Intercultural Communication and Language Education

Ali Fuad Selvi
Nathanael Rudolph *Editors*

Conceptual Shifts and Contextualized Practices in Education for Glocal Interaction

Issues and Implications

Intercultural Communication and Language Education

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Abbreviations

EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LFE	Lingua Franca English
NEST	Native English-speaking teacher
NNEST	Nonnative English-speaking teacher
NNS	Nonnative speaker
NS	Native speaker
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
WE	World Englishes

Introduction: Conceptualizing and Approaching "Education for Glocal Interaction"

Ali Fuad Selvi and Nathanael Rudolph

Abstract In this introduction, the volume editors discuss the sociohistorical negotiation of conceptual tensions and shifts within the discursive field of English language education, as stakeholders face the potential reconciliation of theory, research, and practice founded upon static, essentialized, and idealized boundaries of language, culture, place, and identity, with movement, border crossing, and hybridity (Kramsch 2014; Pennycook 2010). The editors then unpack the framework for the edited volume and provide the overview of the chapters therein.

Today's world is characterized by ever-increasing globalization, via global "flows" (Appadurai 2000) of people, ideas, information, technology, and finances, which are leading to "new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture" (Blommaert 2010, p. 13). These flows have resulted in new ways of being and becoming, within and across Modernistic linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, political, geographical, educational, professional, and gender-related borders of language, culture, group, space, and identity. By Modernistic, we are referring to discursively constructed, reductionistic borders, defining the essentialized bounds of dichotomies of difference, including "Self-Other," "pure-impure," "correct-incorrect," and "normal–abnormal" (e.g., Bhabha 1994, 1996; Rutherford 1990). Globalization, according to Blommaert et al. (2012), is problematizing these dichotomous constructions as unable to capture the diverse complexity of movement and hybridity having occurred, and increasingly unfolding, around the globe. There is, as a result, tension in and across time space, as individuals and groups, purposefully and unintentionally, in varying

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degrees and often in contradictory ways, affirm and patrol and/or problematize and resist essentialized, discursive constructions of being, doing, and knowing.

Language education both has been emphasized as a key component, or even conceptual equivalent, of the notion of equipping learners to navigate our dynamically interconnecting world. Drawing upon Blommaert et al. (2012), Kramsch (2014) contends that the ever-increasing global flows characterizing the "late modern," have directly challenged "Modern" binaries of order–disorder, purity–impurity, normality–abnormality, which serve as the ontological and epistemological foundations of (foreign) language education and its underpinning disciplines, including linguistics, applied linguistics, and second language acquisition. Stakeholders in language education, Kramsch argues, are faced with the prospect of reconciling theory, research, and practice founded upon static, essentialized, and idealized boundaries of language and "corresponding culture," place, identity, with movement, border crossing, and hybridity (Kramsch 2014; Pennycook 2010). Dominant constructions of language ownership, learning, use, and instruction are at once being affirmed and patrolled, questioned, and challenged.

Our operational conceptualization of the term "glocal" in "glocal approach to language teaching" underscores "the interpenetration of the global and the local resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas" (Ritzer and Dean 2015, p. 73). A glocal approach places critical-practical emphasis on the notion of interaction as characterized by dynamic hybridity and contextualized diversity. Therefore, as Kubota (2011a) contends, "a glocal approach raises students' critical language awareness and develops border-crossing communicative skills that enable them to actively and critically engage in diverse cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic contact zones" (p. 116). This translates into a departure from the historically established paradigm of TESOL, which characterizes the English language as a unified, deterministic, universalist, and essentialist closed system and English language teaching as an ideological act and process driven by the notions of Anglo-American culture, whiteness, urbanism, "standard" variety of English spoken in homogeneous speech communities by "native speakers" of the language. While a glocal approach to language education aims to equip language users with more critical and contextualized manifestations of the discourses of English as a global lingua franca, it also acknowledges, appreciates, and actively integrates local forms of knowledge (both linguistic and nonlinguistic). The active amalgamation of the English language, and other elements of the local linguacultural repertoire, draws attention to diverse forms of English (WE, ELF, EIL paradigms, as well as diversity within a given variety) and creative linguacultural expressions in communication. In sum, the overall aim of a glocal approach to English language teaching is to create spaces, opportunities and structures of "border-crossing communication in English and beyond with critically engaged awareness, attitudes and skills" (Kubota 2011a, p. 102) so that language users move beyond categorically essentialized processes, practices, and products, and actively (re-) negotiate their identity (see also Houghton 2012).

The current volume employs “English language education” as a point of discursive departure, to explore how individuals, groups, entities, and institutions apprehend, embrace, wrestle with, manipulate, and resist glocal flows in their conceptualizations and negotiations of identity and interaction. English is a “language” intricately linked with globalization (Crystal 2012). Dominant, glocal, mainstream and critically oriented linguistic, cultural, educational, political, and economic discourses in societies around the globe, as well as within the English language teaching (ELT) “professional literature,” have constructed “English” as an indispensable commodity, leading to its conceptual equation, in varied degrees, with notions of education for interaction in a globalizing world (Kubota 2011b, 2013). The history of the “field” of English language education, we argue, is a discursive *chronotope*[1] of sociohistorical conflict resulting from tension between its Modern origins and lingering Modern commitments, and glocal movement, border crossing, and hybridity. It is concomitantly a history of the fluid perpetuation, maintenance, and patrolling and/or problematizing and resisting, of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, political, geographical, educational, professional, and gender-related authority.

The modern “field” of ELT emerged as a result of Britain’s, and subsequently America’s, imperialistic ventures around the globe. “English language education” transmitted the idealized linguistic and cultural knowledge and behavior of “educated,” Western, Caucasians of political, economic, and social status, affording authority to individuals who fit this construct (Nayar 1997; Pennycook 2007a). “English language education” concomitantly perpetuated who language learners could or should be or become as “colonial subjects.” Thus, English was a tool of linguistic, cultural, and economic imperialism (Phillipson 1992), as well as a means to maintain discourses of linguistic, cultural, economic, political, educational, and ethnic superiority (Kumaravadivelu 2003). English was integrally connected, therefore, to the “character” of emergent nation-states/colonial powers, serving the colonial agenda (Pennycook 2010). The developing “fields” of linguistics (Pennycook 2010) and language education (Kumaravadivelu 2003) were also framed in a manner that perpetuated essentialization and idealization, and indeed, ownership of the English language, for the benefit of a select few (Widdowson 1994).

In the diverse array of colonial settings around the world, individuals increasingly nativized *nativized* (Kachru 1982) English, employing the “language” in ways which more closely reflected their contextualized negotiations of identity and interaction. Yet, the colonial imposition of the idealized native speaker (NS) construct (Leung 2005) persisted in reinforcing hierarchies of language, culture, and identity within educational systems. As the colonial period shifted in degrees toward the postcolonial, the tension between Modern, idealized

[1]In employing the term *chronotope* (Blommaert 2015), we are conceptualizing the “history” of “English language education” as an incomplete, intertextual (Bazerman 2004) construction of time space, as opposed to a linear, chronological “truth.”

constructions of "native speakerness," and movement and hybridity within and across borders of being and doing. The period following World War II was simultaneously marked by the spread of "English language education" into new contexts, wherein English was increasingly imagined as a tool to negotiate globalization, and to deal with a postwar world in which America exerted great influence and control (Phillipson 2008).

Beginning in the late 1950s, the linguist Chomsky challenged Behaviorist notions of human beings as blank slates and language as learned behavior, proposing instead, that the principles and parameters governing language structure are innate in human beings, and that the parameters for language are "on" or "off" as per the language a native speaker/hearer is acquiring. Chomsky's (1965) idealized native speaker/hearer was imagined as a monolingual member of a homogeneous community. Building upon Chomsky's work, Selinker (1972) proposed the concept of *interlanguage* to explain the language "nonnative" learners and users produced in interaction. This language was conceptualized as a fluid combination, to varying degrees, of "native-like" and error-filled speech. Selinker (1972) described the long-term production of error as *fossilization*, resulting in nonnative speech rendered permanently aberrant. During this same period, however, Dell Hymes (1972) challenged the Chomskyan idealized NS/hearer, contending that such a concept could not account for the diversity of contexts and corresponding negotiations of linguistic and sociocultural meaning in interaction. In the early 1980s, however, the Chomskyan idealized NS/hearer and Hymesian communicative competence were melded to form key, foundational, "universally applicable" frameworks for communicative competence (Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983) underpinning dominant approaches to theory, research, policy making, curriculum and materials development, assessment, instruction, in the "field" of English language education, and its feeder disciplines (Leung 2005). Communicative and subsequent task-based approaches to language teaching sought (and continue to seek) to equip learners to "successfully" (read: normatively, as per the idealized NS-as-yardstick) and universally negotiate interaction in a native-like fashion (Jenkins 2006; Leung 2005). "Native-like" was, and indeed continues to be, a word that enshrines a Modernistic, unbridgeable gap between Self-Other, though learners, users, and instructors of English were to aim to be less "themselves," and more like the idealized NS.

The transition from the colonial to postcolonial period was characterized by increasing flows of people from the "periphery" to the "core" (Phillipson 1992), and back again, resulting in exchange and hybridity. This became true as well, for "nonnative" English speaker professionals, who traveled to study in "core" countries to learn to interact and teach in a "native-like" fashion. This movement occurred in step with the perpetuation and patrolling of Modernistic, essentialized borders of being and doing, both in societies and in "English language education" therein. With the ongoing nativization of English, came the critically oriented recognition of World English*es,* and a challenging of the *ownership* of English afforded to individuals whose identities corresponded with that of the idealized NS (Widdowson 1994). Challenges to the "idealized NS," resulting from increasing

attention to postwar and postcolonial flows of people, goods, information, technology, and finances, emerged in the 1980s. Kachru's (1985) three concentric circle model of English, for instance, was an attempt to conceptually accommodate the existence of Englishes in colonial powers, postcolonial nations, and in those nations pursuing English in the interest of participation in the global community. Kachru (1985) viewed the inner circle (e.g., England, America) as norm-providing, the outer (e.g., India, Nigeria) as norm-developing, and the expanding (e.g., Korea, Mexico) as norm-dependent. Lingering Modern commitments were embedded in Kachru's model, as it was hierarchical in nature and was predicated upon the notion of nation-states with corresponding national languages and cultures. Work attending to the spread and nativization of English culminated in palpable tension, and outright conflict, between scholars. In the journal *English Today*, for instance, the linguist Sir Randolph Quirk (1990), in response to the spread of English, argued for a standard English that might serve as an institutionalized point of reference for all learners, users, and instructors of the language, in terms of correctness and intelligibility. This sparked a response from Braj Kachru (1991), who argued for recognition of the diversity of contexts, users, and uses of English. Kachru (1991) attempted to dispel the notions that learners learn English to speak with "native speakers," that English is a means to convey essentialized American and British culture, that "nonnative" (Expanding Circle) and postcolonial Englishes are necessarily moving toward becoming "native-like," and native speakers are (or should be) involved in the design and implementation of all levels of institutionalized English education, regardless of context (p. 219).

In the mid-1990s, a seminal article by Firth and Wagner (1997) contended that dominant approaches to theory and inquiry in the "field" of second language acquisition did not attend to, and therefore did not nor could not account for, the "social" in interaction. This resulted, Block (2003) notes, in a cognitive conceptualization of interaction involving "essentialised interlocutors, with essentialised identities, who speak essentialised language" (p. 4). The "social turn" (Block 2003) was not unique to the 1990s, as Hymes (1972) had discussed similar themes. Yet, it ushered in a period of problematizing vague, yet persistently stable constructs, such as "communicative competence," "interaction," "motivation," and "identity." This was a period in which scholars drawing upon social constructivist, postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructural theory increasingly attended to the social construction of being and becoming, and the contextualized negotiation of interaction (e.g., Norton 1997, 2000). This was also a period in which critical and practical attention to the lived experience of "nonnative" learners, users, and instructors of English began to appear with increasing frequency, in the professional ELT literature and in professional activities (e.g., Braine 1999; Medgyes 1992, 1994). Inscribed within this critical attention was the ongoing tension between Modernist commitments and postmodern movement, exchange, and hybridity. Early critical problematization of the maintenance and perpetuation of the "native speaker construct," labeled *native speakerism* (Holliday 2005, 2006), posited a largely uniform nonnative English speaker (NNSs)/nonnative English-speaking teacher (NNEST) experience, juxtaposed against that of an idealized native English speaker teacher

(NEST). NESTs were imagined as privileged, and NNESTs, marginalized (Braine 1999). In employing binaries of identity, however, subsequent scholarship informed by social constructivist, postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructural theory (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Menard-Warwick 2008; Norton 2010; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Motha et al. 2012; Park 2008, 2012) has contended that the use of Modernistic binaries of being and becoming essentialize learner, user, and instructor identities, therefore limiting and/or eliminating space for their negotiation of identity within and across linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, political, geographical, educational, professional, and gender-related borders. Additionally, such scholarship argues that binary-oriented approaches to identity, and privilege and marginalization, cannot capture the complexity of the fluidly local–global construction, maintenance, and patrolling of borders that establish the bounds of who individuals can and/or should be or become both as language learners, users, and instructors, and as members of the communities and societies in which they negotiate identity (Rudolph et al. 2015).

Critically oriented work approaching identity was linked to increased attention to globalization in "English language education" and its underpinning disciplines (Block and Cameron 2002), as English was a "global" language with global relevance (e.g., Crystal 1997). Many scholarly attempts at conceptualizing globalization were predicated upon a Modernistic separation between the "local" and the "global," or left globalization undertheorized or undefined, a practice that continues into the present (Blommaert 2010, 2015). Other work, grounded in strains of social constructivist and postcolonial, as well as postmodern and poststructural theory, apprehended globalization as fluidly local–global flows of people, goods, ideas, information, and finances (see, for example, Block and Cameron 2002; Canagarajah 2006, 2007; Pennycook 2007b). During this period, scholarship increasingly focused on interaction within and across Kachru's concentric circles, and on the fact that "nonnative" users and teachers of English greatly outnumbered "natives" (Crystal 1997). In other words, researchers paid increasing attention to the identities of and interaction between individuals hailing from a wide variety of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national backgrounds. The ever-growing body of literature exploring World Englishes had continued to attend to the emergence of varieties of English in postcolonial contexts (Bolton 2005). Scholars such as McKay (2010) problematized the scope of WE scholarship, as yet bound by Modernistic commitments, as it failed "to recognize the localized nature of English language use in which bilingual/multilingual individuals draw on their full linguistic repertoire to signal their local and global identity" (p. 91), and largely ignored the diversity of interaction within and across national borders (Canagarajah 2006).

At the same time, scholars were conceptualizing and approaching English as a lingua franca (ELF), employed between a diverse collection of users in and across contexts around the globe. Early work conceptualized ELF as *code* (Saraceni 2008), and focused on interaction between individuals in "Expanding Circle" contexts (Jenkins 2009). Work by Jenkins (2000, 2002) on a "phonology of ELF," Seidlhofer's (2001) work on the *Vienna–Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE), and Mauranen's (2003, 2006a, b) English as a Lingua Franca in

Academic settings corpus (ELFA) are examples of ELF's conceptualization as code. Scholars including Canagarajah (2007) and Firth (2009) have argued, however, that the conceptualization of ELF as code overlooks movement, exchange, and hybridity within and across borders, and therefore essentializes the complex translinguistic and transcultural identities of individuals, and thus ELF retains the vestiges of Modernistic commitments. Additionally, Berns (2008) asserts that the search for code was, in actuality, a drive toward the maintenance of "intelligibility" in interaction between speakers, which was counter to conceptual shifts beyond communicative competence predicated on an idealized native speaker, reaching back into the 1970s and 1980s. Drawing upon work by Smith (1981, 1992), Berns (2008) argued that the negotiation of meaning—intelligibility—included all individuals involved in interaction. In contrast to earlier orientation of ELF as code, researchers have more recently adopted a position which defines ELF functionally as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice" (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 7). This notion embraced greater diversity and variability in uses, users and functions of ELF—which is no longer equated to "L2–L2 interaction," but any sort of interaction where conformity to NS norms is communicatively dysfunctional (Seidlhofer 2011). Along these lines, Canagarajah (2007), conceptualized Lingua Franca English as *function*, characterized by "words, grammatical patterns, and discourse conventions from diverse languages and English varieties that speakers bring to the interaction. Participants borrow from each other freely and adopt the other's language in their interaction with that participant" (p. 926). Pennycook (2008) notes that this conceptual separation of ELF and LFE "is an important one, since the former tends towards an understanding of a pre-given language that is then used by different speakers, while the latter suggests that LFE emerges from the contexts of use" (p. 306).

A further line of "English as an International Language" (EIL) scholarship has emerged, conceptualizing and approaching the function of English in contextualized negotiations of interaction within and across cultural and national borders. Scholars argue that new and innovative forms of ownership and use of Englishes and English as a lingua franca, in concert with other languages, in interaction with a wide variety of individuals, necessitate pedagogical detachment from idealized NS-centric linguistic and cultural "norms," which in turn posits key questions for the "field" of ELT relating to who might teach, and what might be taught (linguistically and culturally) (Matsuda 2012; McKay 2000, 2002; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Selvi and Yazan 2013; Sharifian 2009). Conceptualizing and approaching EIL pedagogy has thus become a burgeoning scholarly pursuit (Matsuda 2012; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Selvi and Yazan 2013; Sharifian 2009). Matsuda (2012) notes both the function of EIL, and as a concept "discursively and ideologically constructed and reinforced" (p. 2), thus leading to its fluid "actual and imagined" status as the "default international language" (p. 3). Pennycook (2007a), however, contends that English's status as an international language is a "myth," with such terminology conceptually rooted in Modern nation building and imperialism. "English," according to Pennycook (2007a), is a

"discursive field," sociohistorically, glocally, dynamically, and contextually constructed. Thus, scholarship exploring EIL may still embody dynamic, unresolved tension between Modern commitments, and movement, hybridity, and exchange.

In recent years, "the field" of English language education and its corresponding disciplines have experienced a multilingual (May 2014), or translingual (Canagarajah 2013), "turn." This scholarship, largely drawing upon postmodern and poststructural theory, conceptualizes identity as discursively, dynamically, and contextually negotiated within and across linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, political, geographical, educational, professional, and gender-related borders of language, culture, group, space, and identity. Scholars, and scholars drawn upon in this vein of research, have paid particular attention to individuals' discursive negotiations of hybridized identities, at the interstices of glocal discourses and the borders they construct (Arnaut et al. 2015; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2012; May 2014; Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Pennycook 2007a, b; Soler-Carbonell 2014), in a world characterized by *superdiversity* (Blommaert 2013; Blommaert and Rampton 2012; Vertovec 2007). Located within such work are terms to describe the discursive negotiation of identity, and indeed instruction, across borders of being, doing, and knowing, such as *translanguaging* (Baker 2003; Lewis et al. 2012; Garcia, 2009; Garcia and Wei 2014) and *codemeshing* (Canagarajah 2011). Blommaert (2012) asserts, however, that the use of terms including prefixes such as "multi-," "trans-," "bi-," or "inter-," binds inquiry and practice to Modernistic, essentialized constructions of language, culture, identity, group, and space, and contends for the use of vocabulary that is aligned with the intended underpinning ontological and epistemological commitments seeking to account for the complexity of movement.

The sociohistorical negotiation of "English" does not follow a linear progression. Theory, inquiry, and practice in the "field" is indeed seeking to push beyond the apprehension of identity and interaction within a Modernist framework, and indeed beyond "English," in order to apprehend and account for movement and hybridity. This has led to the cultivation of new ontological, epistemological, and axiological commitments (or, worldviews), shaping innovative theory, methodology, and method, both in terms of inquiry and pedagogy. As Canagarajah (2016) contends, the "field" of TESOL (English language education; ELT) is generally shifting:

- from product to process and practice from cognitive to social and ecological;
- from prepackaged methods to situated pedagogies and language socialization;
- from studying controlled classrooms and experimental settings to everyday contexts and ecologies;
- from the homogeneous to variation and inclusive plurality;
- from knowledge or skills to identities, beliefs, and ideologies;
- from objective to personal and reflexive;
- from the generalized and global to specific and local (pp. 24–25).

Yet, this very scholarship, as pointed out by Blommaert (2012) and Blackledge et al. (2014), is inscribed with conceptual tension, and wrestles with Modernism. Scholarship and pedagogy, grounded to varying extremes in Modernistic, static, essentialized, and idealized notions of language, culture, context, group and identity, still flourishes. Throughout this introduction, we have placed descriptions of the "field" of English language education, "English language education," and associated concepts (e.g., the "professional literature") within quotation marks. This is due to the fact that, in the spirit of Pennycook (2007a), we conceptualize the "field of English language education" as a discursive field. The "field" is socio-historically, glocally, dynamically, and contextually constructed. Thus, the "field" may "appear" differently, in concert with the diverse, fluidly glocal linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, political, geographical, educational, professional, and gender-related discourses implicated in its discursive construction.

Though "English language education" is the "site" of discursive departure for this volume, we have chosen the title *Conceptual Shifts and Contextualized Practices in Education for Glocal Interaction: Issues and Implications.* This is due to the fact that within the "field," in line with Canagarajah (2016), we apprehend a discursive push beyond "English language education," toward education for interaction that might account for fluidly local–global—glocal—movement, exchange, and hybridity. We additionally apprehend the simultaneous discursive maintenance and patrolling of Modernistic, essentialized, idealized constructions of the "ares," "cans," and "shoulds" of being, doing, and knowing, both within "English language education" and the contexts in which it is situated, and the degrees of ongoing tension that result (Rudolph 2016). We also acknowledge that these discourses are fluidly intertwined, resulting in conceptual diversity, confusion, and contradiction. We note that there is discursive tension inscribed in our title as well, which is even more apparent when parsed, as each section appears to contain stable "truths": *Conceptual Shifts/and Contextualized Practices/in Education/for Glocal Interaction:/Issues/and Implications.* This tension is purposeful, and perhaps even unavoidable. As the reader will likely note, we have conceptualized the volume in a manner that affords conceptual diversity, confusion, and contradiction within and across chapters. We contend that this provides one chronotope wherein chapters, chapter "contents," and corresponding authors, engage each other and are engaged with, intertextually (Bazerman 2004).

1 Overview of Chapters

Part I of the volume explores glocal tensions inscribed in the national constructions of language education, relating to who stakeholders are, can, and/or should be or become as language learners, users, and instructors, and community members. In the opening chapter, Claire Kramsch and Peng Yin adopt a comparative lens in the case of foreign language education in the contexts of China and France and examine

and attend to the fluidly glocal tensions arising in the negotiation of identity and imperatives for education. Complementing this view, in the next chapter, Mary A. Avalos and Jennifer Augustin approach the discursive construction, perpetuation, and maintenance of borders of being and becoming in Haitian society and education therein, manifested in the tensions between "French" and "Kreyòl." The negotiation of being and becoming, in the chapter, has little to do with English, thus challenging the idea of English as a universally "global," and accordingly prioritized, language. In chapter three, Amjjad Sualimani and Tariq Elyas additionally attend to constructions of gender in EFL textbooks in Saudi Arabia, contending that the textbooks seek to define the "ares," "cans," and "shoulds" of being "male" and "female" in their context. The negotiation and construction of education attending to the local and global takes a different spin by the next two chapters that explore these glocal tensions within teacher education. In chapter four, Işıl Günseli Kaçar and Yasemin Bayyurt share an account of the construction of preservice teacher education in Turkey, which challenges such individuals to recognize the diverse array of users, uses, and contexts for interaction both within and beyond English, and to therefore problematize essentialization and idealization in their approach to the classroom. In the chapter that follows, Babürhan Üzüm and Mary Petrón share a study exploring the lived experiences of forty-eight Caucasian, female, monolingual preservice teachers wrestling with their discursive constructions of "Self-Other" and "Teacher–Student" during a glocal field experience in Texas, U.S.A. These two chapters are themselves inscribed with conceptual tension to varying degrees in terms of moving beyond essentialization relating to the "idealized Native Speaker/ Native English-Speaking Teacher."

Part II of the volume provides discursive space for attention to the contextualized, glocal negotiation of identity and interaction in approaches to the "classroom." In the opening chapter, Tomoko Tokunaga shares an account of her lived experiences co-constructing a course/borderland, in concert with a diverse student population, in a university in Tokyo, that destablilized dominant, glocal, essentialized borders of being and knowing both within and beyond Japanese society, and celebrated border crossing and diversity. Next, in chapter seven, Nathanael Rudolph provides an account of his and his 23 students' lived experiences exploring and deconstructing worldviews of globalization and "being equipped for participation in the global community" in a university-level course in Japan. In doing so, the students and teacher conceptualize, construct, problematize, challenge, affirm, cross, deconstruct, and reify essentialized borders of Self-Other in Japanese society, and Japaneseness-Otherness in terms of "beyond Japan," in tense, and often contradictory, ways. Curt Porter and Gloria Park then provide an account of their lived experiences negotiating identity and visions of epistemic justice and social equity, both in their respective classrooms and in interaction with each other. Then, Ahmar Mahboob and Angel Lin follow with a chapter conceptualizing and exploring the use of local languages in the language education classroom, as a resource and means to glocalize learning, being, doing, and knowing. In the concluding chapter, Bedrettin Yazan conceptualizes and reflects upon negotiation of identity at the interstices of fluidly glocal discourses of identity as an ELT professional.

