingual than multilingual individuals. Explain whether you believe these words historically have been applicable to the Panamanian society. Give the reasons for your answer.

## **Guide for Evaluating *Answers to the Questions***

1. The main motivation that took the privateers to Panama and other parts of the world was the perspectives of capturing gold and silver. According to the doctrine of mercantilism, an economic philosophy that prevailed during those days, wealth and power depended on the amount of gold and / or silver that an individual or country possessed. Surplus foreign trade and other means including piracy were considered ways for achieving this economic policy; that generated great competition among European powers, especially, during the XV to XVIII centuries.
2. The activities of the Pacific Mail Company, the California Gold Rush and construction of the Panama Railroad, the development of banana plantations by US companies in Central America and the Caribbean, including Panama, the building of the Panama Canal and the establishment of numerous military bases in Panama brought thousands of US citizens to Panama as well as English speaking workers from the Caribbean islands with their language and customs. These US citizens and Caribbean workers, not only produced new generations of English speaking individuals on the isthmus, but they also interacted with Panamanians of different social classes contributing to the formation of English speaking communities in many parts of Panama.

3. The use of the English speaking Caribbean workers made it much easier for the English speaking Americans to communicate their instructions during the building of the Panama Canal. Common language was an important factor in the building of the Panama Canal. The British colonization of the occupation of some Caribbean islands and parts of Central America as well of the colonization of the United States combined to produce a linguistic environment through the use of English in Panama. This fact perhaps has not been given its crucial importance while other factors like the 'superior American technology and organization' to defeat the obstacles encountered on the isthmus receives much attention.
4. The bulk of maintenance, health, transportation, merchandising, construction, port, and clerical activities related to the banana plantations were carried out by English speaking people of Caribbean descent. The assimilation to the US style of work and experience gained by people of English Caribbean origin on the banana plantations served to facilitate their recruitment for similar vocational and service activities with the Panama Canal Company and military bases on the former Canal Zone. The English language proved to have important transferable skills not only from one geographical location to another, but also from one generation to another and from one occupation to another. The maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal became a much easier task through these qualities of language communication; this is another

area of the history of the Panama Canal operations and the contributions of linguistic elements that perhaps has not been fully researched and revealed.

5. In the early 1940's, Dr. Arnulfo Arias made Spanish the country's official language, in an attempt to force the English speaking people of the country, including Panamanians of Caribbean descent that for the obvious language advantage obtained better paid jobs on the former Canal Zone than what was available in the rest of the country . This action was interpreted by the majority of the population as a nationalist move in defense of the country's culture and colonial heritage. Arnulfo Arias' language policy influenced Panamanian culture for decades; it was not until the year 2003 that Panamanian authorities decided to actively promote the use of English the country.
6. The most politically powerful interactions and social interactions of US civilians and leading military figures on the Canal Zone was done with the Panamanian middle and upper class. However that was willing to communicate in English, US soldiers from modest backgrounds also tried to find Panamanian individuals, of their class, that could communicate primarily in English. Communities of English speaking individuals from Caribbean descent on the Canal Zone, Panama City and Colon became the favorite places of meeting and social interaction for many US soldiers in Panama.

7. Private schools offer better salaries and other incentives, thus attracting the best English teachers, including native English teachers from other countries. However, due to the shortage of English teachers, many private schools also operate with under-qualified teachers. Most foreign and local private companies recruit the best available potential workers. Students coming from recognized private schools and universities have advantage over students coming from public institutions as different test have demonstrated that some private schools students consistently performed better in terms of required English skills and other key subjects for different types of jobs in Panama.

The competition among private schools and the slow response of high quality English teachers in terms of their preparation in technical and business fields as the Panamanian international service economy demands may even favor higher salaries for better trained English teachers in the future.

Corporate needs for workers with good English skills, and the need of English schools to pay higher salaries to attract high quality English teachers, may not help to alleviate the already poor income distribution in the short- term without assistance from the government of non- profit organizations to help provide English skills to the poorest Panamanians that are beginning to place high hopes on English as a viable way for escaping poverty; yet, continued economic growth through the use of



appropriate English skills in Panama's service economy coupled with appropriate policies may help improve the living conditions of many individuals in the long-run. Joint public- private sectors agreements are required to face the demands of English teaching in Panama.

### ***Additional Information for Evaluating Answers to the Assignments***

- 1) The Carter and Numan assertion is completely validated in this work on Panama. This case presents a variety of English that came to the Caribbean islands from British sources. After centuries this original British English suffered changes in the Caribbean, becoming different varieties of Creole and eventually reaching Panamanian territory through different waves of immigrants seeking economic opportunities on the isthmus. Any of these English speaking individuals originally settled in the Bocas del Toro region, particularly on the islands and US controlled banana plantations. Their 'British style English' did not prevent communication with the US managers on the plantations. More British style speakers came to Panama during construction and maintenance of the US controlled Canal Zone; they too were able to communicate in English with the US managers.

Despite the fact that the Bocas del Toro group remained physically isolated from the rest of the country, they were under Panamanian political jurisdiction and therefore their variety of English eventually borrowed more from Spanish than the groups on the Canal Zone that eventually borrowed more from the US style English and relatively less from Spanish. However, both groups were also able to communicate between themselves. This became evident with internal migrations of British style banana plantation workers to the cities of Panama and especially Colon where there lived and worked side by side with US style English form the white (Southern and Northern US style speakers as well as the Caribbean- US style influenced black Panamanian that lived on the Canal Zone. Numerous Chinese living in English speaking communities of Bocas del Toro, Colon and parts of Panama City also developed their own style of English and were able to communicate using this language even as Spanish the official language contributed its share to these English versions. Panamanian middle class that studied in the Canal Zone or the United States also developed their own style of English closer to Standard English in the US version. They too were able to communicate with other English speakers despite some traits of Spanish accent. Finally, after the Canal Zone passed to Panamanian sovereignty the mostly English speaking Panamanian and US citizens begun moving to other parts of the country and they found little difficulty communicating with speakers of other English varieties. All these people

have been able to communicate and serve international users of Panama's international serviced platform such as: the Panama Canal, Colon Free Zone, Panama's Ship Registry, International Banking and Insurance, tourism, ports and transshipment activities, call centers, logistics etc.

2. The socio-political and economic context in which most English speaking individuals ( blacks) came to the isthmus under the control of a minority English speaking(whites) first during the construction of the Panama Railroad, then with the banana plantations, followed by the construction and operation of the Panama Canal and military bases for its protection and most recently in the transportation, guide and security activities related to tourism indicated great demand of listening and speaking skills but far less writing and reading skills as required for white collar activities in general and management positions in particular. Students from Black communities on the Canal Zone and other parts of Panama struggled to get adequate education both in Spanish and English and by virtue of their undervalued varieties of English were discriminated. The middle class Panamanian studied Standard English on the Canal Zone or the United States and attempted to restrict the black Panamanian from gaining the same access to these tools for a significant part of Panama's history until the 1970s when the need for national incorporation of all social groups for negotiations related to Panamanian control of the Panama Canal finally opened the doors to cultural integration.

3. On the first day of the XXI century Panama obtained control of the Canal and with it eventually Panamanian began a process of revaluating many attitudes including the role of English and English teachers including the potential of Panamanian of English speaking Caribbean's in the responsible formation of a labor force capable of performing well in all four basic language skills for English. Today as the global economy pulls Panama's international service economy more into the system, the entire society have come to realize the importance of learning English, and the once discriminated English speakers of Caribbean descent are now being look upon as valuable assets in the society as they are in increasingly high demand.
4. Panama is a multilingual society as one of the world's major commercial-transit area. There are important communities of Jewish, Arabs, Chinese, Indians, United States and other Latin American as well as from Spain and other European countries. These communities have their own languages, religious practices and other customs. Also, there are many native Indians languages spoken in different parts of the country; teachers, missionaries, government officials and other individuals in constant contact with these communities have learned over the years. Therefore, internal and external factors have combined for a slow growth of multilingualism. Furthermore, since English and Spanish are of

compulsory teaching at all levels, when they are combined with the home language of other cultures, the obvious result is multilingualism. However, by far, Panama remains a bilingual society. As pointed out before, most of Panama's history has been linked to Spanish and English as the two sources of economic expansion and social activity.

## Recommended Readings

[http://www.multilingualarchive.com/ma/enwiki/en/William Paterson \(banker\)](http://www.multilingualarchive.com/ma/enwiki/en/William_Paterson_(banker))

Conniff, Michael. *Black Labor On a White Canal*. University of Pittsburg Press. Pittsburg, PA 1985.

Malcolm, Winston. *Panama's Contributions to the Development of the United States' Capital Accumulation and Power*. Just Book Publishing. Zephyrhills, Florida. 2011.

Araúz Monfante, Celestino Andres. *Bocas del Toro y el Caribe Occidental: Periferia y Marginalidad siglos XVI – XIX*. Editorial Mariano Arosemena. Panama 2007.

Westerman, George W. *Los Inmigrantes Antillanos En Panama*. INAC, Panama 1980.

Panamanian Law #2 of January 14, 2003. *Official Gazette 247220 That establishes the compulsory teaching of the English language in all public and private educational centers of first and secondary level and other dispositions*.