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Part I
Glocal Tensions: Negotiation and Construction of Education Attending to the Local and Global

Teaching Foreign Languages in the Glocal Contact Zone: The Case of France and China

Claire Kramsch and Peng Yin

Abstract The foreign language teaching profession is grappling with two contradictory demands. On the one hand, teachers have to prepare their students to interact with native speakers whose national language, history, geography, culture, and literature are different from their own. On the other hand, teachers have to prepare their students to enter a global economy in which national boundaries have lost the importance they once had; standard languages are permeated with English as a global language; national borders now include people who speak a variety of regional, ethnic, and immigrant languages; and the students' interlocutors are likely to be other multilingual speakers rather than monolingual native speakers. Local efforts to come to grips with the contradictions of globalization, such as translanguaging and multilingual practices, have not addressed the fundamental institutional and epistemological tensions between teaching language as a cultural icon of national unity and teaching language as a tool of global communication. To explore these tensions, we compare the case of foreign language education in France and China, two traditionally centralized national educational systems, one in the European, the other in the Asian context, each with their strong tradition of monolingual literacy education and their historical and ideological reservations about the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Based on concrete examples taken from the teaching of Mandarin and French as foreign languages, we examine the possibility of redefining the glocal contact zone in a way that honors both universality and particularity, plurality and specificity.

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1 Introduction

The foreign language teaching profession is grappling these days with two contradictory demands. On the one hand, teachers have to prepare their students to interact with native speakers whose national language, history, geography, culture, and literature are different from their own.[1] By learning the foreign language, they often become aware of their own language and culture and therefore more appreciative of who they are. On the other hand, teachers have to prepare their students to enter a global economy in which national boundaries have lost the importance they once had; standard languages are permeated with English as a global language; national borders now include people who speak a variety of regional, ethnic, and immigrant languages; and the students' interlocutors are likely to be other multilingual speakers rather than monolingual native speakers.

Several solutions have been proposed, most of them for the teaching of English as a foreign language: translanguaging (e.g., García and Li Wei 2014), truncated repertoires (Heath and Kramsch 2004), code-meshing (Canagarajah 2013a, pp. 112–113), and translingual practices (Canagarajah 2013b) among others, but also multilingual pedagogies for teaching foreign languages other than English in institutional settings (e.g., Kramsch and Huffmaster 2015). However, these local efforts to come to grips with the contradictions of globalization have not addressed the fundamental institutional and epistemological paradoxes of "glocal" paradox of teaching foreign languages both for global, international communication and for local, national integration. The tension between global and local imperatives is to be found both in the teaching of foreign languages and in the teaching of the national mother tongue, as both endeavors ultimately prepare national citizens to become also the global citizens of tomorrow.

To explore these tensions, we have chosen to compare the case of foreign language education in two countries in which the political imperatives of the nation-state clash particularly dramatically with the neoliberal demands of a global economy: France and China. Both countries have traditionally centralized national educational systems, one in the European and the other in the Asian context, each with their strong tradition of monolingual literacy education and their historical and ideological reservations about the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism. We draw on the official guidelines issued by the respective Ministries of Education in the two countries to understand how institutions conceive of their role in furthering both national and global interests and we compare the solutions offered by language educators to respond to the demand for both strong French and Chinese literacy skills and strong multilingual skills including English in both countries (Leung and Ruan 2012; Zarate et al. 2011/2008). Based on concrete examples taken from the teaching of Mandarin and French as foreign languages, we then examine the possibility of redefining the glocal contact zone as the interface between the

[1]Foreign language here includes English when it is taught as the dominant language of English-speaking countries, not English as a global language or English as a Lingua Franca.

political needs of local national contexts and economic demands of the global market.

2 The French Case

2.1 National and Social Integration Through French

The teaching of foreign languages in French public schools can only be understood within the context of a centralized, free, public, and compulsory educational system founded in 1905 by Jules Ferry, predicated on the separation of Church and State of 1881, and aimed at unifying the nation through the educated use of the standard French language. The French public educational system to this day is based on the civic and moral values upheld by the French Revolution of 1789 and its republican ideal of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (Kramsch and Aden 2013). These values have been asserted against the private interests of business executives and market speculators as well as against cultural, regional, and religious particularisms, as could be seen in the reaction of the educational institution to the Charlie Hebdo massacre in January 2014 and the larger scale massacres in Paris in November 2015. Republican values include rational thinking, dispassionate informed debate, linguistic precision, and intellectual skepticism. Students learn not to be « taken in » by great ideas and agreements between nations. The role of French schools has been to form primarily clear-sighted citizens.

> The school has a particular responsibility to form the pupil as a person and as a future citizen. As a co-educator, it does not replace the family, rather, its task is to transmit to the youth the fundamental values and the principles inscribed in the Constitution of our country. It enables the pupil to acquire the capacity to think for himself, at the same time as it gives him a feeling of belonging to society. It enables the pupil to develop in concrete situations of school life his aptitude to live autonomously, to participate actively in the common good and to prepare him to become engaged as a citizen. (Bulletin Officiel 2015 our translation).

This passage from the official publication of the French Ministry of National Education clearly sees the goal of public education in France as forming schoolchildren as persons and as future citizens, not mainly as consumers and economically productive members of society. Its role is to transmit “the fundamental values and principles” that will maintain the political unity of the nation and enable everyone to work for the common public and political good as “engaged citizens.” Foreign language education has traditionally been intended to enrich the students’ knowledge and appreciation of French and only secondarily to acquaint them with a foreign literature and culture. After WWII, while in the popular view English was the language of the Allies and thus worth learning, it became the first foreign language to be studied for economic, not for cultural reasons. The idea that English could be taught as a way of facilitating international dialogue and not only to communicate with British or American speakers was new. It developed with the increase in geographical

mobility, the decline of physical borders and conflicts between European nations, and the emergence of economic exchanges in a worldwide information society. But English as an international language has had to compete in this regard with French as an international language and with the department for the promotion of French around the world, called *l'Office de la Francophonie.*

Since 1905, public secular schools have reflected each citizen's right to be educated in a centralized, standardized educational system that was to serve as an instrument of social and national integration. The ensuing eradication of regional cultures and languages was meant to build a national foundation that would guarantee equal access to a good education. Since the French language was seen as defining the identity of the nation and its universal values, linguistic and cultural diversity was viewed as anathema to French public education. Hence, the visceral negative reaction of many French educators against what the sociologist Alain Touraine has called "the tyranny of the communities and the domination of the markets" (Touraine 1997). Even today, the notion of cultural "diversity" is not viewed favorably by French educators who see in it an Anglo-Saxon notion incompatible with French political ideals. They favor the term *pluralité* instead, a notion that, like the grammatical plural, retains the morphological integrity of the noun even as it declines its various forms (Lahire 1998).

In the early 1980s, the French school system was confronted with the necessity of absorbing two categories of youngsters who were to radically change the profile of French education: the children of immigrants and those of the working class, who until then had been confined to technical tracks. These new kinds of learners required a rapid expansion of technological and vocational education. What they had in common was that they belonged to different cultures, either because of their nationality or because of their sociocultural background. Many did not have a «traditional», i.e., middle-class learning profile, and used forms of intelligence that the school system did not value. Those learners massively failed in mastering the academic disciplines, including English. They adjusted poorly, caused teaching methods to fail and imploded some of the locks and bolts of the republican school system (Lahire 2000). Teachers in adjustment classes (*classes d'accueil*) and vocational courses were the first to understand that it was impossible to make these pupils into French citizens without taking their cultural identities into account (Abdallah et al. 1996).

2.2 Goals and Pedagogic Frameworks for the Teaching of English at French Schools

English language teaching (ELT) in France had to adjust to this changing student population but it got in the crossfire of conflicting demands between a national culture and an international job market. While businesses are concerned with intercultural communication, French educators resent purely instrumental educational objectives and they question the English native speaker as the natural model of language proficiency. Thus, institutional ELT methodology is caught in a fundamental dilemma.

On one hand, it seeks to develop students' civic ethics and common cultural values through a form of critical thinking which gives preference to thought over action and analysis over affect. On the other hand, it needs to prepare them for economic and social mobility by teaching them intercultural communicative skills that rely less on analysis and more on doing things with words.

The national curricula of 1987 put in place a communicative approach to teaching English that raised language awareness as cultural awareness (Cain 1994; Hoybel 2004). ELT was viewed as not only "doing" communication but understanding why and how language reflects different social realities (Aden 2009). Ultimately, ELT served to develop learners' critical language awareness and their awareness of cultural difference, thus helping them to become mediators in situations of cultural conflict (Cain and Briane 2002). However, "communication" was understood here less as the exchange of meaning between two interlocutors, than in the cognitive apprehension of representations and even stereotypes of the other and the linguistic analysis of these representations in culturally authentic documents. The national curricula of 1995 reiterated the same intellectual cultural objective, this time by proclaiming the cultural diversity of the learners, the respect of others with their difference and a spirit of tolerance. But we must not be too quick to conclude that ELT in France was developing the same intercultural methodology as the one proposed, for example, by Byram (1997) for, despite the declarations of the official curricula the emphasis continued to be put on the analysis of documents as a means of access to culture, defined in national terms.

Since the end of the nineties, new educational tracks have been instituted where the subject matter (e.g., history, math, science, or art) is taught in various European languages within "European sections".[2] These sections are aimed at building European citizenship. Most of these sections are taught by bi- or multilingual teachers who teach their subject two-third in French and one-third in another language through relevant documents written in French or English. For example, a French history teacher who knows English might teach John F. Kennedy's acceptance speech at the 1960 Democratic National Convention on the "New Frontier" both in French and in English, thus eliciting a discussion about the differences between the American English word *frontier* and the French word *frontière* and their different historical resonances. By identifying the images that the Americans have of themselves as a people, and the reactions of the French to these images, they come to understand the different perspectives one may have on the same event as seen from two different countries (Aden 2008; Maihlos 2009). This kind of methodology is both similar and different from what is known in the U.S. as content-based instruction. Both use the foreign language to transmit content knowledge, but while in American ESL the knowledge transmitted is viewed as

[2]Unfortunately, to fight against "elitism", the 2016 reform plans to eliminate the European sections and reduce the number of classes that teach two foreign languages as early as the fifth grade. See http://eduscol.education.fr/cid87584/le-college-2016-questions-reponses.html.

independent of the language in which it is transmitted, in the French ELT, the language itself becomes the object of contrastive critical analysis.

At present, the teaching of English in France is at the interface between sometimes antagonistic forces: it is suspicious of particularism, utilitarianism, empiricism, and at the same time it questions itself about the social and political goals of a French national school system in a global world that increasingly speaks global English. French ELT methodology, which still springs from the spirit of the Enlightenment, offers a back-and-forth movement between reflecting on oneself and reflecting on the world. It attempts to hold on to the French republican tradition of shaping the clear-sighted French citizen through logical and analytic thinking and a multiperspectival pedagogy, all the while that it recognizes the need to shape the global citizen of tomorrow through intercultural dialogue and pragmatic action.

2.3 European Language Policies and Their Effects on the Teaching of English in France

Multilingualism is heavily promoted in the European Union but it is conceived of differently in France and in the E.U. While multilingualism in the E.U. is viewed as an unavoidable dimension of an *economically* united Europe that, despite its 24 official languages, chooses to communicate mostly in English for economic purposes, in France, multilingualism is seen as the *sine qua non* of France's *political* integration into a Europe of nations that speaks many different languages besides English.[3] English as an international language is the ticket to the enhancement of French national culture through integration into European culture. While for Brussels multilingualism is an economic advantage, for Paris it is a political imperative.

In Europe, France is *primus inter pares*, or first among equals, which is not the case on the global scene. Having constructed together with Germany after WWII the "Europe of nations" that we have now, it plays an important mediational role in the North/South dialogue, and through its many immigrants that come from former French colonies, in the dialogue between the Christian and the Muslim world (see its stance on the war in Iraq and its desire to act as a "*trait d'union*" as Francois Hollande said, or bridge, in the Greek crisis).

How do French educators respond to the pressure of globalization? Since globalization means for many Frenchmen Anglo-Saxon dominance, the French are betting on European multilingualism and on the need to know at least one foreign language other than English in addition to one's mother tongue in order to succeed both on the international/European and on the global scene. English is not obligatory in French schools but 98% of the parents encourage their children to take English as their first foreign language. A second foreign language is compulsory in

[3]Hence, the compulsory two foreign languages that all school children have to learn in France.

all French schools. With language awareness programs (*Eveil aux langues)* that promote language awareness at the Kindergarten and elementary levels, school children are ready to take either German, Spanish or Arabic, or a regional language as their second foreign language.

English being taught as an essential skill, it is taught mostly in its generic, British form, with a strong oral, communicative component, following the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for language learning, teaching and evaluation. English is viewed as the sine qua non-entrance ticket to the global economy, but because the value of a French secondary education is not perceived in purely economic terms, English is associated with other capacities as well that are not necessarily taught through English in other countries: intellectual rigor, critical reading of texts, precise and coherent writing (and not just English for Special Purposes), appreciation of beauty, felicitous pronunciation, morally acceptable norms of behavior such as discipline, respect of authority, politeness, and modesty. These capacities differ from those usually associated with the teaching of English in other countries that stress instead individual autonomy, creativity and agency, the blurring of boundaries between the school and the real world (task-based language learning), self-promotion, teamwork, and the strong push to use language learning technologies that supplement, but sometimes outright replace, the teacher.

The learning of English in French public schools is not a means to get to know and understand the mentality of English speakers, but a way to enrich a French savoir and savoir faire that enables French schoolchildren to become better French citizens, "open to the world", exercising their "critical faculties" of analysis and synthesis on texts of the written kind (Bulletin Officiel 2009). For instance, on January 15, 2015, in response to the massacre of the Charlie Hebdo cartoonists the week before, the Ministry of Education sent to all teachers of all subject matters in all French schools the following letter:

> The murderous attacks against the weekly Charlie Hebdo have struck at the heart of our Republic. The essential values of our Republic have been targeted: freedom of speech is the foundation of all freedoms; freedom of thought and the respect of individual opinions are the principles which enable us to live together. It is the mission of the school to keep alive and to transmit the values and principles of the French Republic. Since its inception, the Republic has entrusted schools with the mission to form citizens, and to transmit the fundamental values of liberty, equality, fraternity and secularism. French Republican schools transmit to students a common culture of mutual tolerance and respect. Every student learns to refuse intolerance, hatred, racism and violence under all its forms. The school educates for freedom: freedom of thought, freedom of expression and choice of the meaning that each one gives to his/her life; openness to others and mutual tolerance. The school educates for equality and fraternity by teaching the students that they are all equal. It gives them the experience of equality by welcoming all of them without discrimination. At a time when our country shows its national unity in the face of adversity, the school must more than ever uphold the ideal of the French Republic…Signed: Najat Vallaud-Belkacem,

Minister of National education, Higher Education and Research http://cache.media.education.gouv.fr/file/01-janvier/50/8/lettreALaSuiteDeLAttentat_381508.pdf (our translation)[4]

The letter was followed by accompanying documents elaborated by the regional and national inspectors for school principals and teachers to help them discuss the recent events in their classes. The purpose was not only to have the students "talk and exchange opinions" but also and more importantly, to make the events into an educational moment by structuring a class discussion around historical texts and documents. One high school teacher of English had her 16-year-old students critically analyze and discuss Voltaire's 1763 treaty on tolerance and freedom of speech and compare it with a passage from Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794). By drawing on an eighteenth-century Enlightenment tradition that called for political freedom and justice for all, this English teacher, like the Minister of National Education, was interpreting the attacks against Charlie Hebdo as politically, not economically, motivated. These attacks thus necessitated a political response at the local, national, and international levels. This example illustrates dramatically the national framework within which foreign languages are taught in France, where France is seen as embodying the Republican political values of freedom equality and fraternity that it seeks to spread around the world in multiple languages.

However, we have to acknowledge the intense debate taking place in France these days around secondary and tertiary education. The struggle is between the traditional French, defenders of the French language and of the French republican values both at home and in other francophone countries, and the cosmopolitan French who speak English and other languages and are headed for lucrative jobs with multinational corporations in France and abroad. The first constitutes the traditional academic elite of state institutions, and the second belongs to the new private elite in spacious buildings funded by private corporations. Between the two, there are underprivileged youth—either immigrants or children of immigrants and working class youth—to whom the French Republic offers little employment opportunities since its educational system is still very much affected by social determinism and dominated by the elite. And the fact that a number of radicalized young Frenchmen have left France to conduct jihad in Syria shows in part that the secular French Republican ideals have failed to give meaning to many young people's lives. But there is also a growing number of innovative and creative educators who are searching to benefit from the insights of global educational research without losing the distinctive contribution that traditional French humanistic thought can make on the world stage (e.g., Aden 2014; Derivry-Plard 2015; Kramsch and Narcy-Combes 2016; Zarate et al. 2011/2008). We discuss one of these initiatives in Sect. 3.

[4]Needless to say, between this ideal and the reality in the schools there is a gap that some like Joelle Aden attempt to bridge through an approach that is both intellectual and embodied/affective like theater (Aden 2014).

3 The Chinese Case

3.1 National and Social Integration Through Mandarin

Heavily shaped by the ideology of Confucianism that has upheld a dialectical perspective on the process of self-cultivation at the individual level vis-à-vis the enactment of grand harmony at the societal level, linguistic practice in China has been inextricably intertwined with discourses pivoting around two interrelated domains, i.e., the ethics of individual conduct and the vicissitudes of the nation-state. The historical evolution of Chinese languages and scripts, which culminated in the designation of Mandarin (Modern Standard Chinese or *Putonghua*) as the national language, foregrounded the role of written language in the construction of Chinese national identity, in addition to the linkage between Chinese language education and the process of self-cultivation.

A discussion of national and social integration through Mandarin entails a discussion of the unprecedented language reform that took place in ancient China during the *Qin–Han* Dynasties (221 BC–220 AD), without which the Chinese language system could have hardly become as organized as it is today. As a watershed in the linguistic history of Chinese, the unification of Chinese characters in the form of "seal" script (*qinzhuan*) under the *Qin* Dynasty, which subsequently evolved into a more refined and orderly arranged version of "clerical" script (*hanli*) under the *Han* Dynasty, paved the way for the development of modern Chinese characters. In parallel with the codification of the Chinese script, there was a noticeable trend toward the enshrinement of textual authority. During the *Han* Dynasty, textual standardization became coterminous with unifying political forces (Connery 1998); textual practice was enshrined in the public discourse insofar as it was considered an incarnation of "the practice of humanity" (p. 143). Thus the reflective practice of Chinese literacy forms the bedrock of Chinese national identity, much like French rationality constitutes the foundation of French Republican identity.

Officially adopted as the national language in the 1950s, Mandarin has been continuously endowed with implications for social integration and personal development. As expounded in the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language*:

> The standard spoken and written Chinese language shall be used in such a way as to be conducive to the upholding of state sovereignty and national dignity, to unification of the country and unity of the nationalities, and to socialist material progress and ethical progress.[5]

As a multiethnic nation, China consists of one ethnic majority (*Han*) and fifty-five ethnic minority groups—a heterogeneous linguistic landscape that transcends any monolingual language ideology. This landscape has been further

[5]Retrieved from http://www.gov.cn/english/laws/2005-09/19/content_64906.htm.

complicated by the inclusion of foreign languages, e.g., English, Japanese, and Russian, into the national educational curriculum guidelines. As a consequence, the conceptualization of multilingualism in the Chinese context is underpinned by a tension between a deep-rooted concern over the transformative potential of multilingualism in relation to "linguistic polycentrism [that bears] in it dangerous seeds of political division" (Norman 1988, p. 263), and an increasing need to ensure access to multilingual education so that China may be considered a legitimate member of the international community in an era of globalization (Tsung 2014). A promising resolution of this tension has been attained by a national commitment to the notion of "unity in diversity" (Leibold and Chen 2014), where the recognition of multilingualism is predicated on its potential to facilitate sociocultural integration. In this light, the issue in question is not the legitimacy of linguistic diversity per se, but rather a historically informed ideology that orients language policy and planning toward the embodiment of a unified national identity. This endeavor has culminated in the canonization of Mandarin as a force of integration that brings into focus the all-encompassing nature of Chineseness.

In practice, the symbolic potential of Mandarin as a unifying force has been enacted through mainstream education, which has been regulated in a centralized manner by the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the People's Republic of China. With respect to the ministerial guidelines for teaching Mandarin as mother tongue in primary and secondary schools, Mandarin is defined as a cornerstone for enhancing national cohesion and integration (MOE 2011b). In terms of its pedagogical value at the individual level, Mandarin curriculum is expected to lay a solid foundation for student success across varied subject areas by developing a set of competency clusters, namely:

1. the ability to synthesize multiple points of view,
2. the ability to apprehend different realities,
3. the ability to dig beneath the surface of texts,
4. the ability to apply and extend one's knowledge to culturally and linguistically diverse contexts, and
5. the ability to critically explore the unknown for innovation (MOE 2003b).

These guiding principles are also unequivocally elucidated in the ministerial guidelines for Mandarin-as-a-second-language education targeted at ethnic minorities, which are characterized by an even more explicit emphasis on the role of Mandarin in constructing a unified national identity in that the language is linked directly to strengthening solidarity between *Han* and the minorities, as well as that among the minorities (MOE 2013).

Thus, the purpose of teaching Mandarin in the Chinese context, both as mother tongue and as a second language, is not reducible to its instrumental values. At the core of the ministerial guidelines for Mandarin education, there lies an internal call for the prioritization of the capacity for reflexivity, which is endowed with both practical and ideological implications. At the practical level, this capacity underlies the development of an individual's academic and nonacademic skills in varied

domains, as manifested in the above-mentioned competence clusters. At the ideological level, this capacity contributes to the configuration of a "two-fold" self, i.e., a subjective self as a practitioner of Mandarin and an objective self as an incarnation of the symbolic affordances associated with Mandarin as a unifying force. By virtue of reflexivity, the conduct of the subjective self is constantly shaped by the ways in which the reality is perceived and negotiated by its objective counterparts.

3.2 Goals and Pedagogical Frameworks for the Teaching of English at Chinese Schools

In parallel with the symbolic nature of Mandarin acquisition that indexes a compass-like sense of a unified national identity, the development of English language education in China has been shaped by a historically informed ideology of nation-state building and consolidation, which has its roots in the Self-Strengthening Movement in the late nineteenth century,[6] wherein English was perceived as a tool for gaining access to Western scientific and political knowledge. While being recognized as a national priority for the first time in China's history, English language education, combined with the desired knowledge possessed by foreign powers, was assigned with a utilitarian function as secondary to the foundational status of Chinese language and knowledge (*zhong xue wei ti, xi xue wei yong*). In the following century, Chinese foreign language education policies changed continuously as a function of China's dramatic political, economic, and social transformations (Adamson 2004). Although having been temporarily challenged by the vagaries of the international and domestic political environment, e.g., the Sino-Soviet "honeymoon" period (1950–1956) wherein learning Russian was considered first priority by the nation, and the first half of the Cultural Revolution period (1966–1970) during which foreign language education was largely repudiated, English language education in China played an increasingly important role in national development. Nonetheless, the function of learning English was largely confined to its utility value as a means of boosting national economic growth.

The utility-oriented approach to English language education treated English primarily as a subject of study that was comparable to other content areas such as math and science, whereby the communicative and humanistic affordances associated with English as a foreign language were largely excluded from school curricula. This traditional model of foreign language teaching in China, however, was challenged by the forces of globalization that gained considerable momentum in China during the late twentieth century and early twenty-first centuries. Standing on

[6]The Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1895) was a period of institutional reforms initiated during the late Qing Dynasty, the purpose of which was to promote economic and military modernization in China.

the border between a reluctant yet urgent commitment to learning from the West and a more proactive desire to gain influence in the world system, China was confronted with an unprecedented need to be treated as a legitimate participant in a rapidly evolving, postmodern, and globalized context. This emerging national aspiration to achieve China's heightened global role set in motion a comprehensive reform process of teaching English as a foreign language. Initiated in a centralized manner by the MOE, this reform process was considered a key component of (re) negotiating China's position vis-à-vis other nation-states in a globalized context (Liu and Wu 2015).

Among the features introduced to the national English curriculum through this reform process, two of them have become the cornerstone of China's pedagogical model for teaching English in the twenty-first century, i.e., communicative language teaching (CLT) and the humanistic aspect of foreign language learning. Since its first appearance in the *1988 English Syllabus for Junior High Schools* (MOE 1988), the communicative affordances of English language pedagogy have received continuous emphasis in ministerial guidelines for English education. According to the current national English curriculum standards targeted at primary and secondary education (MOE 2003a, 2011a), teachers are expected to adopt communication-based pedagogy to facilitate the development of students' comprehensive English language skills to help them navigate through the subtleties and nuances of cross-lingual communication. As an embodiment of the communicative pedagogical model, task-based language teaching (TBLT) has gained corresponding legitimacy in official discourses on English language education in China (Liu and Wu 2015). In tandem with the communicative approach to English instruction, the humanistic aspect of learning English as a foreign language has been recognized and institutionalized over the past few decades.[7] For one thing, the cultural component of English language education, after being endowed with pedagogical value in the *1993 English Syllabus for Senior High Schools* (MOE 1993), has been increasingly integrated into the process of English curriculum reform at the primary and secondary levels in the service of promoting students' cross-cultural awareness *(kua wen hua yi shi*). For another, the cognitive and socio-emotional implications of English language learning, as informed by the emerging notion of whole-person development (*quan mian fa zhan*) through foreign language teaching (Wang 2007), have been well integrated into the curriculum reform process to guide the development of critical traits aside from English language competence, e.g., innovative thinking (*chuang xin si wei*) and a sense of social responsibility (*she hui ze ren gan*).

[7]Informed by the collective spirit of Chinese culture derived from Confucianism, the Chinese notion of humanism emphasizes the relational nature of the self. At the core of this particular humanistic tradition, there lies an argument that the identity and dignity of an individual do not exist as single entities, but are dialectically related to the identity and dignity of his or her nation. In this light, the enactment of self-cultivation is indissolubly linked to a conscious awareness of one's subjective position vis-à-vis others.

Notwithstanding the influence of Western pedagogical models of language teaching on the national English curriculum reforms in China, there are some distinctive features associated with a Chinese conceptualization of the communicative pedagogical model and the humanistic aspect of foreign language education. For example, a Chinese perspective on the communicative aspect of language learning tends to prioritize the enactment of a language learner's internal speech, a type of mental activity that is mediated primarily at the intrapersonal level and involves meticulous attention to the details of linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge. Informed by this particular emphasis on the self-reflective process embedded in language learning, foreign language education in China has less to do with transforming Chinese people into global citizens than with helping them gain a deepened understanding of Chinese language and culture in a globalized context. As discussed in the following section, these features have been socially constructed and historically contingent insofar as they have transcended the superficial similarities between the ministerial guidelines for English language education in China and the popular language teaching models proposed in the Western context (Canagarajah 2013a, b; García and Li Wei 2014), thus indexing an alternative route through which China has negotiated its English language education in the glocal contact zone.

3.3 Globalization and Its Effects on the Teaching of English in China

Grounded in a functional task-oriented paradigm for language instruction (Richards and Rodgers 2001), the Anglo-Saxon concept of CLT perceives the achievement of interpersonal communication not only as the means but also as the objective of language education. This concept has been fraught with controversy since its initial introduction into the Chinese context (Liu and Wu 2015; Wang 2007), primarily for the reason that it is not congruent with the Chinese philosophy of language learning that centers on "meticulosity" and "mental activeness" (Hu 2002, p. 101), which has its roots in the Confucian view of the intrinsic link among language, thought, and practice. Confucius's statement that "in his utterances the gentleman is definitely not casual about anything" (*jun zi yu qi yan, wu suo gou er yi yi*, The Analects, 13:38[8]) sets a rigorous connection between a virtuous individual and his/her speech, as mediated by its practical implications explained in the statement that "when [the gentleman] says something, it can definitely be put into practice" (*yan zhi bi ke xing ye*, The Analects, 13:3). In this sense, a morally informed ideology of linguistic accuracy, mediated partially through the process of self-reflection, has been enshrined in the Chinese philosophy of language learning insofar as it has been closely bound up with an individual's ritualized ego, or what

[8]Dawson, R. (1993). *Confucius: The analects*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Goffman (1967, p. 19) called a fair representation of one's "sacred self". Nevertheless, the identified incongruities between CLT and the Chinese philosophy of language learning do not indicate that the pedagogical affordances associated with CLT are diametrically opposed to the development of English language education in China. In a study conducted by Zheng and Adamson (2003), a secondary English language teacher in China strategically combined the notion of communicative competence proposed by CLT with the Chinese philosophy of language learning that involves a systematic and meticulous approach to grammar instruction and an emphasis on cross-lingual comparison and translation. His pedagogy turned out to be effective in creating a positive communication environment where both the teacher and the students were empowered to harness the benefits of developing communicative competence without jeopardizing their commitment to the Chinese philosophy of language learning. Therefore, the ongoing debate over CLT in China should not be simply interpreted as a manifestation of a parochial attitude toward global educational trends; rather, it represents an unwavering commitment to resignifying the pedagogical value of global educational research by capitalizing on the distinctive asset embedded in China's rich philosophical traditions.

Besides the noticeable features of a Chinese perspective on CLT, there is another important aspect of English language education in China that distinguishes it from the Anglo-Saxon notion of foreign language education, namely the humanistic affordances associated with learning English as a foreign language (see note 7). As mentioned in the previous section, the concept of cross-cultural awareness has been integrated into the national English curriculum standards since 1990s. However, it is noteworthy that the way in which this concept is phrased syntactically in official documents is indissolubly related to the conceptualization of China's national development. For instance, in the current national English curriculum standards targeted at primary and secondary education (MOE 2003a, 2011a), expressions such as "to develop cross-cultural awareness (*xing cheng kua wen hua yi shi*)" and "to cultivate international awareness *(pei yang guo ji li jie yi shi*)" are always intra-sententially juxtaposed with phrases focused on "upholding patriotism *(hong yang ai guo zhu yi jing shen*)." In a similar vein, the statements related to the cognitive and socio-emotional implications of English language education are invariably intertwined with those centered on "developing a deeper knowledge in Chinese language and culture (*jia shen dui zu guo yu yan wen hua de li jie*)." The co-presence of these official discourses on the humanistic affordances associated with learning English as a foreign language echoes the notion of adjacency pairs (Schegloff 1968) in the sense that the presence of one utterance in a pair, e.g., "to develop cross-cultural awareness [through English language education]," makes the appearance of the second conditionally relevant, i.e., "to uphold patriotism [through English language education]." Through the construction of this adjacency pair, the xenophobic connotations associated with English language education, which have their roots in the Self-Strengthening Movement, have been resignified to fit China's national development at both the local and global levels.

A more comprehensive understanding of this resignification process entails an exploration of the way in which English as a foreign language is conceptualized in China's official English language education policies. In the national English curriculum standards targeted at primary and secondary education (MOE 2003a, 2011a), English is defined as "one of the most widely used languages in the world (*quan qiu shi yong zui guang fan de yu yan zhi yi*)." Notwithstanding the cross-cultural affordances associated with English, the widely accepted notion of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is never explicitly mentioned in China's national English curriculum standards, nor is there any specific reference to a particular variety of English (a native speaker model) that learners should emulate (Pan 2015). When endowed with lingua franca status, a language is arguably canonized as an embodiment of a unifying force, as manifested in the intrinsic relationship between the extensive public discourse on English language acquisition beyond the Inner Circle, i.e., nations where English is considered a native language (Kachru 1985), and the emerging identification of global citizenship. However, in the Chinese context, where Mandarin has been the historically and ideologically canonized "lingua franca", the notion of English as a lingua franca entails a process of resignification to avoid disturbing the internal compass set in Chinese people's sacred self. As enacted by the national education reform, the resignification process has endowed English language teaching in China with a centripetal force (Bakhtin 1981) similar to that of Mandarin education, the argument being that a knowledge of English is expected to provide a deeper understanding of what it means to be Chinese by interpreting it through the eyes of others. Moreover, given its widespread use at the global level, English has also been endowed with a centrifugal force (Bakhtin 1981) that enables the Chinese way of thinking, living, and behaving to be extracted from its original Chinese context and re-contextualized in discourses on glocal identities in superdiverse contexts.

4 The Glocal Contact Zone

How does each country accommodate both the national and global demands on the teaching of English? We find an interesting convergence between the Chinese and the French educators to resignify concepts like "translanguaging" or "multilingualism" in more complex terms than the notion proposed by Canagarajah and García. In both cases, the local seems to be adding a historical and a moral dimension to the global that comes from a deep cultural tradition found in the two countries. In the following, we give two examples that illustrate quite dramatically the glocal processes at work in this contact zone between two languages and cultures.

There is currently in France a widespread interest among French educators in complexity theory (Bailly et al. 2012), emergentist theories of second language acquisition (Narcy-Combes and Miras 2012), and the ethical dimensions of language education (e.g., Beacco 2013; Kramsch and Narcy-Combes 2016). The

French term *translangager* coined by Aden (2014) is seen as an extension of the *languaging* proposed by Maturana and Varela (1972) in a Buddhist perspective. As Aden describes it, *translangager* is a "dynamic and complex process of *reliance,*" or interrelatedness of the self, the others and the sociohistorical context in which we live. It is through this process, actualized through language mediation (Kramsch and Aden 2013), that shared meanings among human beings constantly "emerge". Aden goes on to contrast *translangager* with Ofelia García's concept of translanguaging. García (2009) proposed the term "translanguaging" to refer to the code-meshing practices of bilingual speakers and their "structural coupling". For example, García and Li Wei (2014) suggest that bilingual speakers have one bilingual repertoire from which they draw the elements that enable them to communicate in the most effective way possible depending on the situation. These bilingual practices constitute the norm for bilingual speakers. In a recent article, García and Leiva (2014) expand this translanguaging from a mere linguistic practice to outright political action:

> Translanguaging, resting on the concept of transculturación, is about a new language reality, original and independent from any of the 'parents' or codes, a new way of being, acting and languaging in a different social, cultural, and political context. . . Translanguaging refers to social practices and actions that enact a political process of social and subjectivity transformations…(p. 204)

Through translanguaging, the teacher "helps students construct a Latino pan-ethnicity…where fluid identities are being brought forth with others in a process of continuous becoming" (p. 211).[9]

While García and Leiva (2014) are keen on validating bilingual minorities for political and economic reasons, Aden, like the Chilean philosophers Maturana/Varela and the French proponent of complexity theory Edgar Morin (2005), is reconnecting with an anti-Cartesian strand of French philosophical thought that goes back to the "moralists" Montaigne (1533–1592) and Pascal (1623–1662). This strand of thought strives to escape the rationalist, utilitarian heritage of the eighteenth century and reconnect with a sixteenth/seventeenth centuries French tradition of local particularity, subjectivity, playful subversion, and contemplative thought. This is also the dialogic tradition that Bakhtin drew on in his treatise on Rabelais and in his essays on dialogue in the novel. While translanguaging is based on political notions of economic opportunity and external signs of individual achievement, *translangager* brings back a century-old moral tradition of French thought based on interiority, embodied wisdom and a deep Socratic imperative to "know thyself" before you go out and try and change the world.

[9]García and Leiva (2014, p. 202), like Aden, draw their inspiration from Maturana & Varela's notion of "structural coupling", a feature of all living systems coupled with their environment. But they interpret "structural" to mean the interaction between individual structures (molecules, speakers) and their environment. By contrast, Aden, a French researcher, draws on the affordances of the French language to highlight two meanings of the original term: Fr. structurel refers to the interaction between structures, Fr. structural refers to the internal organization or autopoeisis of living systems. It is this second meaning that she builds on to develop her argument.

Similarly, the Chinese, faced with a concept of multilingualism that seems to threaten the recognized universality of Mandarin as the unifying factor of all literate Chinese citizens, accommodates the global by linking it to the age-old Confucian ideal of harmony of opposites, or polyphony—it too very different from the mere competitiveness associated with Western capitalism and not incompatible with what President Xi Jinping of China called the "Chinese Dream", or promotion of traditional Chinese culture. We take as an example a debate occasioned by the translation into Chinese of a French handbook of multilingualism and multiculturalism (Zarate et al. 2016/2008). In the preface to the Chinese version of "*Précis du Plurilinguisme et du Pluriculturalisme*", Prof. Fu Rong explained the rationale behind the translation of "*Plurilinguisme*" and "*Pluriculturalisme*" into "多元语言" and "多元文化", respectively. The Chinese translators took their cue, he says, from the distinction made by the CEFR between plurilingualism/pluriculturalism that refers to the interconnectedness between different languages/cultures within an individual's repertoire, and multilingualism/multiculturalism that refers to the juxtaposition of different languages in society. In Chinese, "元" has the meaning of "being constitutive",[10] as in the Chinese word "元素 (element)". The insertion of this particular character into "多 (many) 语言 (languages)" and "多 (many) 文化 (cultures)" serves to resignify the embedded notion of heterogeneity that is at the core of these two phrases by indexing the existential significance of an orderly, yet dynamic relationship among different languages and cultures contained therein. We would like to add that this translation strategy has its roots in the dominant linguistic and cultural ideologies in China, as identified in the notion of "unity in diversity" that regulates the representational potential of linguistic and cultural identities in fluid and diversified contexts.

Serving as a mediator in a kaleidoscope of languages and cultures, the character "元" in "多元语言" and "多元文化" indexes a dialectical approach to interpreting the dynamics among varied languages and cultures. For example, the term "多元文化 (pluriculturalisme)" literally means "multi-mediated cultures". When being contextualized in relation to China's multiethnic reality, this term can be arguably considered indicative of a value-laden system grounded in a core (*Han*)-peripheral (ethnic minorities) paradigm, which is in line with a more localized perspective on ethnic and racial representations. On the other hand, it can be also interpreted as referring to a framework characterized by a situated and dialogical relationship among different cultures, which echoes the global discourse on negotiating the meaning of superdiversity. As the boundaries between local and global discourses have become increasingly blurred, the affordances associated with the character "元" enable a fluid resignification process of cultural and linguistic diversity in the Chinese context that is sensitive to the changing landscape of the glocal contact zone.

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[10]*The contemporary Chinese dictionary* (6th Ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined how the tensions between the local imperatives of political unity and the global demands of a worldwide market economy, that we have called the “glocal contact zone”, play themselves out in the teaching of foreign languages in France and China. In this contact zone, where local cultural and historical interests confront global economic necessities, it is good for educators to remember that the clash between the two has not always and not everywhere been framed the same way. *Homo economicus* has not always been the only model for language learners. France and China offer examples of other age-old histories and educational traditions that have given the teaching of foreign languages other values than business-like communication and the sharing of information, namely moral and cultural values, aesthetic and spiritual values and the cultivation of historicity and subjectivity. In both the French and the Chinese cases, the global has been made quintessentially local by resurrecting past local traditions and drawing on various aspects of a unique local/national history. The French put to use the current enthusiasm for the concept of “translanguaging” to reconnect with a humanistic strand of thought that is eminently French and that pre-existed the French Revolution. The Chinese, remembering their various dealings with English-speaking Westerners throughout their history, want to use English, not to be more “effective” communicators, or to adhere to global “bilingual norms”, but in order to become more cosmopolitan *qua Chinese* and to make historical China better known to the rest of the world (Wen 2012). The challenge for educators is how to re-define the glocal contact zone in a way that promotes both the global values of interpersonal communication and collaboration and the local intrapersonal development of language learners as historical and cultural social actors.

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Haiti's Language-in-Education Policy: Conflicting Discourses at the Local Level

Mary A. Avalos and Jennifer Augustin

Abstract The history of Haiti has had a lasting effect on its education system and planning efforts, resulting in Haiti's current sociolinguistic situation. While there are two official languages recognized in Haiti, French is used for government, education, literature, and business, and Creole is generally used for informal exchanges among close friends, family, or laborers. Despite the fact that the majority of Haitians are monolingual Haitian Creole speakers, the French/Creole elite minority actually governs and economically dominates the majority of the population, creating multiple cultural, and intercultural assumptions involving the idealized native speaker/nonnative speaker and native language teacher/nonnative language teacher realities that drive language learning in Haiti's classrooms. This chapter focuses on issues related to Haiti's language instruction around those realities, and critically examines relevant literature on, as well as the actual text of the country's language policy for educational purposes.

1 Introduction

Globalization has multiple definitions, depending on the context of use; however, it has received a great deal of attention across all fields of inquiry with the increased expansion of free trade and production of goods and services (Milman 2013). Scholarly work in language education has explored how the local language context is often lost within the realities of globalization, advocating for the need to focus on the local and the global—the "glocal" or how globalization impacts language use and teaching among local populations (cf. Canagarajah 2005; García et al. 2006; Tan and Rubdy 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 2009; Weber 2007). In the same way, Davis (2014) points out that there is a "shift from unidirectional top down enactment of policies and plans towards recognition of the complex ideologies and institutional practices that are consequently informed by or threaten local practices"

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(p. 83). She goes on to remind us that, as educators and scholars, we need to not only recognize the importance of traditions but also strive for advancements that realistically meet locally situated needs to promote equitable policies and welfare, as well as agency among all citizens. This engaged approach to language planning and policy ultimately requires a lens on the local in light of global influences.

Our chapter examines the current language of education policy in Haiti, and in particular, the reasons teachers and students primarily use colonial French in schools, as opposed to the first language of most citizens, Haitian Creole (hereafter referred to as "Creole"). We begin by briefly discussing Haiti's history and recent reform efforts to contextualize and describe Haiti's current challenges. Next, we explain and use political discourse analysis (van Dijk 1997) as a guiding framework for our analysis, and then report results of our analysis. We conclude with implications for glocal interactions focusing on native speaker/nonnative speaker[1] (NS/NNS) and native language teacher/nonnative language teacher (NLT/NNLT) in the context of Haiti.

2 The Context of Haiti

Haiti's history is complex and interwoven with tragedy, thus to understand Haiti's academic reality is to realize what her people have experienced historically. As eloquently detailed in Hebblethwaite's (2012) work, "the social, economic, and academic situation is extremely challenging in Haiti" (p. 256). While it is difficult to secure current, or even more recent statistics due to the devastating 2010 earthquake, 40% of Haitian children eat a daily average of no more than 460 kilocalories per day, many walking long distances to school without breakfast each morning (The World Bank 2007). According to UNESCO (2008), just 33% of Haiti's children attend preschool, 46% attend primary school, and about 21% attend secondary school. The quality of teaching and learning in Haiti's schools is poor; nearly 75% of teachers begin to teach with just a 9th or 12th grade education, and only 27% of all teachers graduate from a formal teacher training program and are considered qualified to teach (De Regt 1984; The World Bank 2007). Complicating matters, the majority of qualified teachers elect to teach in private schools (Prou 2009).

Space limitations preclude us from going into detail here, but there are numerous explanations for the education issues faced by Haiti, including injustices and inequities experienced from the time of colonialism (cf. Hebblethwaite 2012; Prou 2009). Tardieu (1990) posits that a dichotomy grounded in the oral transmission history of traditional Voodoo practices conflicted with the written transmission of French colonialism and Catholicism, resulting in historical, psychological, and cultural tensions since the Haitian revolution of the eighteenth century. Corruption

[1]In the context of Haiti, Creole is the native language (L1) and French is the nonnative language (L2) for the majority of Haitian citizens.

and numerous governing bodies in power over short amounts of time are other reasons Haiti has experienced difficulties at political and social levels, contributing to the limited success of past reform efforts (Hebblethwaite 2012; Prou 2009). Moreover, although Haiti has generated much interest abroad with regard to financial support for education, (80% of schools attended by primary students are funded by private, international donations [The World Bank 2007]), for many of the same reasons explained above, internally there has been resistance to academic reform efforts at all levels, which also hinders progress (Prou 2009), especially with regard to the language of instruction (Hebblethwaite 2012).

Though there are two official languages recognized by the government of Haiti, French is the societal "language of power" (e.g., government, business, school), and Creole is often used for daily and more informal interactions among the people. A Creole is a language spoken "by the native-born children of pidgin-speaking parents" and should not be considered a "functionally restricted, structurally reduced" language (Sato 1985, p. 256). In the context of Haiti, Creole developed as the French colonial and local communities interacted over time to find meaningful ways to communicate (Wright 2004). Creole was recognized as an official language in the Haitian Constitution of 1979 to unite all people in the Republic.

Despite the fact that the majority of Haitians are monolingual Creole speakers, the French/Creole elite minority dominates politically, economically, and socially (DeGraff 2005, 2010; Hebblethwaite 2012). The Creole-speaking majority has few opportunities to hear or speak French outside of the classroom (Hebblethwaite 2012), adding barriers to acquiring French as the societal language since not even half of Haiti's children attend primary school, according to available statistics cited earlier. Further, 80% of teachers are not proficient in French (Chaudenson and Vernet 1983; Jean-Francois 2006), thus they are often unprepared to teach in French. Creole, however, has increasingly been situated where French had previously been privileged (Hebblethwaite 2012; Simmons-McDonald 2004), with the goal of the current movement to increase the status and use of Creole. The Haitian Constitution of 1979 identified French as the language of instruction and Creole as a tool for learning French (Jean-Francois 2006). Also, a revised education policy known as the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982) was an attempt to update the education system and introduce more technical and vocational classes into secondary education to provide for the country's labor market needs (i.e., academic and technical trades), as well as including Creole as a language of instruction in Haiti's primary grades (Luzincourt and Gulbrandson 2010). A key purpose of the reform was to create students who were balanced bilinguals within the first 10 years of schooling (Déjean 2010).

Multilingualism and learning in a primary or dual language program has been beneficial for all students, including those from minority language backgrounds (Genesee et al. 2009; Lindholm-Leary 2001; López and McEneaney 2012; Thomas and Collier 2002). The Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982) received much resistance from monolingual Creole speakers, as well as the upper and middle classes, even though it was argued that Creole as a language of instruction would not only benefit student learning and increase literacy rates, but also as a result, the

country's economy and social growth (DeGraff 2005, 2010; Déjean 2010; Hebblethwaite 2012; Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982). For example, growth of the middle class in Haiti would benefit all people by creating a greater degree of consumerism, more educated citizens to contribute to economic growth and hiring from within, and a greater degree of social stability (Hebblethwaite 2012). It has been noted, however, that "the language of instruction policies remain vague and unenforced" citing a shortage of Creole textbooks in public and nonpublic schools (especially in primary grades), as a major obstacle preventing both languages to be taught and emphasized during the foundational years of learning (The World Bank 2007, p. 11). Additionally, waiting to assess the basic competencies for all subject areas, including language skills, until the 6th Grade National Examinations makes remedial or instructional support for struggling students nearly impossible as by end of 6th grade, it is generally too late to meet their learning needs with success in a timely manner (The World Bank 2007).

The current sociolinguistic situation of predominantly using French as first language instruction has serious shortcomings and consequences for the majority of Haitians, and though Creole has gained support through efforts of Haitian scholars such as DeGraff (2005, 2010) and Hebblethwaite (2012), there still remains much work to be done to eliminate the multiple cultural, and intercultural assumptions involving the idealized NS/NNS and NLT/NNLT dichotomies that drive language learning in Haiti's classrooms. This chapter focuses on issues related to Haiti's language instruction around those dichotomies, and critically examines the actual text of the country's language of education policy for educational purposes. Specifically, we address the following questions: *What are the discourses of the language of education policy in Haiti, and what are the larger assumptions made by these discourses for teaching and learning language in Haiti's educational context?* Our intent is to critically analyze the language of education policy to provide implications for glocal interactions in Haiti.

3 Political Discourse Analysis and Theoretical Frameworks

Political discourse analysis (PDA) of education policy has utilized different genres or texts, including political speeches, interviews, and documents (Cap and Okulska 2013), as well as emphases and purposes (Fairclough 2002; van Dijk 1997; Titscher et al. 2000). PDA is concerned with the language of policy from a critical stance to explore political power, specifically "reproduction of power, power abuse, or domination through political discourse" stemming from social or political inequalities (van Dijk 1997, p. 11). Political discourse can be identified by the actors (i.e., authors or politicians writing the policy language), as well as recipients, such as the public at large (i.e., voters and nonvoters, lobbyists, protesters, all citizens who must live according to the policies), leading to a large and complex

Article 34: Higher Education grouped within the State University of Haiti or recognized by it, must be organized on new scientific bases.

- **Gear higher education towards more academic research and meeting national needs;**
- **Diversify training with several types of studies leading to the exercise of a profession;**
- **Provide the State University of Haiti with the means to respond to its vocation of permanent training of adults.**

Fig. 1 Language of the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982) concerning language of education policies and primary purposes of education in Haiti (translated from French to English by Dr. Margarette Mahotiere)

understanding of who is involved and/or impacted by the policy (van Dijk 1997). To further define relevant purposes for PDA, van Dijk (1997) explains "the nature of the activities or practices being accomplished by the political text" whereby "the political actions or practices are at the same time discursive practices" lead to "political functions and implications" for all citizens in general (p. 14). Importantly, context cannot be overlooked when analyzing political discourse (Cap and Okulska 2013; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Gasper and Apthorpe 1996; van Dijk 1997). Context is key because it is not solely how the language is used that affects recipients, rather the resulting connections between language use, the social, and the cultural factors that interact to identify power relations (Bartlett 2014). Bartlett (2014) points out that power is not realized *in* language, it is realized *through* language (original italics, p. 2), and it is through situated language use that actors and recipients create meaning in differing contexts.

We analyzed the language policy of the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982), the most recent official policy[2] that addresses (among other things) language of instruction in Haiti's schools. McGroarty (1997) defines language policy as, "…the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use" (p. 67). To do this, the second author read the policy's text and excerpted articles pertaining to purpose or rationale for the Bernard Reform, as well as language of education. We then had the excerpts translated from French to English (Fig. 1).

CHAPITRE IV: UTILISATION DES LANGUES DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT FONDAMENTALE

CHAPTER IV: USE OF LANGUAGES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

[2]There has been information regarding a more recent language of education policy (see https://odl.mit.edu/news-and-events/news/3-questions-michel-degraff-haitis-new-policy-teaching-kreyòl); however, we were unable to locate the new policy language, despite many attempts, and according to the literature, the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982) is still considered the official education policy for Haiti.

Article 2: L'Ecole Haitienne est un instrument du développement économique et social et elle constitue un investissement planifié et rentable pour la Nation.

– Elle élabore des contenus et des programmes á partir des données de la réalité hatienne tout en demeurant ouverte sur le monde extérieur;
– Elle favorise la formation de citoyens capables de modifier les conditions physiques, matérielles, morales et spirituelles du milieu pour créer plus de richesses, de biens et de services et contribuer ainsi á l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie.

Article 2: The Haitian school system is an instrument of economic and social development. It is a cost-effective investment plan for the Nation.

– **It develops contents and programs from data based on the Haitian reality while remaining open to the outside world.**
– **It promotes the formation of citizens able to modify the physical, material, moral, and spiritual conditions of their environment to create more wealth, goods, and services and thus contribute to the improvement of the quality of life.**

Article 29: Le Créole est la langue d'enseignement et la langue enseignée tout au long de l'Ecole Fondamentale.

Le Français est la langue enseignée tout au long de l'Ecole Fondamentale, et la langue d'enseignement à partir de la sixième année.

Article 29: Creole is the language of instruction and the language taught throughout basic school (kindergarten to 8th grade).

French is the language taught throughout basic school and the language of instruction starting in the sixth year of basic school.

Article 30: En cinquième année de l'Enseignement Fondamentale, l'enseignement du Français est renforcé en vue de son utilisation comme langue d'enseignement en sixième année.

Article 30: In the fifth year of basic school, the teaching of French is strengthened in preparation for its use as the language of instruction in the sixth year.

Article 31: Un Plan d'étude fixe de façon précise l'articulation pédagogique pour chaque cycle et chaque année en rapport avec les dispositions des articles 34 et 35.

Dans tous les cas, à partir de la sixième année, le volume horaire réservé, soit au français, soit au créole, dans le plan d'étude d'enseignement, ne peut être inferieure à 25% de l'horaire hebdomadaire.

Article 31: A teaching plan or curriculum shall set precisely the pedagogical articulation for each cycle and each year as called for in articles 34 and 35.

In any case, starting in the sixth year, the number of hours allocated to, either French or Creole, in the teaching plan, cannot be less than 25% of the weekly schedule.

Article 34: Les Enseignements Supérieurs regroupés au sein de l'Université D'état d'Haïti ou reconnus par elle, doivent être organises sur de nouvelles bases scientifiques:

- Orienter l'enseignement universitaire davantage vers la recherche et la satisfaction des besoins nationaux;
- Diversifier la formation en présentant plusieurs types d'études conduisant à l'exercice d'une profession;
- Donner à l'Université d'Etat d'Haïti des moyens de répondre à sa vocation de formation permanente des adultes.

Building on the work of de Jong (2013), we used the constructs of assimilationist and pluralist (de Jong 2011) Discourses[3] to frame the role of diversity in schools and to better understand the underlying expectations for language learning in Haiti's education system. These a priori pluralist and assimilationist discourses provide powerful frames for PDA because not only do they "shape" how diversity is discussed, but also what is "included and excluded in the discussion" (de Jong 2013, p. 3). As pointed out by de Jong (2011, 2013), these discourses should not be considered simply dichotomous relationships. Instead, they should be thought of as two distinct ways society views and answers issues of cultural and linguistic diversity. Education policy language provides the frame for a discourse and ultimately realizes the discourse by classroom curricula and practices related to the beliefs, foci, and values of the policy language. Within a global perspective, pluralist discourses accept diversity as part of an increasingly interconnected world. Multilingualism is fostered to capitalize on and add value to society, whereas assimilationist discourses would be seen as limiting opportunities for global interactions since monolingualism is the goal. While linguistic and cultural diversity is acknowledged as existing in assimilationist discourses, it is seen as a problem that interferes with national unity and academic achievement among school-aged children who are not native speakers of the national language.

3.1 Assimilationist Versus Pluralist Discourses

According to de Jong (2013), assimilationist Discourses emphasize policies that favor the societal language over others and that generally lead to a replacement or subtractive view of bilingualism. This perspective typically emphasizes monolingualism and the unifying role of the societal language (i.e., national identity

[3]Gee (1996) used big D "Discourses" as referring to beliefs or philosophies surrounding larger societal issues, as opposed to small d "discourses" which refer to everyday discussions or dialogue. Bartlett (2014) refers to "discourse" as "contextualized language use" (p. 15).

discourses) and all citizens' rights for equitable and equal access to proficiency and opportunities that result from proficiency in the societal language. Pluralist Discourses, on the other hand, emphasize policies that make linguistic diversity an additive process, or one in which bilingualism and biliteracy are the results of maintaining and increasing proficiency in one language (e.g., a native language) while increasing the proficiency of a second (e.g., the societal language). Learning multiple languages is seen as holistic and seamless, with each language contributing building blocks that work together rather than separately,[4] in order to become bilingual and biliterate. Preserving cultural heritage and affirming identity, primarily serve as the rationales behind pluralist Discourses, along with multilingualism as an asset or resource not only for individuals, but also at the national level (de Jong 2013).

Studies using assimilationist and pluralist Discourses to investigate "language of education" policies and how they may inhibit or facilitate social mobility, content, and/or language learning are not new. Hornberger (2000), for example, explored the language policy documents of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia and found "evidence of evolving notions of culture and interculturality" that challenged the ideological paradoxes of assimilation (monolingualism) and pluralism (multilingualism) in those countries (p. 173). More recently, de Jong (2013) explored the language of U. S. language of education policy for assimilation and pluralism Discourses. Since what is recognized as important (i.e., educating with goals of assimilation versus pluralism) is a reflection of discursive moves and actions, De Jong's (2013) analysis "broadly focused on language-in-education policies to define the role of different language(s) and language varieties in schools" and included any mandates concerning language use in schools (p. 98). She found that although pluralist Discourses were somewhat present, assimilationist Discourses prevailed, leading to "policies that aim to streamline and homogenize instructional practices" and ignore linguistic and cultural diversity of minority language students (e.g., nonnative speakers), using a one-size-fits-all approach (p. 107). We build on de Jong's (2013) methods to determine monolingual (assimilationist) versus multilingual (pluralist) perspectives within Haiti's language policy.

Using de Jong's (2013) guiding questions, we analyzed the text for each perspective (pluralist vs. assimilationist, respectively), according to four different lenses (Table 1), positioned as dichotomies to include: (1) Value of diversity (additive vs. subtractive); (2) View of bilinguals and bilingualism (holistic vs. fractional); (3) Preferred program models (goal of supporting bilingual competence vs. goal of learning dominant language); and (4) Policy to practice (focus on equity and affirming ideas vs. focus on same educational experiences or practices for all to become proficient in dominant language).

[4]This is also known as "translanguaging" (García 2009).

Table 1 Dichotomies of pluralist and assimilationist discourses (adapted from de Jong 2013)

De Jong's Lenses	Pluralist	Assimilationist
Value of diversity	The pluralist perspective sees diversity as a possible means for social change by using diversity as an asset or resource to be nurtured and sustained for cognitive, economic, cultural, and political benefits; multilingualism supports cross-linguistic communication for the same aforementioned benefits (de Jong 2011)	The assimilationist perspective views proficiency in the societal language as necessary for success and future participation as an effective citizen; thus, nationalism discourses are common, supporting effective communication in one language to unite all citizens (de Jong 2011; Wright 2004)
View of bilingualism	Bilingualism is viewed holistically and language use is contextually oriented; transfer from one language another is key in developing proficiency in multiple languages	The focus on language is fractional and each language represents a separate system (i.e., "container system" de Jong 2011, p. 99) that interferes with the development of the other
Preferred program model	The goal of developing and sustaining more than one language, resulting in bilingualism and biliteracy (i.e., two-way immersion or dual language programs)	Primary goal is to transition minority language speakers into majority or society language as quickly as possible (i.e., Structured Immersion or Transition bilingual programs)
Policy to practice	Equity is a focus via integration of language learners to provide means for affirming identities and support for sustained bilingual and biliterate development	Equal access to the same educational experiences via assimilation, proficiency in the societal language, and either segregation or inclusion to achieve this access

The guiding question for pluralist/multilingual Discourses is, "How can we employ linguistic diversity in solving social, environmental, and technological problems?" while the guiding question for analysis of assimilationist/monolingual Discourses is, "How can we achieve greater efficiencies through the reduction and streamlining of diversity?" (de Jong 2013, p. 99). We present the results of our analysis in the next section, followed by findings and implications for a focus on glocal attention to language for Haiti, in light of expanding globalization.

4 Findings

For ease of reading, we present our analysis in Table 2. The primary purpose of Haiti's education system is ambitious and ultimately, as for other nations, to lead to increasing advancements and improvements for its citizens and society.

Table 2 Excerpted and Translated Bernard Reform Policy analysis (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982)

Language of the Bernard Reform Policy
Article 2 *The Haitian school system is an instrument of economic and social development. It is a cost effective investment plan for the Nation.* *- It develops contents and programs from data based on the Haitian reality while remaining open to the outside world.* *- It promotes the formation of citizens able to modify the physical, material, moral, and spiritual conditions of their environment to create more wealth, goods, and services and thus contribute to the improvement of the quality of life.*
Value of diversity: There are pluralist undertones with a primary purpose of education to provide choices for citizens (i.e., the school system enables citizens to develop socially, modify their realities, and improve their quality of life) while at the same time, creating a more economically developed nation, which indicates assimilationist Discourses by way of nationalist discourses; **View of bilingualism**: Bilingualism is not explicitly addressed in Article 2; however, including "remaining open to the outside world" indicates policy planners are aware of the need to respond to changes, as they develop outside of Haiti. What is missing is the call to develop a multilingual nation and society within this rationale for Haiti's education system. **Preferred program models**: The preferred program model is not addressed explicitly either, but the use of "*cost effective investment plan*" indicates an approach to instruction that focuses on the same educational experiences; **Policy to practice**: This is written globally, however, the same educational experiences for all are the undertone of assimilationist Discourses, and though not explicitly stated, French as the societal language of power is indicated in order to develop the country economically as Creole is primarily unique to Haiti.
Article 29 *Creole is the language of instruction and the language taught throughout basic school (kindergarten to 8th grade).* *French is the language taught throughout basic school and the language of instruction starting in the sixth year of basic school.*
Value of diversity: Although there are pluralist indicators via a primary language approach to instruction, the use of a transitional program model moving from Creole to French, and French taught throughout basic school, as well, also indicates a replacement (subtractive) view of bilingualism and diversity. In the end (i.e., in secondary school), monolingualism is the norm with transition to, and the focus once more, on French; **View of bilingualism**: There is a focus on language as a system (i.e., two separate systems) with one interfering with the other; a fractional view of bilingualism; **Preferred program models**: A bilingual program (pluralist undertones) with the goal of teaching societal language (assimilationist overtones); **Policy to practice**: There is a focus on the same educational experiences (i.e., through assimilation and inclusion for all).
Article 30 *In the fifth year of basic school, the teaching of French is strengthened in preparation for its use as the language of instruction in the sixth year.*
Value of diversity: Here, we find evidence of reduction/streamlining diversity to assimilate, with the increasing use of French as the language of instruction beginning in the fifth year to prepare for the sixth year where French is the primary language of instruction.

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Language of the Bernard Reform Policy
View of bilingualism: A subtractive, view of bilingualism is evident, replacing Creole with French as the one language ultimately needed to support communication, efficiency, and unity by secondary school; **Preferred program models**: Transitional bilingual program is in place with the goal of teaching the societal language; **Policy to practice**: Regardless of students' instructional needs, the focus here is on the same educational experiences through assimilation and inclusion for all.
Article 31 *A Teaching Plan or curriculum shall set precisely the pedagogical articulation for each cycle and each year as called for in articles 34 and 35.* *In any case, starting in the sixth year, the number of hours allocated to, either French or Creole, in the teaching plan, cannot be less than 25% of the weekly schedule.*
Value of diversity: Linguistic diversity is transitioning to a monolingual use of French beginning in the sixth year, yet Article 31 still allows for some use of Creole in the sixth year; this demonstrates pluralist undertones. **View of bilingualism**: Again, there is a focus on language as a container system where one language interferes with the other and by transitioning to French, students will be instructed in the language needed to access higher education (Article 34); **Preferred program models**: A transitional bilingual program is in place the goal of teaching societal language; **Policy to practice**: Focus on the same educational experiences through assimilation and inclusion for all. This is especially evident in the "teaching plan" and precise articulation of each cycle.
Article 34 *Higher Education grouped within the State University of Haiti or recognized by it, must be organized on new scientific bases.* ● *Gear higher education towards more academic research and meeting national needs;* ● *Diversify training with several types of studies leading to the exercise of a profession;* ● *Provide the State University of Haiti with the means to respond to its vocation of permanent training of adults.*
Value of diversity: Since all higher education is delivered in French, implicitly we see that one language is needed to support effective communication, efficiency, and national unity. **View of bilingualism**: The fact that bilingualism is not mentioned indicates monolingualism and proficiency in societal language is necessary in order to achieve Article 34 since Creole is not emphasized or maintained once students enter secondary school; **Preferred program models**: Article 34 subtly points to a "container system" perspective of language, where one language interferes with the other since all higher education uses French as the medium of instruction, learning, and communication; **Policy to practice**: There are assimilationist undertones via access to higher education; the inclusion of French only instruction in higher education demonstrates that French is seen as the Haitian language of "power" since it is used internationally and will provide a common code for international allies and economic partners, while Creole is unique to Haiti.

5 Findings and Discussion

It is evident that there are some conflicting pluralist and assimilationist Discourses in the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982) excerpts; however, assimilationist Discourses are dominant as we discuss our findings according to the four lenses of de Jong's (2013) framework.

Value of diversity The lens of diversity allows us to analyze for an additive versus subtractive diversity perspective framed within policy texts. While there are some pluralist undertones, assimilationist Discourses are the overwhelming tone of these excerpts when using a diversity lens. Nationalist Discourses emphasizing national participation and societal improvements clearly come through. French used throughout schooling and Creole as a means to learn French is a common use of nation building rhetoric for one common language—to "provide a forum, social cohesion, mobility, and political participation" (Wright 2004, p. 68). The goal of most language policies for nation states in the past has been to unite its citizens, rather than recognize diversity since language basically serves two purposes: permitting communication and building identity (Wright 2004, p. 135). Within Haiti's focus on assimilation, an ironic situation for nationalist Discourses prevails since the linguistic resources needed to realize nationalism are sorely lacking in Haiti (e.g., limited teacher proficiency in French). Additionally, despite the Bernard Reform's attempt to include native language instruction in the curriculum as the bridge to French proficiency, assimilationist discourses are not realized due to limited curricular resources in Creole, as well as minimal teacher training and education. The Bernard Reform's language policy has therefore not contributed to national unity, leading instead to continued divisiveness and language stratification. While language stratification prevails in postcolonial Haiti, as in other postcolonized countries, Haiti has experienced a phenomenon noted by Kachru (1977) in which the colonized language serves as the divider and the unifier; however, unlike other postcolonial societies, Haitian Creole also serves as the divider and unifier (Zephir 1995). As Gibson (2011) puts it,

> Haitians of all social classes have internalized the ranking of whiteness and French culture and language as superior to blackness and African-based culture and language. Haitians feel that French, a power language with international prestige, is the appropriate language to use in Haitian national settings and the choice language to project Haiti's national identity to the world. Ironically, in Haitian culture, both French and Creole are also associated with opposite values. French is considered the language of deception and pretense, while Creole is considered the language of truth and genuineness. French represents divisiveness in the social classes while Haitian Creole represents unity of the Haitian people (p. 22).

While conquest and colonization typically result in diglossia, or two languages used within the same community for more formal and informal, everyday purposes, Wright (2004) notes that diglossia is usually not a parallel process and requires more from minority populations than the majority. This is evident in Haiti as those of privilege come to school speaking French *and* Creole. Additionally, with limited teacher proficiency in French and few learning resources in Creole, much more is

required of minority populations to become bilingual, and even more is required to effectively learn French and secure future opportunities.

View of bilingualism The lens of bilingualism allows us to analyze policy language for a holistic versus fractional understanding of bilingualism. Throughout the excerpted articles, what is missing from the policy language demonstrates sustained multilingual development is never the goal; rather, the goal is to use Creole as a transitional stepping-stone, with proficiency in French seen as the means to access equity and opportunities beyond secondary school (de Jong 2011). A fractional view of multilingualism is therefore evident since bilingualism is not visible in the intended outcome of the education system (Article 2). Moreover, the assimilationist view perceives bilingualism to be a competing language problem—proficiency in one language interferes with and prevents proficiency in a second language (de Jong 2013), thus the focus is on teaching French to provide access to the world and opportunities. Finally, an education system cannot be "cost effective" in order for Article 2 to be realized since differentiation and clearly articulated support (both financial and pedagogical) for successful literacy and language acquisition are required, particularly for developing countries. Wright (2004) cites financial support as foundational for bilingual language policy objectives to be met. As described by Mohanty (2009) "push-outs" or those who absent themselves from school because of irrelevant curriculum and/or learning, are the result of education systems that are unresponsive to all students' cultures, languages, and identities (p. 3).

Preferred program models The use of the transitional program model for Haiti's bilingual program provides additional evidence of assimilationist Discourses. According to the Bernard Reform, students would receive a minimum of 5–6 years of foundational education in their home language (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982). Though the Bernard Reform brought awareness to Creole and the possibilities for instruction, a majority of Haitians prefer French as the primary language instruction (Hebblethwaite 2012), indicating there are many misconceptions around language learning and transfer. There is a common perception that languages are systems that work separately rather than viewing multiple languages working simultaneously to create meaning (Cummins 1991, 2001). Assimilationists retain and further the ill-conceived belief that languages work independently and separately by limiting the amount of time spent learning one language and then eliminating it completely to focus on the second language (de Jong 2011). This misconception is unfounded as languages work together to create meaning for the speaker, and cross-linguistic transfer provides multilinguals with cognitive resources to effectively communicate and participate at various proficiency levels (García 2009).

Policy to practice De Jong's (2011) final lens allows us to analyze for expectations concerning policies in practice. Again, we see assimilationist discourses as the overwhelming theme by emphasizing access, equality, and opportunities that come with similar experiences for all and proficiency in the societal language. As noted by Hornberger's work (1988, 2002), unless the primary language is valued as much as the societal language, failure of language policy is certain, but is this even feasible? Pluralist, just as assimilationist Discourses are not without challenges.

Wright (2004) summarizes the limitations of using pluralist Discourses to advocate for national multilingualism. She notes that the use of equality discourses by pluralists is problematic since the arguments for equality require that the disenfranchised accept what those in power impose—there will always be a hierarchical structure provided by those creating laws to govern the land, and these laws are generally made by those at the top of the hierarchy, leading to a reinforcement of those in power. Also, justice discourses used by pluralists have been seen as difficult because, unlike religious freedom that allows for multiple religions to be practiced nationally and simultaneously (i.e., full separation of church and state), there is almost always the use of one language to institutionalize policies and decrees, with any other language(s) used for translations, which ultimately implicates power relations. A change in power relations is therefore needed in order for bilingual language policy to be effective (Wright 2004). Wright goes on to explain that minority groups depend upon those in power to accept the non-societal language as one equal in value to the societal language in order to promote long-term and sustained multilingualism. This dependence ultimately exacerbates the difficulties of implementing universal language rights because, as explained previously, those in power typically use the dominant language to create policies and legislation, translating them to the minority language(s), keeping the hierarchy of power in place.

6 Conclusion

Haiti attempted, through the Bernard Reform (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982), to include Creole as a language of instruction in schools. In sum, there are several reasons why this reform effort failed, including limited teacher training, bilingual proficiency and biliteracy, resistance from all levels due to misconceptions of language learning and acquisition, and limited resources, such as texts and published (or even teacher-created) curriculum in Creole (Hebblethwaite 2012; Locher 2010; Prou 2009; The World Bank 2007); all of these are related to the disconnect between Haiti's education policy and local realities. Although the reform resulted in an increase to accessible education, in reality many of the teachers and administrators were simply threatened by its changes, due to inadequate technical preparation and language proficiency needed to implement the reform (Prou 2009). Haiti's Bernard Reform uses nation building discourses to emphasize unity and equality for all citizens, thus assimilationist Discourses prevail throughout the language policy excerpts (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982). This positions not only the students but also the majority of teachers to respectively learn and teach using French, a societal language that is not their own and for which they do not have adequate proficiency. Assimilationist Discourses are therefore positioning the majority of Haiti's population for academic failure.

According to Locher (2010), the foundational problem for Haiti's educational system is school quality, not language. While the push for Creole instruction was

admirable, Locher (2010) states Creole instruction has not had any impact on learning or graduation rates because of poor pedagogical practices, school management, teacher training, and over-aged children as issues that must be resolved in order to proceed with Haiti's issue of language. Though the Bernard Reform has paved the way for Creole as a language of instruction in Haiti's schools, improving the quality of education must be a priority; therefore, bilingual teacher training, emphasizing language and pedagogy, as well as bilingual curriculum development could be a fundamental approach to improving education quality in Haiti (Presses Nationales d'Haïti 1982).

Achieving equal treatment for more than one language is a deep and ethical problem. It would be unacceptable for policy makers to ignore the reality that effective communication, choice of, and access to securing economic opportunities do rely on proficiency in the societal language, especially in this time of increasing globalization (Wright 2004). Yet at the same time, self-expression and identity, pride in heritage, and group solidarity should not be sacrificed to achieve proficiency in the societal language (Dworkin 1985).

Ball (1998) states that globalization is changing the meaning of education, what it means to be educated, and what it means to learn. Supranationalism and globalization are leading to the use of Discourses of individual rights, including language rights (Wright 2004). For developing countries, however, a focus on the local is absolutely necessary in order to become a player in the globalized free market, which generally relies on English as the common language for commerce. According to Weber (2007), qualitative studies are needed in developing countries to help us better understand the work of teaching "more from the bottom up and less from the top down" (p. 298); this would provide a new and important lens to critically examine enactment of policies in schools (cf. Ball et al. 2011) and better link policymakers with classroom enactment of legislated reforms. Furthermore, glocalization of education urges a concise understanding of the interconnectedness of the local and glocal. In the words of Brooks and Normore (2009), when we neglect to understand in which ways local and glocal are interconnected, the "consequences" will increase over time (p. 73).

As globalization forces expand and continue to impact local language teaching and learning to enable free market participation, developing countries, such as Haiti will be left further behind without substantial changes and a focus on the local, before the "glocal," to improve education quality. Glocalization of education, however, does not necessitate or guarantee solid and interconnected policy, practices, means, support, and resources to actualize what it theoretically promises, especially in countries that still struggle with local interactions. The Bernard Reform promised progress and advancement for the citizens of Haiti; unfortunately, little progress was realized as a result of this reform effort, and Haiti's education system is still ailing, and in many respects, failing the majority of Haiti's NNS and NNLTs.

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A Glocalized or Globalized Edition? Contextualizing Gender Representation in EFL Textbooks in Saudi Arabia: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective

Amjjad Sulaimani and Tariq Elyas

Abstract This chapter sought to investigate aspects of gender in one of the currently used English language series, namely *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* within the conservative context of Saudi Arabia. The series is used for female/male adult language learners from beginner to intermediate levels in King Abdulaziz University at the foundation year program, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. In effect, the research analysed the images in the series in terms of gender positioning in images from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. The findings revealed that the series is biased in terms of gender representation. First, there was a huge gap between the number of male and female images. Second, males were depicted in a wide range of social contexts in their single images compared to females. Third, males had a higher status than females in the single images in all the books under investigation. Finally, the body language of males in the series indicated laboriousness in the work environment, while females' body language communicated a combination of relaxed and dreamy gestures. At the end, we suggest the need for a glocalized edition where images of females are empowered with greater equality and equity.

1 Introduction

One of the major characteristics of modern society is globalization, which depending on the observers' point of view, may bring about both development and challenges (Sifakis and Sougari 2003). Saudi higher education is experiencing a new shift. This change is influenced by the desire of Saudi Arabia (SA, hereafter) to be a strong participant in global economy. Such a desire resulted in a huge development in the status of women in SA, and in a challenge for Saudi women to defy traditional Saudi women stereotypes.

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Scholars have argued that 'over the last 20 years in particular, Saudi Arabia has witnessed a rapid and impressive journey towards women's participation in all levels of the education sector' (Jamjoom and Kelly 2013, p. 125). The number of Saudi females enrolling in higher education is increasing with a rapid pace. By 2011, the number of female students had reached 700,000, which represents more than 60% of all enrolments in Saudi universities. Furthermore, 25% of enrolments in master's and doctoral degrees at Saudi universities are now women, hence we can be very optimistic about the capacity of women to directly and positively contribute to the future development and prosperity of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Smith and Abouammoh 2013). More than that, the Saudi ministry of education aims to equip students [male and female] with information technology skills in order to prepare them to be active participants in an increasingly globalized society (Ministry of Education 2010). Consequently, the universities in SA focus on aligning higher education programs with the needs of SA's labour market, and obtaining international accreditation schemes for the programs (Elyas and Picard 2013; Le Ha and Barnawi 2015).

The extensive use of English as a global language has prompted Saudi universities to focus on developing English language programs. The desire for English as a medium of instruction became the endless quest for higher education and recent flood of globalization of education in SA. English Language Teaching (henceforth, ELT) is seen as a new way for making changes in the higher education system. Consequently, almost all universities in SA are seeking to obtain international accreditation for their English language programs (Elyas and Picard 2013; Le Ha and Barnawi 2015). Such an aim for being accredited resulted in a need for adapting EFL textbooks to the English language curriculum. Shakouri and Esfandiari (2015) claim that EFL textbooks are produced mainly by Western countries who are in the inner circle of Kachru's model (1985), that is, the English of native speakers, because they present to the world of consumers a "better" and "more standard" version of English as compared to the other "nonstandard" version of English spoken by nonnative providers of ELT materials. Thus, becoming the consumers rather than producers of materials is the ultimate product of the very hegemony. In this sense, EFL textbooks are seen as a tool spreading political dominance and hegemonic power in the world (Ives 2004). Thus, that language can be seen as a political tool which implies that text and talk play an important role in the exercise of power. In fact, it is discourse that enacts power.

As a primary source in language learning, EFL textbooks are transmitters of ideologies including gender, beliefs and race. Mohamed (2014) argues that 'textbook writers transmit (consciously or unconsciously) particular constructions of reality and particular ways of selecting and organizing the world' (p. 181). Also, Wertsch (2002) argues that representations of cultural communities in speech, print and other media are often driven by political perspectives and institutionalized ideologies. Accordingly, one of the emergent issues of EFL textbooks used in SA is the issue of gender representation. Many scholars have stated that working toward gender equality in education should not ONLY [emphasis by the authors] focus on equal access to education for males and females, the content of education should be

given more attention as well (Mustapha 2013; Pawelczyk et al. 2014; Sulaimani 2017). Also, some educators are concerned about gender discrimination attitudes in textbooks because some textbooks may have destructive effects on students' personality (Gharbavi and Mousavi 2012; Mustapha 2013; Sulaimani 2017). It has been argued that teaching English as a foreign language brings up conflict among TESOL educators and researchers due to some cultural and political attitudes and practices created by language learners and instructors (Holliday 2005). One important aspect of these concerns is the notion of identity and fear of losing it. However, one of the main solutions, proposed by educationalists to this public skepticism about foreign cultural aspects, is glocalization which is the adaptation of international versions of EFL textbooks in order to reflect students' lifestyles, local cultures and traditions in a modern way appropriate to the twenty-first century (Holliday 2005). Tiplady (2003) defines glocalization as the way in which ideas and structures that circulate globally are adapted and changed by local realities. To McDonough and Shaw (2003), adaptation entails personalizing (i.e. the increase in the relevance of content in relation to learners' needs and interests), individualizing (i.e. learning styles of both individuals) and localizing (i.e. taking into account the geography of contexts). Madsen and Bowen (1978, cited in McDonough and Shaw 2003, p. 78) have also added modernizing (i.e. out-of-date materials must be up to date). In this sense, it is believed that ELT practitioners are predicted to have control over the local market in EFL countries by acting locally while thinking globally to present a transformed version of EFL textbooks matching the needs of specific contexts (Shakouri and Bahraminezhadi 2013).

In the light of the previous discussion, this study is an evaluative study investigating the extent to which gender discrimination is represented in the Oxford *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series EFL textbooks, the primary textbooks used for the English Language Institute at King Abdul-Aziz University (KAU hereafter). In this study, we aim to investigate how inner circle textbook producers (Oxford University Press publishers in this case) managed to adapt gender representation in the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series to suit the Saudi context. To achieve this, we will investigate if there is any difference between the roles played/represented by males and females in the series, and how these roles are portrayed.

2 Literature Review

In this section, we examine the history of women's education in SA as well as gender representation in EFL textbooks. The section starts by a review of historical events that affected the education of women from 1932 until 2002, a crucial turning point for Saudi education system (Elyas 2008). Then, it reviews related studies on gender representations in EFL textbooks.

2.1 Women's Education in Saudi Arabia: Historical Overview

It is impossible to discuss the position of women in education without considering the socio-economic and political forces that have shaped women's position not only in education but also in Saudi society in general. The Kingdom of SA was formally proclaimed in 1932, 84 years ago, and since the proclamation, many economic and political changes have taken place (e.g. schools for girls and influence foreign media manifested in globalization in public and private spheres) which influenced the position of Saudi women (Yamani 1996). The Arabian American Oil Company, also known as Aramco, has the greatest impact on SA's economy and education (Mahboob and Elyas 2014). The company was 'responsible for training [by using English as a medium of instruction] the bulk of the Kingdom's first generation of an educated class, the domestic technocrats and administrators needed to run the company' (Mahboob and Elyas 2014, p. 192). The educated class became the elite in the society with higher status not only because of the lucrative salaries but the fact English is used among them for work purposes and extra social activities sponsored by Aramco. Yamani (1996) claims that 'the position and role of Saudi women in work and public life has remained determined by the established religious authorities' (p. 266), and education is not an exception. In fact, Prokop (2003) supports her view by stating that 'the influence of the *Ulama* (male religious scholars) in the educational and social sphere is felt particularly strongly in respect of women's education and the role of women in public life' (p. 78). The *Ulama* are male religious scholars who study the *Quran* and the *Hadith* (Prophet's sayings). These religious scholars apply the *Shari'a* (Islamic law) which constitutes the basic law of SA (Elyas and Picard 2010).

In 1959, King Saud, with the support of the *Ulama*, addressed the issue of females' education in a formal speech broadcasted on the radio and published in newspapers. The following is the speech published in the Saudi newspaper—Al Yamama on Rabia Al Thani 23, 1379 H:

> Thanks be to God, we have decided to bring into effect the desire of the *Ulama* in Saudi Arabia, and to open schools to teach our girls the science of our religion from the Qur'an, and belief and *Fuqaha* [religious instruction], and other sciences which are in harmony with our religious beliefs, such as home economics and child rearing, and anything of which the effect on their belief will not make us fear for the present or for the future. The schools will not have any negative effect on our belief or behaviour or customs. (as cited in Al Rawaf and Simmons 1991, p. 289).

A year after the speech, the General Presidency of Girls' Education (hereafter, GPGE) was formed in 1960. The GPGE was independent from the Ministry of Education (hereafter, MoE) and had a separate budget (Al Rawaf and Simmons 1991). The GPGE was responsible for girls' education at all levels, and it 'was placed under the supervision of the *Ulama*' (Prokop 2003, p. 78). Girls' education was managed by the GPGE in order to 'ensure that women's education did not deviate from the original purpose of female [girls] education' (Hamdan 2005,

p. 44). According to an article published by the National Geographic in 1987, the Directorate General of the GPGE stated that the purpose of educating a girl is to 'bring her up in a proper Islamic way so as to perform her duty in life, be an ideal and successful housewife and a good mother, ready to do things which suit her nature as teaching, nursing, and medical treatment' (as cited in Hamdan 2005, p. 44). It is worthy to highlight that both the GPGE and the MoE were amalgamated in 2002. Nowadays, boys and girls study unified curriculum and textbooks produced by the MoE, following the same education ideals, in theory.

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Saudi educational system in general and its religious curriculum in particular became the focus of much criticism (Elyas 2008). Capturing the essence of this criticism, Prokop asked to what extent the education system had been shaped and used by religious, political and socio-economic forces and interests (Prokop 2003). As a result, the Western media has been awash with articles casting doubts on local pedagogical practices which have been blamed for fostering Jihadi beliefs (Karmani 2005). Therefore, the Saudi government has experienced increasing pressure to reform its curricula and this has naturally also impacted the textbooks (Elyas 2008). It is of paramount importance here to refer to this important period of time in Saudi Arabian history, which is a crucial period that brought change not only to the political system, but also to the educational system. This terrorist attack awakened the world to a growing movement by extremists within the Islamic world. It has become clear that extreme Islamic ideologies, which favour Muslims over non-Muslims, men over women and a dominant Muslim sect over other Muslim sects have been gaining adherents throughout some parts of the world (Centre for Religious Freedom 2008, Al-Rasheed 2010). Accordingly, it became essential to look for the reasons that could have contributed to generating such hostile feelings or thoughts. As a result, the Saudi curriculum has come under intense scrutiny by America (Centre for Religious Freedom 2008; Elyas and Picard 2013).

By 2005, there was an imperative need to change the Saudi's mindset, educational policy, and aspiring to become globally competitive. Thus, SA sought a national education hub to create more opportunities for meeting Saudis pressing demand for development. Hence, the national initiative *King Abdullah Foreign Scholarship Programme* (KAFSP) was launched by the late Saudi monarch King Abdullah, who was cautiously pressing for political reforms during his office. This program was established to sponsor Saudi male and female students to continue their studies in the best-qualified universities around the world in a wide range of disciplines at all academic levels. According to King Abdullah, 'this can be regarded as a true investment in Saudi minds' (Ministry of Education 2010). In 2010, around 50,000 male and female students were awarded these scholarships to further their studies in more than 20 countries (Ministry of Education 2010).

2.2 Gender Representation in EFL Textbooks

Textbooks seem to be the most researched of language learning materials (Sunderland 1994). The place of textbooks for learners should be emphasized, especially as textbooks are often viewed by learners as authoritative, and therefore have the potential to influence learners (Mustapha 2013). This leads to the assumption that whenever a text is read, an interpretation is made by the reader and meaning is constructed. Romera (2015) states that 'educational institutions model gender identities. They construct the idea of what it means to be male or female, therefore, there should be areas where "various masculinities and femininities" are available' (p. 206). Consequently, gender-biased language in textbooks can affect students adversely and create an oppressive world for them due to being unjustified and unfair (Gharbavi and Mousavi 2012). Actually, in a country like SA where classroom lecturing is the most powerful teaching technique, teacher and the textbook stand out as the most influential, and consequently the paramount sources of information in the classroom. As a result, the recent educational changes and reforms in SA make studying representations of cultural norms, especially gender, in EFL textbooks a point of interest. ELT, in this context, became the vessel for ideological changes and female representations in different social cultures which may not only be socially different but can also be tarnishing the image of a female presented by SA society.

In the 1970s and 1980s, extensive research into gender representation in foreign language textbooks was conducted (Pawelczyk et al. 2014; Sunderland 2000; Tahriri and Pouran 2014). The analysis in these studies generated a number of consistent findings concerning the representation of men and women in the English language textbooks. The same types of behavioural stereotypes have been noted in the textbooks: women are typically depicted as passive, dependent, generally weak and physically attractive, and men as active, independent and strong. It is assumed that students subconsciously learn things from the stereotypical images presented in the selected educational materials. These learning experiences may have deleterious effects on female students in particular. These effects include 'feelings of exclusion, devaluation, alienation and lowered expectations' (Gharbavi and Mousavi 2012, p. 42).

Interestingly, in the past few years, some studies have emerged from the Middle East investigating gender representations in textbooks. Tahriri and Pouran (2014) investigated the aspects of gender representation in the *Top Notch* series in Iranian language institutes. They tried to investigate the series in terms of three major aspects of gender: relations, positions and content from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. They adopted Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model in an attempt to extract the ideologies compromising the foundation of the series. The findings revealed that the series represents both genders in a balanced way. In addition, the series presents both genders equally in such a way that stereotypical norms ingrained into learners are nearly removed. Adopting the same three-dimensional model of analysis, Sulaimani (2017) examined the listening

conversations in an international edition EFL textbook specifically adapted for the Saudi Arabian context. However, the findings of the study contrast Tahriri and Pouran (2014). The results of the study indicated that the textbook is biased in terms of gender. Although both genders were positioned equally in listening topics (e.g. greetings, work, accepting/ declining invitation), women were less frequently characterized than men. Women have been totally excluded from half of the units in the textbook.

Also, Al-Taweel (2005) examined locally designed EFL textbooks taught in Jordanian high schools. The textbooks are co-authored by British and Jordanian authors where the influence of Arabic ideologies manifested in the stakeholder's point of view of male and female images is pinpointed in the design of these textbooks. The study aimed to investigate the extent to which females are covered in the textbooks and the roles associated with males and females. The results of the study indicated that the textbooks are biased in terms of gender, with male representations average 70% of the textbooks and female at most 25%. More male figures are first narrators of their stories in the reading texts, compared to no female first narrators of their stories.

A few years later, another study in a modern Gulf country (Qatar) has attempted to investigate the issue with images. A funded project supported by the Qatar National Research in 2009–2011 was conducted to investigate gender role stereotyping and linguistic sexism in a selection of textbooks (math, science, and English) used in Qatari schools at different levels using quantitative and qualitative approaches (see Baharuddin et al. 2011; Yasin et al. 2012; Ismail et al. 2011). The overall findings revealed that in all examined textbooks, males were more visible than females, and both males and females were depicted in their traditional roles. Occupations related to males were more diverse than those of females.

Hence, many studies have been conducted on gender representation in EFL textbooks. However, very limited research has examined gender representation in images used at EFL textbooks in SA. This might be due to the fact that women were not visible in the Saudi society and their roles were limited to the traditional roles of a housewife, a teacher or a nurse. Consequently, the Saudi society resisted the idea of female representation in textbooks. Al Arabiya (2012) reports that the photos of women had been banned in all public school textbooks in SA which are used by boys and girls since 1926. However, according to the article, photos of women have been added to locally designed EFL textbooks recently, for the first time. The photos presented in the textbooks show veiled women, with only their eyes and foreheads apparent, working in the medical field only as the profession where females are allowed to work in besides teaching due to conservative SA society norms and traditions of the segregation concept between the two genders. For example, one of the photos shows a nurse wearing a headscarf and a medical mask while preparing an injection. This recent female representation is a major step forward as 'only drawings of women were permitted before' (Al Arabiya 2012, p. 2).

3 Theoretical Framework

The framework adopted for this study is the model of language in social context. This means that there is a 'mutually constitutive relationship between language and society, the word and the world' (Clarke 2008, p. 18). Discourse in a social practice sense is not only representational but also constitutive. It is not only a form of knowledge about cultural ways of thinking and doing, but also an actual agent of social construction (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002). Foucault (1990) argues that local centres of power knowledge form truth fueled by power. Such a truth is formed by various force relations and dynamics of power embedded within a discourse. As Foucault explains 'it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together' (p. 100). It is through discourse that the objects of power relations are established, from local centres of power knowledge to entire fields of study and investigation.

Therefore, CDA 'tends to concentrate on the analysis of discourse which sustain inequalities', and 'the main focus of CDA work has been on hegemony, on exposing power as it naturalizes itself in discourse, and thus feeling in some sense part of the struggle against it' (Martin and Rose 2003, p. 315). Fairclough (as cited in Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, p. 25) defines CDA as an approach which seeks to investigate systematically. This is apparent in the gender, knowledge and power of any male-dominated society, especially in the case of SA. The links between knowledge and power are captured succinctly in Foucault's statement that 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge nor at the same time any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations' (p. 27).

As Foucault (1977) suggests, within every productive network, there is always the possibility for resistance and cultural/ideological complexity among the Saudi students and teachers relating to how knowledge can be obtained inside and outside of the classroom and whose knowledge can be constituted.

Because of globalization, there have been changing expectations of teachers' and students' roles. According to Bandura (2006), human identity is partially constructed from one's social and global identity as reflected in how one is treated by significant others and how one is labelled socially. In this global society, teacher identities are constructed through the complex interactions between individuals and social, national and global realities (Kumaravadivelu 2012). Accordingly, there has been a shift from old paradigm which is teacher-centred, to a self-sufficiency-autonomy student-centred paradigm empowering Saudi students with the flow of self-constructed knowledge (Elyas and Picard 2010). Due to this paradigm shift, implementation of new educational policies, innovations and reforms have been made in different contexts, but when it comes to Saudi context there is still a need for more teacher involvement and empowerment to some aspects such as curriculum choices and assessment. It is apparent that the international educational exchange of skills and cultures, as well as influences including the American media, has created a 'flat-world platform' enabling, empowering and

enjoining individuals to go global immensely, easily and seamlessly (Gu 2010, p. 342).

Although his positioning of CDA is focused principally on verbal and written language, Fairclough is insistent about the importance that images have in positioning, either as support for text or on their own. He states that ‘very often visuals and verbals operate in mutually reinforcing way which makes them very difficult to disentangle’ (Fairclough 2015, p. 28). This means, images have become an integral component of the presentation of language and culture as well. Furthermore, images are able to communicate beyond the expressive ability of oral or written language (Giaschi 2000). This research, therefore, aims to examine the role of culture in the representation of male/female images in textbooks that are designed with the local contextualized paradigm in order to suit to the Saudi context.

4 Methodology

4.1 Materials

The books under investigation are four student’s books of the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series. The series are multiple skills general English textbooks authored by Liz and John Soars, and published by the Oxford University Press. The series are five-level general English course adapted for the Middle East market in order to suit the local SA social norms and ideologies. Four volumes of the series are used for teaching the foundation year at KAU, in Jeddah, SA. The following are the four textbooks used by the students in KAU:

- Soars, L. & Soars, J. (2013). *Beginner Student’s Book. New Headway Plus: Special Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soars, L. & Soars, J. (2013). *Elementary Student’s Book. New Headway Plus: Special Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soars, L. & Soars, J. (2013). *Pre-Intermediate Student’s Book. New Headway Plus: Special Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soars, L. & Soars, J. (2013). *Intermediate Student’s Book. New Headway Plus: Special Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The teacher’s book of every volume opens with this statement: ‘New Headway Plus Special Edition is an adaptation of the world-renowned New Headway. Texts and topics, together with all photos and illustrations, have been carefully selected to suit students and teachers throughout the Middle East and North Africa. This edition can also be used successfully wherever the material is considered more appropriate’ (Soars et al. 2013).

4.2 Analytical Tool: Critical Image Analysis

Critical image analysis was used as a tool to evaluate the images in the textbooks by Giaschi (2000). Giaschi states that 'the visual element has become increasingly predominant in EFL teaching materials, and it is felt that an adapted version of CDA-critical image analysis- to interrogate these images is justified and appropriate' (p. 37). Thus, a series of seven questions was formulated by Giaschi on the basis of the focus of CDA as follows:

1. What is the activity of the image(s)?
2. Who is active (the 'protagonist') in the image?
3. Who is passive (the 'receiver') in the image(s)?
4. Who has status in the image(s)?
5. What does the body language communicate?
6. What does the clothing communicate?
7. Where are the eyes directed?

Giaschi explained the significance of each question as follows:

> Each of these seven queries performs a specific function in the analysis: the first establishes a field of activity for the image, information that can help to determine what areas of gender interaction are being focused on and what areas are being ignored; queries 2–4, simplistic as they are, obtain a one-word answer-for the purposes of this study, male or female. This creates the possibility of future analysis of ESL texts on a larger scale for quantitative research data…. In the second subset, queries 5–7 require a more subjective interpretation of the image, providing impetus for deconstructive discussion of how seemingly innocuous images can reinforce gender positions (Giaschi 2000, p. 37).

However, due to insufficient data of male/female group images in the series, we will focus on questions: 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

5 Results and Analysis

5.1 Frequency of Male and Female Images

An estimated number of 426 human images are found in the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series. The four student's books contained 405 single images, in which a single subject, either a male or female, is represented, and 21 group images, in which male and female are in a single photo. The 405 single images contain 340 images of males and 65 images of females. This shows that there is a huge gap between the number of male and female images in the series. Figure 1 shows the gap between the male and female images.

As discussed in the literature review, women's education has gone through many developments since 1959. However, the history of women's education in SA reveals that the status of women in education has been developing gradually. For

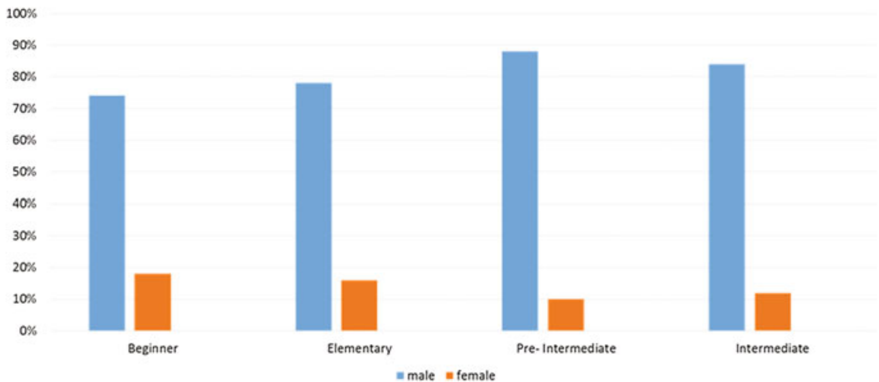

Fig. 1 Gap between the number of male and female images

example, the first school for boys was established in 1936; while the GPGE was formed in 1960. By that, there is a huge gap of 24 years between formal education for women and men. This indicates that men are more privileged in the education sector than women in SA. Textbooks, therefore, as part of the educational framework follow the same route of giving men more privilege over women since (educational) discourse is a 'stake in social struggle as well as a site of social struggle' (Fairclough 2015, p. 3). As mentioned in Al Arabiya (2012), the photos of women had been banned in all public school textbooks used by boys and girls since 1926. In recent years, the representation of women has been permitted in the textbooks under certain conditions. The conditional permission can be viewed as an indication for social struggle between men and women in the education sector. Following the same Saudi educational framework, the series reflects the social struggle between men and women in the education sector (e.g. in many roles played by males and limited roles in terms of profession played by females). Hence, it subordinates females regarding gender representation. Females are underrepresented in the series compared to males. For example, the female underrepresentation promotes the ideology of male privilege, and male power over females. It correspondingly emphasizes the ideology rather than a mere persuasion of male entitlement.

5.2 *What's the Activity of the Image(s)?*

The focus of activities in the single images in the four books ranges between the work environment, sport and leisure activities, college, friends and family, holidays and shopping. As the level of the book gets higher, the focus expands by introducing images of famous people.

Men are depicted in a very wide range of contexts such as the work environment, sport activities, science and inventions and adventure. Famous men (e.g. Mohandas Gandhi, Charles Dickens, and Albert Einstein, etc.) are introduced from various

fields such as science, sport, business, charity and literature. Women are depicted in a very limited range of contexts (e.g. housewives, nurses, cooks, literary authors) compared to men in their single images. This narrow range is due to the fact that images of women were totally excluded from some units in the series. The following Table 1 details the units in which female single images were excluded from.

Although the topics of some units are much related to women, female single images are totally excluded. For example, the theme of Unit 13 in the Beginner Student's Book is colours and clothes (see Fig. 2). Although the topic is commonly related to females, there is hardly a single image of females in that unit. All the lexical set related to fashion is introduced in drawings rather than photographs.

Table 1 Units excluded female single images

Book's series title	Number of units excluded female images	Name of units excluded female images
Beginner Student's Book	5 out 14 units	Units 1, 7, 8, 5 and 13
Elementary Student's Book	1 out of 14 units	Unit 5
Pre-Intermediate Student's Book	7 out of 14 units	Units 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 14
Intermediate Student's Book	5 out of 12 units	Units: 2, 5, 6, 7 and 11

Fig. 2 Colours and clothes Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press

In the light of Foucault's (1990) theory of discourse, knowledge and power, it may be argued that the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series produces a particular discourse that forms a certain truth about gender. As Foucault states '[discourses] don't identify objects, they constitute them and in doing so, they conceal their own invention' (p. 49). This constituted truth plays a key role in keeping the power going (Foucault 1990). The repeated exclusion of female single images throughout the series constitutes a form of gendered truth that empowers men. The underrepresentation of female single images marginalizes women. As a result, females are objectified and relegated to the position of 'Other'; and men, like any dominant group, become the standard against 'Others' are evaluated. More than that the repeated exclusion of women's images and the continuous presence of men in various contexts paved the way to male hegemony as an ideology in the series. The underrepresentation of women fueled the hegemonic masculinity and categorized it as 'common sense'. Fairclough (2015) defines common sense as 'a form of "everyday thinking" which offers us frameworks of meaning with which to make sense of the world… a popular, easily- available knowledge [which] works intuitively, without forethought or reflection' (p. 13).

The repeated exclusion of women images has caused a twofold issue: (a) a very narrow range of contexts for female single images, and (b) a presence of male images in women-related contexts. Most of the single images of women are either in a shopping or friends and family context which highlights and perpetuates the socially situated roles. The contexts get a little wider at higher level student's books when presenting a small number, compared to men images of famous females (e.g. Princess Diana, Mother Teresa, Agatha Christie, Emily Dickinson, etc.) Because of the small number of female single images and limited contexts, males are found in contexts that are more related to females in all the four books of the series (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Males in stereotypical female contexts Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press

The exclusion of women, in general, and the presence of males in stereotypically female-related contexts, in particular, result in male-oriented student books.

5.3 Who Has Status in the Image(s)?

As Giaschi (2000) indicates, status can be conferred by accessorizing (e.g. clothing, desk, etc.) and by the degree to which others serve (e.g. function of employment). Following this indication, it was seen that men had a higher status than women in the single images in all the books of the series.

In relation to employment, men had a higher status (well-paid jobs such as doctors and engineers) jobs than women. In fact, men were presented in a variety of jobs. They were businessmen, pilots, architects, athletes, waiters, builders (which is macho-related profession), while women were either doctors, nurses, interpreters or shop assistants (which are feminine-related profession that require less physical efforts). In higher level books, men were represented in both high status and low status jobs; however, their status remained higher than women by presenting a sheer number of famous successful men. Such an occupational prestige gives men more status. For example, in Unit 3 page 21 in the Beginner Student's Book two cut and pasted photos are presented on top of each other. The focus of the two photos is work. The first photo (the larger) introduces *Tarek* a male Libyan businessman, while the smaller photo introduces *Grace*, a New Yorker canteen lady.

The introduction of *Elliot Maddox* and his sister *Lois Maddox* in Unit 6 pp. 42–44 assisted in elevating the job status of men. The unit presents eight single images showing the daily routine of the millionaire businessman, *Elliot Maddox* (see Fig. 4). Unlike her brother, *Lois's* daily routine is presented in a passage. The title of the passage is *Lois Maddox: The Writer fills her day with work, walks, and friends*. *Lois* photo was taken from the side, so only half of her face is shown.

As discussed above, the comparison between the two images revealed an unequal distribution of power between males and females. Giving men more status in the images than women has led to the categorization of women as subordinate to men and formulated a kind of hegemonic masculinity as a practice of power in the series. The high status of males in the images forms a type of gender hierarchy which is maintained by 'power behind discourse' (Fairclough 2015, p. 27). This 'power behind discourse' includes the power to shape and constitute 'discourse orders', or what discourses and genres are available (Fairclough 2015). Fairclough means by order of discourse 'that is, the way in which discourse reproduces power through naturalized forms of interaction and through ideologies naturalized as common sense' (Pennycook 2010, p. 86). Presenting a larger quantity of males in power-related contexts normalized the gendered discourse of females as 'marginalized others', and the males' entitlement as a taken-for-granted reality.

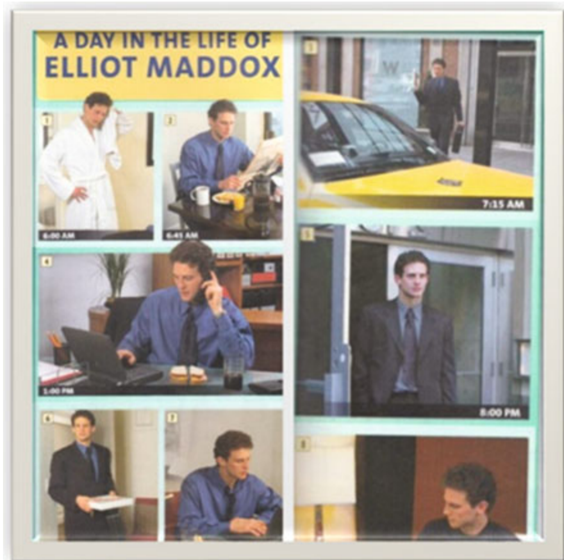

Fig. 4 Males' daily routine Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press

5.4 What Does Body Language Communicate?

The body language of males in all the four books of the series indicates laboriousness in the work environment, while females' body language communicates a combination of relaxed and dreamy gestures. For example, males are depicted as busy successful businessmen in most of the images in the series. Taking the images of *Elliot and Lois Maddox* to further description, *Elliot's* body movements indicate concentration and rush. For example, he is multitasking-working, talking and eating at the same time. He is at the office typing on the laptop with one hand and holding the phone with the other. His eyes are fixed at the laptop screen. A sandwich and a half empty glass of soda are on his desk. The description of males as 'busy' and 'in a constant rush' is maintained in the Elementary Student's Book. Most of the images depict males busy doing their jobs. For example, Unit 4 (p. 29) introduces *Gary,* a lawyer with a very busy life 'because it's non-stop', as he states. The absence of a smile elevates the seriousness in his face. The following phrase is written in bold next to him '*I like being busy!'*.

In contrast to busy businessmen, women are depicted relaxing with absent-minded look in most of the female single images. For example, unlike her busy brother, *Lois Maddox* is at the beach. In the photo, *Lois* is relaxing (and/or) drown in her own thoughts at the beach. Her photo is taken from the side, so only half of her face is shown. She is sitting with a small notebook and a pencil, her eyes looks dreamy and are directed aimlessly towards the beach. Similarly, another image in Unit 12 (p. 97) in the Pre- Intermediate Student's Book, shows a female student, *Nisa Isaacs,* deeply thinking about her future. Similar to *Nisa*, *Melina* is introduced in Unit 14 (p. 108) at the Beginner Student's Book deeply thinking about her future.

The body language of both male and female communicates a gendered discourse that reinforces the concept of masculinity versus femininity. Such a gendered discourse encourages students to think about males and females in terms of personality traits (Johnson 2005). In relation to personality traits, the student's books portray males as rational, independent, hardworking, self-confident and decisive. In contrast, females are portrayed as relaxed and indecisive at times. Moreover, it creates a cosmic divide with males on one side and females on the other. Also, it plants the concept of binary oppositions, such as dominant versus submissive, decisive versus indecisive, rational versus irrational. Binary oppositions imply that if someone is not dominant, then she or he is submissive (Johnson 2005). According to Johnson (2005) on the concept of gender roles:

> the trait approach to describing people is a shaky business with questionable validity even among psychologists. How people feel and behave depends more on the social situation they are in than it does on some rigid set of underlying traits that define them in every circumstance (2005, p. 86).

This means that the context of the image determines the behaviour or the body language of the character presented. By that, women and men are depicted in such personality traits because of the contexts they are presented in. Throughout the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series, men are depicted in power-related contexts, such as successful business, great inventions, astronomy and aviation. In contrast, women are marginalized and depicted in friends and family contexts most of the time. Considering Johnson's (2005) above statement, the stress-free contexts of friends and family and shopping drive 'women' to relax and chat. These private spheres positioned for Saudi females are best practices to be active on where interactions are mostly done with other females only. On the other hand, the competitive context of business pushes men to work hard. In short, it is not the character; it is the context that should be questioned. This lack of alternative contexts standardizes the female personality traits and normalizes the discourse as necessarily accepted.

5.5 What Does the Clothing Communicate?

There is a fundamental difference in how males and females are presented from a sartorial point of view in all the four student's books of the series. Due to the variety of contexts, males are dressed in a variety of styles. They wear casual clothes in holiday contexts, professional clothes in job contexts and full sport outfit while doing sports. Females, on the other hand, are dressed in casual modes only (see Fig. 5).

Regarding the social behavior in Saudi society, women were represented following the discourse of piety and virtue which is promoted by the MoE policy. Referring to the policy of MoE, objective 9 aims 'to develop syllabi based on Islamic values leading to the development of male and female students' personality and to their integration in society as well as to the achievement of scientific and thinking

Fig. 5 Dress codes: Males versus females Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press

skills and life characteristics resulting in self-education and lifelong learning' (Ministry of Education 2005, p. 3). In consequence, all women in their single images resemble the Islamic modesty. Women were represented in "descent" attire following the proper Islamic dress code—i.e. covering the entire body except the face and the hands. The clothing was not translucent or tight, revealing the body figure or skin colour. Also, all women were head covered, some with a headscarf and others with a hat.

5.6 *Where Are the Eyes Directed?*

There is a major difference in the eye contact between males and females in single images. Males in single images are presented in various contexts with their eyes directed to different sides depending on the context. For example, their eyes are fixed on a computer screen in work contexts, concentrating down on a ball on the ground in sport contexts, and straight to the reader when introducing themselves. In contrast, females do not make eye contact with the reader in almost all female single images (see Fig. 6).

Like clothing, avoiding eye contact promotes the discourse of Islamic virtue and piety. The eye body language signifies shyness as a virtue of Muslim women. The Prophet's saying

الْإِيمَانُ بِضْعٌ وَسَبْعُونَ أَوْ بِضْعٌ وَسِتُّونَ شُعْبَةً , فَأَفْضَلُهَا قَوْلُ : لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ , وَأَدْنَاهَا إِمَاطَةُ الْأَذَى عَنْ الطَّرِيقِ , وَالْحَيَاءُ

"شُعْبَةٌ مِنْ الْإِيمَان

Fig. 6 Eye contact: Males versus females Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press

[Faith consists of more than sixty branches and *Hayaa* is part of Faith]" proves that *Hayaa* is an essential part of the Islamic faith. Many Islamic scholars have connected *Hayaa* to shyness or bashfulness.

6 Conclusion

The results revealed that females are consistently underrepresented at several different dimensions in the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series. In an attempt to adapt student books to the Saudi context, the series repeatedly excluded females' images, highly segregated male and female images, limiting females to family and shopping contexts and covered females' heads with various hats. In consequence, the series presented a biased gender representation rather than a careful representation of gender that meets the needs of the Saudi context. The series overemphasized and represented the females' status in SA of the 1960s rather than the modern days. Hence, it is imperative to glocalize the EFL textbooks in SA rather than 'only' localize it to pursue further development and openness to the world. In this work, we would like to argue that the stereotypical images of SA females that were presented in 1960s or even 2000s are not valid anymore, especially with the introduction of SA abroad scholarship schemes for both genders and openness to new and a variety of job market for SA females. This welcoming change in the representation of SA females is imperative and empowering not only for the females but also for males' understanding of the value of equal rights and equal representations of genders in the public and private spheres.

It can be argued that the publishers of the series 'were influenced also by [Arabic] culture, which fashions gender relations and the conceptions of the natural status of women in traditional Eastern, Arab, and patriarchal society' (Ramadan

2009, p. 212). It has to be acknowledged here that the education sector gives more privilege to men over women, based on the number of various majors opened for male students. However, females are neither totally excluded from the education sector nor the work place designated for women nowadays. In fact, the females' status is developing rapidly in SA. For example, Hatoon Al-Fassi, a prominent female Saudi historian in SA, states that 'the Saudi female's voice has always been there calling for change, but today it is more apparent and it is getting to the decision-makers' (as cited in, The Economist 2014). Her statement emphasizes that females are not excluded from the Saudi society. In addition, it was not until 2010 that Saudi women were given the right to vote and run in municipal elections. Also, they were allowed for the first time to be appointed to the consultative *Shura* Council (Human Rights Watch 2012).

Adapting the series to fit the Saudi context through Western lenses resulted a 'hybrid' edition not a 'glocalized' one (Khondker 2004). Khondker distinguishes between glocalization and hybridization. According to him, a glocalized product should blend or adapt two processes where ideologies and cultures can act as a fusion of both local and global. On the other hand, a hybrid product is a modified product that addresses the local conditions of the market, but does not involve any local components. Thus, the series, in their current form, may be regarded as a hybrid edition that is neither Western nor Middle Eastern. In fact, the gendered discourse in the series constituted a fallacy rather than solid truth about the status of women in SA. Consequently, the fallacy resulted a negative hybridization of the series. This local reality of English may challenge the global discourse of English and its cosmopolitan appeal (e.g. May 2014; Ricento 2014). Hence, there is an apparent 'gap between the dominant social views of English [textbooks] and the translation of these views into pedagogical practices points to specific relationship between English teaching and learning community in the peripheral contexts' (Alhamdan et al. 2016, p. 11).

Hence, it is highly advisable to glocalize the *New Headway Plus: Special Edition* series by incorporating the new educational ideologies of modern SA. Saudi women are awarded liberties and privileges, and they are entrusted with important professions that are not just specific to teaching and nursing. Such important professions would eventually enhance the Saudi women's status and enable them to stay away from the stereotypical roles in the 'traditional' SA society. This will not be achieved unless the series glocalize its contents by including male and female Saudi figures. Presenting famous Saudi females will glocalize and balance the gender representation in the series. Also, it is advisable to include reading–listening texts and images about famous Saudi females that will make female students relate to the contents of the series. More than that, it will be very motivating and inspiring for students to read about and see images of powerful Saudi females. We advocate for a glocalize approach in teaching EFL in Saudi context for better 'new' gender representations of SA females in the modern context of lives in the twenty-first century which are not far from the realities we are living in nowadays.

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ELF-Aware Pre-service Teacher Education to Promote Glocal Interactions: A Case Study in Turkey

Işıl Günseli Kaçar and Yasemin Bayyurt

Abstract The current chapter is grounded in a qualitative case study exploring the ways in which Turkish pre-service teachers of English at an English-medium state university construct their professional identities in reference to English as a lingua franca aware (ELF-aware) teaching practice they are involved in during their practicum. The study was conducted as a part of a larger ELF-aware teacher education project based on a transformative teacher education model proposed by Sifakis (2014) based on Mezirow's (1991) transformative learning theory. This model initially aimed at developing in-service teachers ELF awareness and asking them to question constructs such as nativeness/non-nativeness, ownership of English, intelligibility, and standard varieties of English (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015a, b; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2017). Along these lines, in approaching ELF in the project, pre-service teachers are challenged to conceptualize, potentially problematize and attend to essentialized, native speaker-centric constructions of language learning, use, and instruction, in approaching their practice. Thus, these teachers are moving away from the abstract, idealized native speaker NS (Caucasian, Western, and largely male), and toward exploring who they are (beyond the NS construct), who they and their students might interact with, where, and for what purposes. This shift toward context may result in tensions in the classroom (or in professional development, in this case), as pre-service teachers and their students explore the individuals, ideas, and information involved in contextualized, glocal movement and interaction within and across borders, and in the process, confront dominant constructions of "Self" and "Other" in and beyond the society in which they live.

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1 Introduction

With the advent of the twenty-first century, which is marked by an interplay of global rules and local roles in English language teaching and teacher education for speakers of other languages (ESOL language teaching and teacher education), a pressing need has arisen to reflect a new understanding of education in general and ESOL pre-service teacher education in particular.

This new understanding shifts the focus to effective pedagogical practices in local contexts (Zhang and Said 2014). Accordingly, pedagogical practices indicated to be effective in local contexts such as the "situated" nature of learning (Lave and Wenger 1991; Hawkins 2004; Johnson 2009; Tsui et al. 2009), and exploratory practices (Allwright and Hanks 2009; Gao and Zhang 2011; Zhang 2005) have been brought to the foreground recently, as a channel to provide opportunities for teachers to express their own voices. Furthermore, it has become evident that the practice of ESOL language teaching and teacher education in today's world is defined by contexts and cultures (Young 2009; Zhang 2004, 2005). Global teaching trends need to be tailored to the local contexts in line with different learner profiles, as is the case in communicative language teaching (Zhang and Said 2014).

In order to understand how local practice can be influenced by wider global practice, it is important to understand globalization and its impact on English language education. With the reconsideration of social space in which the global and the local are closely interrelated, a need has emerged to balance the local and global concerns (McKay 2002). In other words, the local should not be of secondary importance or be inferior to the dominant discourses [nor should the global be appropriated to the local]. As Canagarajah (2005) notes, the local context should be regarded as the pivotal factor in the contextually relevant knowledge construction. In relation to the term *local,* it would be wise to consider that the local is in constant flux, and that in the age of mobility, one's "local" today may not be his/her "local" tomorrow.

Creating a space for the local means viewing the issues such as language, identity, knowledge, and social relations from a different point of view. In fact, Canagarajah (2012) emphasizes the importance of forming "a constructive relationship between the local and global communities in ELT as global English acquires local identities, and diverse professional communities develop their own socially situated pedagogical practices" (p. 258). The establishment of such a relationship is said to be conducive to the development of a critical awareness of teacher competence, to prepare teachers toward the construction of a robust relationship with their students in and outside the classroom context (Zhang and Said 2014), and themselves as English language teachers in their local social context. As argued by Freeman and Johnson (1998, p. 406), "the teacher-learner", "the social context", and "the pedagogical process" are three indispensable components that constitute the knowledge base of teacher education in English language teaching (ELT). Even though the pedagogical process and teacher learning have received a great deal of attention, as indicated by Freeman (2002), social context has remained

a relatively underexplored field (Hayes 2009, 2010a, b). In this respect, this chapter is an attempt at exploring the impact of the local social context on the ESOL pre-service teachers' ELF-aware pedagogical development, which incorporates how the local perspective is situated in a global perspective.

In line with the growing importance of local social context in ESOL language teacher education, a remarkable shift has been observed in teacher roles, particularly with the emergence of post-method pedagogy, for approximately three decades (Kumaravadivelu 2003). In relation to teacher roles, the profile of a teacher as "a passive technician", a transmission-oriented professional, has recently been replaced with that of "a reflective practitioner", an informed decision maker, or "a transformative intellectual", a transformative change agent (Kumaravadivelu 2003, p. 16). In this respect, Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015, 2017) describe an "ELF-aware" teacher as an "autonomous ESOL practitioner" who can appreciate ELF research and its implications for their context of English language teaching. Moreover, they state that these teachers may/may not apply their ELF-aware perspective into their English language teaching practice, depending on the factors such as stakeholders including school administrators and parents, as well as the age and level of proficiency of their learners. However, novice teachers' pedagogical development is not given due importance in ESOL teacher education; rather, it is taken for granted. Hence, this chapter is an attempt to explore the ESOL pre-service teachers' ELF-aware pedagogical development.

2 ELF-Aware Teacher Education

Globalization has brought about the international spread of English, making a global impact on ELT, which resulted in the emergence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which simply refers to "English when it is used as a contact language between people from different first languages (including native English speakers)" (Jenkins 2014, p. 2). There has been a hot debate in the scholarly circles on the nature and impact of ELF. During the past two decades, there have been some attempts to investigate the implications of ELF, English as an international language (EIL), and World Englishes (WE), which refers to "an umbrella label referring to a wide range of differing approaches to the description and analysis of English(es) worldwide" (Bolton 2004, p. 386), in the foreign language classroom (e.g., Jenkins 2006; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Sifakis 2009), and ESOL teacher education (e.g., Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015a, b; Blair 2015; Bayyurt and Altınmakas 2012; Dewey 2012; Sifakis 2014; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015).

In ESOL language teacher education, it is indicated that there is a need for teacher candidates to be "mediated in identifying, reflecting on, and confronting their preconceptions and common-sense assumptions about teaching and diversity… and in [deconstructing] their unexamined beliefs about their future role as teachers" (Reis 2014, p. 95), as part of their identity formation process. They should, then, put these newly acquired professional insights into their field

experiences, planning a course of action, and building self-confidence in their new roles, integrating theory and practice. As Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015) indicate, there seems to be a general agreement among ELF and WE researchers that it is necessary to appreciate ESOL teachers' beliefs about their long-established practices. Thus, in line with Sifakis (2014), the ESOL pre-service teachers should go through a "transformation" and/or ELF-awareness phase which necessitates their looking at their context and teaching practice critically, reflecting on their practice, and questioning their already established beliefs and practices about ELT (see also Bayyurt and Sifakis 2017). In a similar vein, Vettorel (2016) also emphasizes the significance of raising pre-service teachers' awareness toward ELF and WE in language classrooms. This way, teachers will have a realistic view of English language use in the world and train their learners to become successful users of English in a global world.

As Golombek (1998) also indicates, educators should adopt a model for pre- or in-service teacher education that expects teachers to construct their experiences from a critical perspective—i.e., narrative reconstruction of pre/in-service teachers' experiences. In short, both pre- and in-service teacher education programs should have a critical stance toward theorizing a course of action in ESOL from a transformative perspective suggested by Mezirow's (1991) transformative learning theory, which constitutes the theoretical basis of the ELF-aware teacher education model developed by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015). The ELF-aware teacher education model intends to produce classroom practitioners well informed in varieties of English and diverse teaching contexts in the ESOL world (Blair 2015).

The adoption of a transformative perspective enables teachers to situate themselves within their profession and identify themselves as "non-native" English language teachers (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015a, b). It requires participants to encounter and alter their own points of view, with a focus on the reformulation of their view of the world. This enables them to adopt a critical outlook on their teaching and learning perspective and focus on practices in the outside world, and alter/confirm/reject their existing perspectives (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015). The transformative framework is likely to enable both non-native and native English language teachers to be engaged in a community of practice in international communication, each contributing to the communication with their own strengths and weaknesses. The framework may help eliminate the native versus non-native speaking teacher dichotomy.

2.1 The ELF-TEd Project

The ELF-aware teacher education program for the ESOL pre-service teachers reported in the current study is a modified version of the project developed initially for in-service teachers in 2012 and expanded to pre-service English language

teacher education program at an English-medium state university in Turkey since the 2013–2014 academic year (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015). The project aims to promote critical thinking and professional reflection among pre- and in-service teachers on ELF-related issues. More specifically, it aims to reveal teachers' deeply rooted beliefs about teaching and learning English, their positioning as non-native teachers, and their classroom practices in the local as well as other familiar contexts.

The project consisted of three phases. The first phase aimed at theory building with the help of a specially designed ELF-TEd portal that makes learning materials concerning ELF-related issues accessible (see http://www.teacherdevelopment.boun.edu.tr). Teacher-learners were expected to do weekly readings on the portal, discuss certain issues with their instructor, and provide feedback on the portal. They were also asked to respond to the questions asked of each reading they did, on different aspects of ELF issues on the project portal entries. Classroom discussions were held with the participants during the internship seminars held at university twice a week, to promote a collaborative environment and further exchange of ideas about ELF-related issues. These sessions helped teachers to question their established convictions and modify or change them as a result of their reflections on other participants' points of view. In addition, an online social media platform, Facebook, was used for the participants to discuss ELF-related issues with each other. These discussions were based on the prompts created by the researchers in the study from their weekly readings. The aim of these prompts was to keep the participants engaged with the ELF/EIL-related issues throughout the course.

The pre-service teachers did not have their own classes; however, they observed English lessons in real classrooms 4 hours on a weekly basis for 10 weeks, during the first semester of their year-long practicum experience. Their course instructor asked them to prepare lesson plans specifically geared toward the classes they observed. In the second phase of the project, these ESOL pre-service teachers obtained a chance to implement their ELF-aware lesson plans or activities in real classrooms. In the third phase, teacher trainees had a chance to go over their implementation of the ELF-aware activities or lesson plans and evaluate them with their classmates in class and with their university supervisor during the post-conference meetings that took place in the supervisor's office. The pre-service teachers were also expected to reflect on their own experience as learners of English throughout their involvement with the ELF-aware teacher education program. Since teachers from different contexts would have different ELF perspectives, they would definitely have different reflective journeys (Kordia 2015; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015).

Against this background, this study aims to address the following research question: *How does ELF-awareness influence ESOL pre-service teachers' pedagogical development in an EFL context?*

3 The Study

3.1 Context

The present study is an exploratory case study carried out in an English-medium state university in Turkey in the 2013–2014 academic year, as part of a project that lasted two semesters. The data were collected in “School Experience” and “Practice Teaching” courses that were offered to ESOL pre-service teachers in the Fall and Spring semesters of the final year of their undergraduate program respectively, Both of these courses followed a distance learning methodology combined with face-to-face learning (i.e., a blended learning approach) (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015). The overarching aim of these courses was to prepare ESOL pre-service teachers or their future language teaching practice, giving them a structural introduction to teaching and helping them acquire teaching competencies and developing teaching skills.

During the Fall semester, student teachers conducted observations in their practice schools. During the Spring semester, they completed three teaching tasks under the supervision of both their mentor teachers (usually the class teachers) at the practice school and their university supervisor. Typical classroom tasks included reflections on field experience, observation tasks, teaching tasks, critical incident analysis, teacher puzzles, and classroom presentations on innovative teaching ideas. Student teachers also had 1-hour internship seminars—i.e., seminars based on the evaluation of what pre-service teachers did during the practice teaching sessions at schools—as part of the *School Experience* course in the Fall semester, and 2-hour seminars for the *Practice Teaching* course in the Spring semester on a weekly basis.

In their *Practice Teaching* course during the Spring semester of the 2013–2014 academic year, which also lasted 15 weeks, the participants put into practice the theoretical knowledge base they built up during the first semester by preparing ELF-aware lesson plans/activities. While preparing these lesson plans/activities, the participants were encouraged to take into consideration their interpretation of ELF principles and their connection to the lesson plans/activities. Participants also wrote written reflections on their lesson plans and were asked to videotape their ELF-aware lessons for evaluation purposes.

3.2 Participants

The participants for this research project were recruited by one of the researchers who also served as the instructor of the university-based *School Experience* and *Practice Teaching* courses in the aforementioned ESOL pre-service teacher education program. A total of 25% of the pre-service teachers (n = 10) in these courses voluntarily fulfilled all the project requirements, which was added on top of the regular practicum requirements. Prior to their involvement in the study, these

student teachers completed a sequence of courses in ELT methodology (e.g., Approaches and Methods in ELT, Teaching Language Skills, and Teaching English to Young Learners) and education (e.g., classroom management).

3.3 Data Collection

In this study, both online and face-to-face data related to the participants' perceptions of ELF/EIL-related issues were collected. The online data comprised the participants' project portal entries to the questions asked of each reading they did on different aspects of ELF/EIL-related issues on the project portal. In addition, an online social media platform, Facebook, was used for the participants to discuss ELF/EIL-related issues with each other. These discussions were based on prompts created by the researchers in the study, from their weekly readings. The aim of these prompts was to keep the participants engaged with the ELF/EIL-related issues throughout the course.

In this study, both online and face-to-face data related to the participants' perceptions of ELF-related issues were collected. The online data comprised two sources:

(a) the participants' project portal entries to the questions asked of each reading they did on different aspects of ELF issues on the project portal, and
(b) participants' discussions on ELF/EIL-related issues based on prompts created by the researchers in the study, from their weekly readings, to keep them engaged with the ELF/EIL-related issues throughout the course.

The face-to-face data in the study were obtained from the following sources:

(a) In-class discussion sessions during the practicum-oriented courses in both Fall and Spring semesters, which are concerned with the participants' engagement with the ELF/EIL-related issues throughout the course, which the book chapter is based on.
(b) Four 45-minute semi-structured interviews with participants, which were held in English in the researchers' office, one at the beginning and one at the end of each semester.
(c) Participants' lesson plans and written reflections on their lesson plans, constituting the support for the evaluation phase of the study: the participants were asked to videotape their ELF-aware lessons for evaluation purposes. Stimulated recall is a family of introspective research procedures through which cognitive processes can be investigated by inviting subjects to recall, when prompted by a video sequence, their concurrent thinking during that event (Lyle 2003).

The participants' responses to the portal entries and the data from the semi-structured interviews in relation to pre-service teachers' reflections on their ELF-aware practice were constantly compared and contrasted to designate the main and subthemes in the chapter.

3.4 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is used for the identification, analysis, and the reporting of the patterns (themes) within data to organize and describe the data in detail (Braun and Clarke 2006). To refine these themes, content analysis was utilized (Miles and Huberman 1994). Content analysis provides a description of written and spoken data, in terms of emergent categories (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015a, b). It is "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, p. 1278). This process uses inductive reasoning, which depends on the emergent themes and categories in the data via the constant comparison method. However, the qualitative content analysis does not need to exclude deductive reasoning (Patton 2002), which is the case in this chapter. Such is pointed out by Berg (2001), who suggests the generation of concepts or variables from theory or previous studies, especially at the inception of data analysis. In this study, a particular type of content analysis, *directed content analysis*, was utilized, the purpose of which is "to validate or extend a conceptual framework or theory" (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009, p. 2).

Since this study's methodology is based on Bayyurt and Sifakis' (2015a, b) ELF-aware teacher education model, the categories and themes developed for data analysis were adopted from Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015a, b) with modifications for the purposes of this study. Two major themes and several subthemes emerged as a result of the content analysis of portal entries, teachers' reflections on their ELF-aware practice, and semi-structured interviews with the teachers. The first main theme, *the conceptual base of the professional identities of the ESOL pre-service teachers*, involved three subthemes: native speakerism, the integration of culture in ELT, and the status of English as a global language (Holliday 2006, 2013; Houghton, and Rivers 2013). The second main theme, *ESOL pre-service English language teachers' perspectives on ELF-aware English language teaching*, consisted of the following subthemes: the ESOL pre-service teachers' perspectives on ELF-aware English language teaching, disorienting dilemmas, the integration of the local and global perspectives in ELT, the prospective ESOL teachers' views of the ownership of English, othering, and the impact of ELF-aware pedagogical development on ESOL pre-service teachers.

To clarify their point of view in this chapter, the researchers wanted to find out the pre-service teachers' awareness about the issues related to native speakerism, rather than discussing the term from an ideological point of view. In fact, such a

discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter. The chapter is concerned with the prospective teachers' perceptions and awareness of the term.

4 Findings

In this section, the findings of the analyses of participants' written reflections on their ELF-aware pedagogical practice in their portal entries, and their oral responses to interview questions are presented in relation to two main categories: "the conceptual knowledge base of ELF awareness in pre-service teachers' pedagogical development" and "pre-service teachers' perspectives on ELF-aware pedagogical practice." The data corpus in the study is composed of 19 quotations which are made up of 1297 words. The audio data collected through the semi-structured interviews are 570 minutes long. Below, an analysis of the themes will be presented in the light of several subthemes.

4.1 Conceptual Knowledge Base of ELF Awareness in Pre-service Teachers' Pedagogical Development

The first major theme that emerged in data analysis pertains to ESOL teachers' pre-service development of ELF awareness, in reference to the ELF-related conceptual knowledge base. This major theme generated the following subthemes:

- native speakerism,
- the integration of culture in ELT, and
- the status of English as a global language.

The first subtheme that emerged in the data is concerned with *native speakerism* (Holliday 2006). The following extract from one of our student teachers' response shows how he perceives native speakerism and his position as a non-native English teacher within the ELT profession:

Extract 1

> First, native-speakerism creates inequality in the ELT world. It has been thought if the teacher is a native speaker, the students will learn better English, but it is totally false. Moreover, this native speakerism suggests teaching Western culture and it even suggests that this Western culture is superior and students must learn it. I think this issue is like racism. Contrary to the popular view non-native speakers can teach English quite well because they know the language learning strategies better. When we were trained as teachers we internalized that native speaker teachers are better, but after reading those texts I realized that we can even be better than them in certain ways. (P1)

The quote in Extract 1 reveals that the participant is aware of the fact that he is important as a non-native teacher. He also indicates his conviction that non-native

teachers can be better than native speaker teachers in local contexts. This extract is quite revealing in that it shows P1's recognition of the traditional stigmatization of the term and of his own strengths as a prospective teacher. Yet, the statement made by P1 pointed out two problems: participants' essentialization of what a non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST) can/should do and envisaging a uniform experience—for the NNESTs and their formation of a stereotype of native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) that depicts all NESTs as monolingual speakers deprived of an understanding of the NNESTs difficulties in the language learning process.

This demonstrates the line of ELF-aware pedagogical development for the pre-service teachers in the study, which is characterized by a close scrutiny of their convictions, assumptions, and preconceived ideas about teaching-related issues followed by an alteration in their beliefs about their own role as a prospective teacher. Although pre-service teachers in the study are of the opinion that the native speakers have a distinct advantage over the rest of the users of the English language and "assigns the former innumerable qualities and values that give them an aura of being the 'ideal language teacher'" (Llurda 2016, p. 53), they are not aware of the challenges that native teachers are having in the international job market. In the employment of teachers on the international market, a bias in favor of native speakers within ELT, cases where a high degree of prestige is attributed to native speakers over non-natives, and those which exemplify the discrimination suffered by non-natives across the profession, prevails, as pointed out in Mahboob et al. (2004), Clark and Paran (2007) and Selvi (2010). The pre-service teachers seem to ignore the point that a distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers is shown to be irrelevant as some native speakers may achieve success in their oral or written interactions while some non-native speakers can convey their message and manage interaction with others with great success (Llurda 2016, p. 54). Hence, they do not appear to be aware of the fact that it is not the birthplace or the order in which English was learnt but the communicative skills of participants that determine the communicative success of an interaction (whether it is an oral or a written one) (Llurda 2016, p. 54).

In fact, Holliday (2006, 2013) argues that native speakerism is associated with the idea of learner centeredness, as opposed to non-Western practices which are considered hierarchical, passive, undemocratic, and traditional. As well as the effort to be made to alleviate or eliminate the employees' discrimination against non-native teachers, a great deal needs to be accomplished in the name of altering the minds and preconceptions of English teachers and learners to increase their appreciation of different types of language teachers. To illustrate, a study conducted in the Latin American context indicates that non-native instructors are considered incompetent speakers and held responsible for the failure of English education policies whereas native speakers are reflected as a panacea for the problem of low proficiency in English (see Gonzales et al. 2016). On the other hand, the public awareness needs to be raised against the problems and discrimination native speakers teaching English face in expanding circle countries, where the imposition of the native speaker identity by local citizens leads them to suffer (Houghton and

Rivers 2013; Rivers 2013; Rivers and Ross 2013). In fact, in a recent publication, Houghton and Rivers (2013, p. 14) have expanded the concept of native speakerism and provided a definition of native speakerism as "prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism and sexism." In the study, the researchers point out that native speaking teachers in the Japanese context are sometimes depicted as marginal who are subject to stereotyped and discriminatory practices. As revealed by Llurda (2016, p. 56), there is a need to address and work to change such stereotypical views concerning English teachers in the profession.

Like P1, P4 feels a sense of empowerment as a prospective non-native ESOL teacher through involvement in the project:

Extract 2

> The project encouraged me to speak with my accent in my own classroom without any prejudice or worry It's not just about getting rid of the obligation of using an accent that is original and native-like. It may result in incredibly different accents which are accepted as correct and this is what we need in many ways. (P4)

As the statement reveals, as long as participant teachers see English as "the language of the others" or "the language of native speakers", they cannot feel confident to use English, which is also indicated by Medgyes (1994) and Bernat (2008), leading them to develop their professional identities based on non-nativeness solely (see Llurda 2016). However, they add that being informed of ELF-aware teaching enhances their level of confidence in terms of their non-native accent in English.

As revealed in Llurda (2009), adopting the L2 user, instead of the native speaker, as the goal of ELT, raising in the number of L2 practice opportunities in L2 classes, the level of awareness and role of English as a lingua franca, which is also emphasized in the study, is likely to foster self-confidence among non-native teachers of English.

In relation to the changes in prospective ESOL teachers' views on native speaker norms, some participants point out in the interviews at the end of the study that through their exposure to the reading materials in the project, a shift took place in their mindset, which is also pointed out in Sifakis (2007). In line with their newly adopted ELF-orientation, they have accomplished a shift from "standard language ideology, native speaker orientation, monolingual bias, and negative attitude towards errors" to the concepts such as "multilingualism, World Englishes, ownership and the pre-eminence of intelligibility over native speaker imitation" (Llurda 2016, p. 59). They have moved away from the abstract idealized NS toward the exploration of their own professional identity (who they are as prospective non-native teachers), their interactants (with whom they and their students are going to be interrelated), and the purposes of interaction (for what purposes they are going to interact). It seems that the participants have raised their level of awareness concerning the different roles that native and non-native teachers can play in the teaching/learning process and have

developed a more realistic viewpoint in relation to the relative strengths of each type of teacher, and thereby questioning the well-established native speaker model. Extract 3 constitutes a good example to illustrate this point:

Extract 3

> My point is that we should be aware of our strengths as a teacher who is a non-native speaker of English. Non-natives are more advantageous in certain aspects. To illustrate, they share the same L1 background with students and I believe that the most effective and fruitful teaching is actualized when students can make use of both kinds of teachers. I think that in terms of speaking and pronunciation teachers who are native speakers of English are very eligible. (P2)

As opposed to the biased attitude of the participant pre-service teachers in the study toward the native teachers, all kinds of teachers are needed in ELT provided that they undergo a professional development process and exhibit expertise in teaching the language in the classroom, as emphasized by Llurda (2016). In fact, Medgyes (1994) states that cooperation between the native and the non-native teacher is optimal, which is also reinforced by de Oliveira and Richardson (2004) and Matsuda and Matsuda (2004). As indicated by Llurda (2016), it is crucial that all teachers, regardless of being native or non-native, need to go through rigorous training to enhance their professional expertise. What matters is not that the teachers are monolingual users of English or not but whether they are adequately competent and resourceful to raise confident users of English (Llurda 2016). Teachers with different personalities, teaching styles, and biographies may accomplish this goal. While there are teachers who do not have self-confidence and, hence, feel inadequate to teach English, there are also those who are overconfident due to their native speaker identity. A sensible action to take, in line with Llurda (2016), is to leave the native speaker paradigm behind and bring to the foreground their user identity, their developed professional expertise, and their awareness as a language teacher.

The video-mediated stimulated recall protocol procedures integrated into interviews also indicated that the ESOL pre-service teachers prepared their lessons with an ELF-aware mindset, feeling confident about themselves as prospective teachers taking into consideration the learner profile, the interaction patterns and the purposes of interaction, and adopting intelligibility as a principle in their error correction practices. To illustrate, while the pre-service teachers in the study are preoccupied with a native-like pronunciation prior to the project involvement, they shift their pedagogical perspective and start to regard intelligibility as a feasible as well as an attainable goal for ELF-aware teaching and to adopt it as the main criterion in assessing students' oral proficiency, which is also echoed in Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015). The following quote reveals the shifts in the prospective teachers' mindset as regards intelligibility:

Extract 4

> Now I think that pronunciation of the students can be different from the original ones but what is important is that you should be understandable by others, so, the teachers can be more relaxed about the pronunciation of their students. I realized that if the teacher is very

> strict about the pronunciation the students might be discouraged. Of course, we should teach how to pronounce the words but we should be aware of the fact that we can never have a native-like accent. (P3)

Regarding the ESOL pre-service teachers' views on native speaker norms in the local and global contexts, as in Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015b), the participants in the study associate themselves with the global character of English in situating their teaching practice in a local context and identifying themselves as non-native English-speaking teachers. The pre-service teachers in the study define the term *non-native speaker of English* as one who does not speak English as their first language (those who speak English as a foreign language). The participants' identification with the term at the beginning of the study can be attributed to their norm-dependent language learning backgrounds where the "normative mindset" has prevailed mostly (Seidlhofer 2008, pp. 3–4). This identification is quite in line with Bayyurt (2006), demonstrating Turkish ESOL teachers' relatively low awareness of the changing status of English and their strong adherence to traditional EFL practices in contrast to the continually shifting and changing norms in the local and global context.

The second subtheme in the analysis is related to the integration of the local culture. In Extract 5, P4 takes a critical stance in relation to the ESOL pre-service teachers' attitudes toward the native and non-native speaking teachers' degree of effectiveness regarding local culture integration. He points out that non-native prospective teachers in the Turkish context do not tend to adopt a critical perspective regarding this issue, a finding in line with Bayyurt (2006) related to non-native in-service teachers in the Turkish context, which suggests that foreign in-service English teachers who do not share a similar linguistic or cultural background to the students can lead their learners to become successful communicators in English by raising their awareness toward cultural issues that are commonly shared by all the students or by an international community.

Extract 5

> Considering that teaching English has been mostly done … in the context of the culture of the target language. I think personally that it is time to do it in such a way that elements of the local culture are included, simply it is really, really hard to make a student communicate in the language without knowing the cultural norms of the society. Reflecting back on what I have observed so far in classes, I think that with the correct application of cultural basis, things may get more interesting for the students. (P4)

Extract 6

> … Culture is always the source of contextualization. … successful communication would be impossible without familiarity with the cultural norms of the society with whose speakers the learner is trying to form bonds. In my opinion, language teaching cannot be isolated from culture. Students should get an idea the culture of the language that they are learning. Also, when I become a teacher, I hope my lessons include a content, and so culture will be my source. (P7)

In the quotes above, while P4 supports the idea that local culture must be part of English language classrooms, P7 supports the idea of learning the cultural elements of the target language to be a successful English language teacher. P4 also states that this project helped them to become aware of local and global issues of ELF and its wider impact on the society.

In addition to P4's above-mentioned comment on her raised ELF awareness, which incorporates the integration of local and global perspectives into ELT, P5 indicates the importance of situating the local cultural elements in a global perspective to facilitate intercultural communication:

Extract 7

> I still do not know how to give the recipe of Turkish coffee to my American friend, but I can write perfect essays on linguistic or any other academic topic. It means the English I got from the system is not enough for intercultural communication and destroys my survival skills. At the same time the world is getting more globalized and the importance of intercultural communication grows, but I do not know how to express my culture or problems in English or I do not know how to act or speak in a foreign culture. (P9)

In addition, the prospective ESOL teachers in the study indicate that although ELF awareness and integrating local in the global uses of English gave them self-confidence, they still prefer to start their ELT practice with a "standard" variety of English. Extract 8 is a representative example in this respect:

Extract 8

> You must be confident of what you know. English has become a lingua franca in that no one should judge our accent and grammaticality. It is partly a relief. … I think the concept of ELF brings us comfort and confidence that we need as a catalyzer. The most important thing, as far as I understood, is that you are able to connect internationally with a tool that is the English language. …I had a chance to think about what I would do regarding ELF as well as other languages in my classroom and I came to a decision that whatever language I teach; it must be accepted on a certain level so I cannot teach my students Indian English firstly because I don't know it and secondly it is not the "accepted" form to teach for me…. (P9)

In Extract 8, the participant labels the English language as a tool for international communication; however, she seems to limit the discussion to the Turkish context. In other words, the participant disregards English language teaching contexts where some students speak a language other than Turkish as their first/native language—i.e., Syrian students learning English in Turkish state schools. It seems that participants are preoccupied with a subjective notion regarding the acceptability level of a language, rather than achieving mutual intelligibility for effective communication.

The third subtheme is concerned with *the status of English as a global language*. The participants seem to have taken a critical stance toward the global status of the English language and report the changes in their perspectives in the following way:

Extract 9

> Before this project, my perspective was that only English in British or American standard should be taught in EFL/ESL classrooms. However, I started to think about more critically after watching the videos. English is not a single variety … Students encounter many forms of English outside the classroom via the Internet. English is a global language… You have to choose one standard form of English. (P9)

Although the prospective ESOL teachers in the study express their change in perspectives from a reliance on the mainstream teaching of a single variety of English spoken in inner circle countries exclusively to the recognition of World Englishes, they do not explicitly state how to situate English as a global language in their own local context, and how to raise the students' awareness toward how interlocutors with different L1s use English to communicate with one another, and what to do in cases of communication breakdowns in ELF settings.

Despite reporting the shift in their normative mindset to an ELF-aware one, the prospective teachers do not seemed to have developed a clear perspective on how to approach the teaching of receptive and productive skills in relation to the ELF-aware perspective. Even though they seem to have reached an agreement that there is a need to familiarize students with the diversity of Englishes to prepare them to understand English spoken by speakers from different parts of the world, they can not distinguish between how to teach receptive and productive skills in an ELF-aware manner. In other words, they seem to be in confusion as to the implementation of ELF-aware classroom practices. They seem to accept that as far as teaching receptive skills are concerned, the emphasis should be placed on the connection between intelligibility and familiarity with new varieties of English the learners may encounter in their lives (Gass and Varonis 1984; Smith et al. 2014). From an intercultural standpoint, ELF-oriented education promotes intercultural communication skills (Houghton and Al-Asswad 2014). ELF is closely linked to intercultural communication since ELF is defined as communication that takes place among speakers from various lingua-cultural backgrounds (Cogo and Dewey 2012). In the same vein, Kirkpatrick (2007b) points out that mutual intelligibility, intercultural communication, and communicative strategies should be prioritized in foreign/second language classrooms. However, as Kirkpatrick (2007a, p. 10) indicates, it must be taken into consideration that the communication, identity, and cultural functions of language are likely to "be at odds with each other" (Kirkpatrick 2007a, p. 10), considering the requirement to assign different varieties or registers to different contexts. To illustrate, Houghton and Al-Asswad (2014) maintain that in cases when it is used for international communication purposes, and when intelligibility is the priority, ELF is likely to demonstrate less variation than those where it is used for local purposes and where emphasis is placed on the cultural expression and social identification; there is a strategical shift in language use within the identity-communication continuum. However, as ELF users "see the world in different ways" (Kirkpatrick 2007a, p. 170), it is necessary to bridge the two extremes of the continuum to preserve and stimulate cultural diversity (Houghton and Al-Asswad 2014). In fact, it should be considered a "central" priority in intercultural communication to communicate about culture and identity

intelligibly, particularly when there is a considerable gap between the interlocutors, to promote intercultural communicative competence development (Houghton 2014, p. 141; see also Houghton and Al-Asswad 2014). Hence, it is necessary to raise the pre-service teachers' awareness level toward this distinction in terms of classroom practices.

In this respect, while developing an understanding of ELF and its connection to their teaching practice, the participants question their already existing beliefs about the status of English and English language teaching in relation to their newly developed ELF-aware pedagogical practice perspective (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2017). For example, although they are enchanted with the prospect of eliminating the need to have "native-like" pronunciation, they are still under the influence of native-speaker-oriented models of pronunciation. They find it difficult to believe the legitimacy of different accents other than the standard native speaker accents, a finding echoed by Llurda (2009). They are preoccupied with the "correctness" of these different accents and find it "impractical" to have a plurality of accents to deal with in the classroom setting. Although they are aware of different accents of standard and non-standard varieties of English, they regard the implementation of an ELF-aware perspective in teaching pronunciation in their present English language teaching context quite unrealistic. They can not imagine such a situation taking place in their present teaching context. The following extract clearly shows how one of the participant teachers voiced the opinion of the others:

Extract 10

> Though it may have some impractical aspects, it is like a dream which has been tried to be realized by many people. It is not just about getting rid of the obligation of using an accent that is original and native-like. As a result, this perspective is actually very suspicious and may result in incredibly different accents, which are accepted as correct though there is nothing sensible, but in many ways, we need it, too. (P7)

However, they do agree on teaching their students the fact that English is spoken in different ways in different parts of the world via videos, coursebook materials, and similar. This finding is similar to the findings of Bayyurt and Sifakis's study with primary school teachers, who have also developed an ELF-aware pedagogical perspective from the project but do have few opportunities to implement it in their actual classrooms, except presenting students with different pronunciation activities with ample opportunities to listen to a variety of English accents (see Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015a) for more information).

4.2 Pre-service English Language Teachers' Perspectives on ELF-Aware English Language Teaching

The overall results of data analysis reveal that ELF-aware English language teaching should focus on preparing learners to communicate effectively in the English language with both NESs and NNESs, rather than focusing on teaching

them how to construct grammatically correct sentences in English. The participant pre-service teachers concur that ELF-aware pre-service teacher education places emphasis on student-centered teaching, giving importance to students' ideas and considerations about learning English language and communicating in English. Therefore, it is important for these prospective ESOL teachers to find a place for themselves in this community of ELF-aware pedagogical practice, i.e., to become ELF-aware teachers. The following subthemes emerged in data analysis:

- ELF-aware pedagogical development
  - ELF awareness in teaching philosophies
  - ELF awareness in lesson plan preparation and implementation
  - ELF awareness in future career plans
- the ESOL pre-service teachers' views of the ownership of English

The first subtheme, *the impact of ELF-aware pedagogical development on the ESOL pre-service teachers*, is comprised of the following aspects: ESOL pre-service teachers' *teaching philosophies*, ELF awareness in *lesson planning and preparation* for the practicum, ESOL pre-service teachers' plans to incorporate ELF-aware pedagogies in their *future teachings*, and the future career-oriented gains.

First, with regard to the impact of ELF-aware teacher education component on the teaching philosophies of prospective ESOL teachers, the study indicate that the project involvement seemed to have an impact on the enrichment of ESOL pre-service teachers' teaching philosophies to varying degrees. The following quotes are representative in terms of what they reveal about the ELF-aware perspective the pre-service teachers have developed throughout the project:

Extract 11

> Being an ELF-aware teacher means acceptance, respect, differences and diversity. The term, in fact, encompasses both NEST and NNESTs. These are also must haves of the people of twenty-first century. Therefore, we should and have to integrate ELF and I am planning to integrate target culture, local cultures and international culture as well (i.e., neither local, nor English-speaking cultures, e.g., Russian or Arabic culture in the context of Turkey. (P8)

Extract 12

> I believe that it is necessary to incorporate ELF related aspects into one's teaching when possible. Such lessons might create a more realistic image of how English is used nowadays as a language, which has more non-native speakers than native ones. (P4)

The first subtheme concerns the impact of ESOL pre-service teachers' ELF-aware lesson plan preparation and implementation experience on their ELT (English language teaching) perspectives in the Turkish educational context. The pre-service teachers indicated that the experience of ELF-aware lesson plan preparation and implementation provided a road map for their future teaching. To illustrate, they indicate that the ELF-aware lesson experience has led them to

contemplate on how to facilitate the students' oral and written expression in English. They pinpoint the need to arrange instructional activities that would focus on developing the students' communicative competence in English.

Extract 13

> The emphasis of instruction should be on communication. I would prioritize interactive activities in my teaching, building an enjoyable and collaborative learning environment. (P8)

They also report that this ELF-aware lesson planning experience also gave them a chance to make use of cross-cultural comparisons between L1 and L2. At the design stage of the lesson plan, they need to have a critical appraisal of their assumptions and convictions about the ELF-related issues revisit and integrate a variety of cross-cultural communication patterns such as non-native speakers–non-native speakers (NNS-NNS) and native speakers–non-native speakers (NS-NNS) (Mezirow 1991; Sifakis 2014).

In Extract 14, the participant illustrates how an ESOL pre-service teachers' experience of implementing an ELF-aware lesson plan in her class has influenced her view of English language and ELT in a broader perspective:

Extract 14

> The lesson was about a tribe of native Americans called Quechan people. I have never heard of these people and their rich traditions. I can say that this lesson raised both my and students' awareness about ELF in general. We learnt their local culture, way of life and rich literature to save their language from death because of expansion of English. (P5)

The dissonance that emerge as a result of the ELF-aware lesson planning and implementation experience, and the mainstream norm-bound teaching of English at practice teaching schools, leads the ESOL pre-service teachers in the study to disorienting dilemmas (Mezirow 1991).

With respect to the ESOL pre-service teachers' plans to incorporate ELF-informed pedagogy into their future teachings, they indicate that they are willing to continue their engagement with the ELF-informed pedagogy and incorporate it into their teaching in the future. The following quotes are representative in this respect:

Extract 15

> I will try to put speeches and videos of non-native speakers of English. I think this will create a more friendly, comfortable and relaxing atmosphere for speaking sessions. My students will have more confidence in themselves. They will believe that they can speak English fluently and communicate with foreign people comfortably. That's amazing! (P3)

Extract 16

> Being an ELF-aware teacher is likely contribute to my being more tolerant towards the speaking of my students. …. I have learnt that a teacher should never force his or her students to speak in a strict accent, because this may discourage them or may lead to unwillingness of them on participating to the lesson or speaking. (P10)

In relation to the three extracts presented above, a word of caution may be well-placed. Although the new conceptualizations of ELF recognize the presence of NNS of English in communicative settings, they do not regard them as a source of benchmark by which to measure individuals' communicative capabilities.

Regarding the future-related career gains for the ESOL pre-service teachers ELF-aware lesson planning and its implementation in their practice teaching have enabled student teachers to revise their already existing knowledge about language teaching methodologies. They all indicate that they experienced a change in their pedagogical perspective from the mainstream well-established native speaker "norms" toward ELF-aware ones. The pre-service teachers also indicate that they revised their teaching philosophies concerning their error correction practices in the classroom. They remark that they have started correcting students' errors only when they interfered with communication, which is in line with the in-service teachers in the study by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015). They point out that they discontinue correcting local errors such as articles and prepositions.

As to the contribution of ELF-aware pedagogy to their career prospects, prospective ESOL teachers, mentioned the following.

Extract 17

> … an ELF aware teacher … doesn't push students to be native-like while speaking. We should teach them that they don't have to speak as native speakers. Each student is unique so they may speak differently. In addition to speaking and pronunciation, the teacher may focus more on fluency, intelligibility and comprehensibility than accuracy. Since, what is important is to be able to express ideas and feelings and to be understood by others in …. (P10)

The second subtheme is the prospective ESOL teachers' views of the *ownership of English*. As it is also stated in Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015), the participants find it hard to internalize moving beyond teaching one standard variety of English such as British or American English, or teaching an ELF-aware perspective of English including non-standard varieties of English besides a major standard variety, due to their well-established native-speaker-centric educational background, even though some participants feel relieved when they are introduced to the notion that the ownership of English shifted from the native speakers, those who use English as their first language, to the users of English, who speak English as a second or foreign language.

The pre-service teachers have adopted an emotional attitude toward the notion of ownership of English when their L1 is concerned. They find it hard to shift to imagine themselves as the owners of English language. Additionally, they feel that they can only own their first language unless they are born into a bilingual/multilingual family. Thus, shifting from to a conceptualization of the ownership of English grounded in an ELF-aware perspective seem difficult for

them. In other words, they display an emotional stance when it came to ownership issues. In fact, P3 indicate that "if someone told me that I could not judge one regarding their Turkish because it is not mine to judge anymore, I would find it ridiculous, to be honest." In fact, the pre-service teachers in the study find it hard to perceive themselves as the users of English as a lingua franca, which is in alignment with the ELF-aware perspective, assuming the role of "mediators" or "facilitators", trying to help learners communicate effectively in diverse situations and contexts (Llurda 2016, p. 59). Therefore, they fail to appropriate the language, not claiming the ownership of it. They find it hard to comprehend that they held the right to find innovative solutions to communicative problems without feeling inadequate (Cook 2002).

Finally, to illustrate this point, it is worth citing one of the participants' remarks in reference to the impact of the project on their future career. This participant, P4, emphasized that the involvement in the project help them raise their level of self-confidence as a teacher of English, pointing out that "the project encouraged me to speak with my accent in my own classroom without any prejudice or worry."

These extracts support the fact that ELF awareness gives an opportunity to trainee teachers to use English in the classroom with full self-confidence, and how much they are aware of the fact that English is part of their linguistic repertoire in reference to their pronunciation abilities (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015a, b; Sifakis 2014).

5 Final Thoughts and Reflections

This chapter presents how an ELF-aware pedagogical approach can be integrated into the mainstream practicum courses, which involves the participants' reflections on their perceptions about three critical phases, *theory* (reading about ELF/EIL literature), *application* (preparing ELF-aware lesson plans and implementing them in their local contexts at practice teaching schools), and *evaluation* of their original ELF-aware lesson lessons for their learners. We focus on the ESOL pre-service teachers' journey through the ELF-aware materials they have interacted with on the online project portal. Participants in the project have experienced a transformative journey that contributes a lot to their self-identification with the ELT profession in today's world. Hence, the project have added to their professional development in a positive way as future English language teachers. Their engagement with a variety of ELF-related issues has helped them raise their awareness toward communication-oriented differences and to make them familiar with a variety of cross-cultural communication patterns. Furthermore, the disorienting dilemmas that they have faced while trying to teach an ELF-aware lesson in a norm-bound teaching context have enhanced their critical thinking skills and their reflective capacity.

In this study, the participants state that their exposure to an ELF-aware perspective is a thought-provoking experience that enabled them to see their profession

from a critical perspective. This experience has helped them frame and reframe their field experiences in an ELF-aware manner. The participant pre-service teachers in the study are likely to start incorporating an ELF-aware perspective into their classroom activities.

Participants' engagement with the ELF-related literature has contributed to their pedagogical content knowledge and enriched their conceptual knowledge base as a prospective teacher. Their online interaction with one another via various ELF-related Facebook posts as well as face-to-face classroom discussions, which enables the triangulation across data sources, has provided them with opportunities for professional development at the start of their career. The video-mediated stimulated recall procedures employed during the semi-structured interviews with the researchers indicate the contribution of the ELF-aware lesson planning and implementation experience to the pedagogical content knowledge of the ESOL prospective teachers in the study.

The project involvement also contributes to their self-reflexivity, as they need to reflect on a variety of ELF-related issues. The reflective engagement of the prospective teachers in the project also helps them start a critical inquiry into their existing beliefs concerning teaching English, and urges them to take a professional stance in relation to the local and global issues related to teaching English in the twenty-first century in an expanding circle country such as Turkey.

In this study, the researchers aim to develop ELF awareness in a traditional ELT context in Turkey, where idealized native speaker-centric education prevails. The prospective ESOL teachers have gained a global perspective toward ELT through their involvement in an ELF-aware teacher education program integrated into the practicum at the undergraduate level. These self-identified non-native teacher candidates has made better and effective use of local elements to teach English. They created a global impact by situating the local elements into the global context. Their familiarity with the native culture of the students, their knowledge of the students' first language (Turkish), and their ability to use Turkish as a resource in teaching English can be regarded as valuable assets to the participant ESOL teacher candidates in the study. The prospective teachers have utilized a variety of sources in their ELF-aware lessons to make a global impact on their students. To illustrate, they have made use of technology (e.g., audiovisual aids such as YouTube videos and websites). Also, they have focused on issues in their ELF-aware lessons such as the following: World Englishes, different varieties of English used around the world and different purposes for which students learn English in the world and how people use ELF to communicate with one another, and how they can fix communication breakdowns. The project involvement has enabled prospective ESOL teachers to gain the global ELF perspective and to integrate it into their local teaching contexts. The transformative journey of the prospective English language teachers has enabled them to reflect on the current ELT practices and educational policies at different levels in Turkish education system. They are engaged in evaluating the effectiveness of the existing English language teaching practice in Turkish schools and the attitudes of their mentors toward an ELF-aware ELT practice. Despite their mentor teachers' lack of ELF awareness and their resistance

toward change in their existing convictions and classroom practices, the prospective teachers has attempted to promote an ELF-aware perspective in their teaching during their practicum period. This effort proves to be a catalyst in the identity development of pre-service teachers as ELF-aware teachers.

The component of ELF-aware lesson planning and classroom implementation in the project can also be considered as a contribution to the professional identity development of prospective teachers. It can also be called a reality check for them, before participating as full-fledged members of the professional community. The pre-service teachers indicate that their engagement in the ELF-aware lesson planning and classroom implementation process has also shaped their teaching philosophy. The main lesson learnt by the participants is the need to design ELF-aware materials/activities in line with the local context and the learner profile, that is to say, to make the ELF-aware materials/activities contextually appropriate. This is in accordance with the implication in Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015), who argue that the ELF-aware language learning materials should be designed "locally" by the "teachers who know the idiosyncrasies of their own classroom context better than anyone else" (p. 482). This finding also reinforces that of Hamid and Baldauf (2013), who state that the involvement of "the crucial gate-keepers of languages and varieties operating in the pedagogical sphere," is "the best way to raise teachers' [awareness of] plurality of Englishes, multiplicity of norms and the value of multilingualism" (p. 490). Similar to the in-service teachers in the study by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015), the pre-service teachers in the current study state their convictions concerning the benefits their students could gain from ELF-aware instruction and instructional materials. Although the prospective teachers point out the school-based mentor teachers tended to stick to the norm-based native-speaker model in their classroom practices and in general are not cognizant of ELF-aware classroom practices or have difficulty re-orienting their convictions regarding "instructional techniques such as error correction" (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015, p. 13), the pre-service teachers have managed to implement an ELF-aware perspective into their lesson plans during the practicum period.

In this study, pre-service teachers consider their participation in the ELF-aware teacher education program a valuable asset and a beneficial time investment for their professional development. The dissonance they have faced between their own ELF-related convictions and educational practices in their local contexts prompt them to develop a reflective attitude to critically assess the effectiveness of English instruction in instructional settings where have done their practicum, as well as the quality of English instruction in their own and their practicum school students' previous language learning background, which subsequently contribute to their pedagogical development as prospective ESOL teachers.

The pre-service teachers have reported the following as the challenges that they faced in relation to the study: how to situate English as a global language in their local context and how to raise students' awareness toward how interlocutors with different L1s use English and what to do in cases of communication breakdowns in ELF settings. In order to help the participants to meet these challenges, the pre-service teachers can be asked to prepare lesson plans where they teach certain

communication strategies to raise students' awareness toward communication strategies used by interlocutors with different L1s and ways to solve communication breakdowns in various ELF settings, and how to negotiate meaning by the participants in a conversation. Also, class discussions can be held with pre-service teachers on the importance of language awareness (Andrew 2007), and they can be helped to develop a detached perspective from "idealized visions of native-speaker models and goals" (Llurda 2016, p. 58) toward "a more open view of language models and standards, calling into question the need to reproduce a restricted set of socially prestigious forms of language" (Llurda 2015, p. 112). Instead, the pre-service teachers need to aim to produce learners "fully competent in using English as a lingua franca in any given context or situation they may encounter" (Llurda 2016, p. 58).

The pre-service teachers in the study also make a call for the evaluation of the current initial and in-service teacher education programs housed within the faculties of education in Turkey. In order to raise ELF-aware teachers, the integration of ELF-aware teacher education program such as the one in the current study into the practicum courses offered in the teacher training programs across the country might necessarily be considered.

Another alternative would be offering the ELF-aware teacher education program development as an elective course in teacher education programs. The pre-service teachers could also be introduced to ELF-related issues in different courses offered in ELT departments in faculties of education in Turkey. However, one thing should be kept in consideration in introducing ELF-aware teacher education. As pointed out by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015), ELF-aware teacher education aims at transforming teachers from a traditional, normative mindset toward a more critical and open-minded one. Thus, it may be a relatively "challenging" and "innovative endeavor" on the part of prospective teachers, in that teachers may tend to adopt a reflective and critical perspective toward issues that are likely to be "life-changing" or "transformative", both for themselves and for their learners in their immediate local context as well as in a wider educational context. Hence, the role of teacher educators in this transformative journey is critical. They are supposed to provide scaffolding and guidance for the novice teachers as the need arises, and act as facilitators throughout the journey, but at the same time, they should encourage the latter to be as imaginative and innovative as possible to create their own ELF-aware teaching experience in and for their own local context.

As far as further research related to pre-service ELF-aware teacher education is concerned, it might be of interest for teacher educators to do a follow-up study to explore the ELF-aware classroom applications/activities of pre-service teachers when they start teaching in their local contexts, and find out to what extent they can integrate ELF-related issues into their teachings and to what extent their teaching is ELF-aware. It would also be interesting to conduct a research study on learners' reactions to ELF-aware teaching. Future researchers could also consider investigating the challenges pre-service teachers will have concerning ELF-aware teaching, when they begin teaching in their local contexts.

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Glocal Experiences in Your Own Backyard: Teacher Candidates Developing Understanding of Equity, Diversity, and Social Justice

Babürhan Üzüm and Mary Petrón

Abstract In this study, we report on the developing intercultural competence of 48 preservice teachers, as they engaged in a glocal field experience with English-language learners (ELLs) at a middle school in Texas, U.S.A. All the preservice teachers were female, White, in their early 20s, and monolingual, native English speakers which is similar to the demographics of public school teachers in the U.S. The middle school is located in a high poverty area with a history of poor academic outcomes for ELLs. Preservice teachers collaborated with content area teachers to create and deliver lessons that targeted critical learning objectives identified by content area teachers. The data consisted of interviews with preservice teachers before and after the field experience, triangulated with the journal entries and lesson plans they wrote during the process. Using a qualitative case study methodology, we explored preservice teachers' growing understanding of ELLs and their language and academic needs. Preservice teachers' perceptions of ELLs appeared to transform a result of the field experience. A majority of the preservice teachers initially conceptualized ELLs as having limited English proficiency and limited intellectual capacity. Throughout the experience, they developed a refined understanding of the diversity of students' language proficiency and that low levels of language proficiency were not indicative of low intelligence. Furthermore, patience was strategized to include specific strategies to support ELLs' language and content development. As a result of this experience, preservice teachers made progress toward building intercultural competence and understanding the challenges and affordances of working with ELLs.

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1 Introduction

Multilingual students are increasingly becoming the mainstream in U.S. classrooms; however, teacher education programs still lack a commitment to prepare preservice teachers for diverse educational contexts (Schwarzer and Bridglall 2015). Although linguistic and cultural diversity is on the rise in U.S. public schools, the teaching workforce continues to be primarily monolingual and White (Gollnick and Chinn 2013; National Center for Education Statistics 2012). In order to effectively address the needs of linguistically and culturally diverse student populations, all preservice teachers must develop an intercultural competence that embraces empathy, awareness, engagement in students' learning, and a pedagogical understanding of how all of this translates into the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. As de Jong and Harper (2005) state, "[E]ffective teaching practices for ELLs require teachers to acquire additional linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills and learn to apply these to curriculum planning, pedagogy, and assessment for ELLs" (p. 116). In addition, teachers with enhanced intercultural competence will play a critical role in the education of linguistically and culturally diverse students for an increasingly globalizing world where interactions between different language speakers will not be uncommon (Schwarzer and Bridglall 2015).

Effective teaching of ELLs would ideally include not only an awareness of students' cultural experiences and backgrounds, but also a critical linguistic awareness that captures best pedagogical practices to meet ELLs' language and academic needs (de Jong and Harper 2005). In theory, these practices can be acquired through strategic application of what was learned in teacher education courses. For example, preservice teachers learn to monitor their own language use and differentiate instruction for various language proficiency levels in order to best meet their students' language and academic needs (de Jong and Harper 2005). However, in the absence of practical teaching experiences, preservice teachers do not always have the opportunity to connect teacher education content with the diversity of ESL classrooms (Üzüm et al. 2014). We contend that participating in glocal field experiences can contribute to the intercultural competence of preservice teachers (Kubota 2009; Üzüm and Petrón 2016).

2 Literature Review

Previous research in teacher education has explored a variety of strategies, assignments, and projects in an effort to promote teacher intercultural competence. Teachers with enhanced intercultural competence can better understand their students' experiences, establish empathy with them, and create lesson plans and assignments that best suit their students' needs and interests in multicultural settings (e.g., Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012). As one of the initiatives to improve teacher intercultural competence, scholars have asserted that *glocal engagement*

projects are instrumental in promoting preservice teachers' awareness of the diverse needs and interests of their students (Malewski and Phillion 2009; Schwarzer and Bridglall 2015). Glocal engagement projects are defined as local efforts in which students and instructors engage in and interact with issues that are fluidly local–global (Merryfield 1998). The topics of investigation include the local effects of global events, like immigration, or vice versa (Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012). Merryfield argued that by studying global–local connections, students will be able to understand the effects of global injustices and inequities in a more personal way. In addition, utilizing their growing intercultural competence, students will be able to think about how their local decisions might have global impacts not only in their immediate surrounding but also across the world.

2.1 Intercultural *Competence*

In teacher education literature, Byram (1997) defined intercultural competence as the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately with people from other cultures. Intercultural competence differs from other concepts such as "cross-cultural competence" and "intercultural communicative competence" due to its more complex repertoire of specific knowledge and skills (Byram and Hu 2013). The term utilizes the notions of communication and interaction across languages and cultures with an emphasis on the readiness to engage in dynamic relationships with the members of other communities. There is no single intercultural competence model that is applicable for all contexts (Byram and Hu 2013), but most models include specific components such as intercultural knowledge, skills, attitudes, and critical cultural awareness (Byram 1997; Deardorff 2006). An awareness of the many facets of language diversity is a critical component of intercultural competence (Byram 1997). Building intercultural competence is a process of participating in and analyzing a variety of intercultural situations and experiences, thereby acquiring new knowledge and skills. It entails acknowledging ambiguity and recognizing the diversity of perspectives (Byram and Hu 2013). Intercultural scholars, teachers, and administrators draw from critical pedagogical approaches, and share the goal of confronting inequities and promoting social change. The role of critical pedagogy is "not only in changing how people think about themselves and their relationship to others and the world, but also in energizing students and others to engage in those struggles that further possibilities for living in a more just society." (Giroux 2004, pp. 63–64).

2.2 Critical Cultural Awareness and Empathy

Preservice teachers' preconceived notions about themselves and learning and teaching, serve as a filter for their interpretation of experiences in an intercultural

educational context. The questions, concerns, dilemmas, and the cognitive dissonance triggered by critical incidents throughout their experience may encourage preservice teachers to revise their assumptions and existing beliefs about students, teacher roles, and teaching and learning in general (Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012; Trent 2011). In the process of developing intercultural competence, preservice teachers may reflect on their own cultural identities and positionality and analyze how race, gender, and socioeconomic status may impact teaching and learning (Malewski et al. 2012; Sharma et al. 2012). Individuals from the dominant culture in the U.S., like our participants, may not always be aware of their positionality (Katz 1999). As Weiler (1988) asserted, "Since white privilege is so much a defined part of U.S. society, whites are not even conscious of their relationship to power and privilege. In U.S. society, white is the norm; people of color are defined as deviating from that norm" (pp. 76–77). Through their reflections on dissonance with their existing belief system or cultural identities, teachers develop critical cultural awareness (Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012), empathy (Willard-Holt 2001; Zhao et al. 2009), and deeper understanding of language learning processes (Olmedo and Harbon 2010).

2.3 Glocal Engagement Projects

In educational glocal engagement projects, universities, schools, and communities collaborate in innovative ways to prepare future teachers to provide high-quality education to all children (Paine and Zeichner 2012; Schwarzer and Bridglall 2015). In an effort to create preservice teacher education programs that attend to the local and the global, only a small number of studies adopted a community engagement project with an intercultural focus. For the purpose of this literature review, we focus on the American educational context since we aim to improve our preservice teachers' intercultural competence to teach diverse populations in the U.S. Similar to global–local connections, reforms and changes in the larger education system directly affect teacher education programs. U.S. legislators recently passed the Every Child Succeeds Act (ESSA) as a more promising alternative to the outdated No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). ESSA aims to follow a bottom-up approach, empowering state and local decision makers, rather than the top-down approach of NCLB (U.S. Department of Education 2015). This is an extremely important development for educators since it opens the way for local school districts to find innovative ways to improve the quality of education for traditionally low-performing subgroups like ELLs. Glocal engagement projects between universities and public schools can prove to be instrumental in addressing these needs since curricular innovations and reforms will now be developed locally. This also helps to challenge the division between universities and local communities in an effort to build a more just society (Üzüm and Petrón 2016). Many universities in the U.S. have traditionally been involved in academic community engagement or civic engagement projects to contribute to the well-being of their local community

(Berger 2010; Schwarzer and Bridglall 2015). A small number of these initiatives explored global issues in local contexts, thereby helping their students become interculturally competent educators (e.g., Burant and Kirby 2002).

Two recent examples of glocal engagement projects in U.S. schools concern critical democratic education (Gichiru and Knoester 2015) and international topics in teacher education (Price-Rom 2015). Both studies report on a systematic integration of global education topics into the curriculum. Students and instructors in these classes critically examined topics from a variety of educational contexts. As a result, their understanding of teaching and learning evolved to "cross the 'us/them' boundary and in understanding that American perspectives are not always shared by others around the world." (Price-Rom 2015, p. 277). Working toward building a kind of "worldmindedness," the glocal engagement projects served to form a critical awareness of self and others which could lead to a refined frame of reference with "us" incorporating people from many places, not simply one's own nation (Merryfield 1998; Merryfield et al. 2008).

Gichiru and Knoester (2015) redesigned their teacher education courses in two U.S. universities, using an edited collection that included such topics as lessons from an Israeli Palestinian-Jewish school, schooling experiences of migrant children in China, multicultural education in Boston, national standardized assessment in South Korea, public higher education in the U.S., gendering of girls in India, and voices of preservice teachers in Brazil. Using a fluid global–local curriculum, the researchers involved their preservice teacher students in a variety of assignments that included researching, analyzing, and reflecting on globally important topics. An analysis of students' reflections and student evaluations revealed that the global–local curriculum was powerful in affording students' exposure to global education "in a way that does not simplify or provide stereotypical depictions of various countries and their educational systems" (p. 259).

In another example, Price-Rom (2015) documented her experience in an introductory teacher education course in New York City, which was paired with a nearby urban school district. By conducting classroom observations, shadowing a teacher, and attending administrative meetings at the partner school, preservice teachers became aware of the ethnic diversity in their local schools and explored culturally responsive teaching. The research findings indicated that preservice teachers' initial notions of cultural awareness were limited to cultural fairs, parades, or social studies classes. At the end of the semester, students were able to identify culturally responsive teaching in the classes where they observed. For example, one student wrote that "good teachers need to create learning environments in which students feel safe enough to contribute to class discussions without being denied an equal learning opportunity due to race, culture, diversity, or socioeconomic status" (p. 273). The researcher concluded that students in this introductory teacher education course made progress toward developing sociocultural consciousness by integrating their transformed views of diversity, social justice, and culturally responsive teaching. Price-Rom suggested that "localized opportunities for global interaction provide all students with access to international perspectives regardless of their ability to pay or find time to travel" (p. 277).

Although community-based experiences and civic engagement projects are commonly used in U.S. public schools, a focus on intercultural topics and specific learning outcomes such as methods to work with ELLs were not widely examined in previous research. In the present study, we report on a glocal engagement project with an emphasis on developing intercultural competence that incorporates empathy, engagement in students' learning, pedagogical knowledge, and how these elements should inform teaching and learning in the ESL classroom.

3 Methods

We adopted a case study approach in this study (Merriam and Tisdell 2016) because it concerned a descriptive *how* question (Yin 2002). In this case, we were interested in documenting *how* students made sense of their field experience with a focus on intercultural competence. Specifically, we sought to understand preservice teachers' developing understanding of ELLs. Furthermore, we sought to document *how* this understanding contributed to their professional development as future teachers of ELLs. The "boundaries" of the case were the two sections of an ESL methods class that participated in a glocal engagement project. Miles and Huberman (1994) defined the case as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (p. 250). The same instructor taught both sections, and both sections participated in the glocal field experience at a local middle school. Preservice teachers in sections with other instructors did not participate in any field experience.

3.1 Research Context

The Texas university where the study took place began as a normal school and has a reputation for its high-quality teacher education programs. It was among the first to require coursework and certification in ESL for all elementary and middle school preservice teachers. They take three courses on the following topics: multicultural education, second language acquisition, and ESL methods. However, no formal field experience in ESL is required. The assumption is that they have the opportunity to work with ELLs during the field experiences attached to other courses, such as literacy methods. Unfortunately, according to culminating teacher work samples, they often do not work with ELLs and when they do, they fail to appropriately address ELLs' needs because they have had little experience with them. Without a designated field experience, their ESL coursework functions as an add-on to "real" teacher preparation. This is similar to teaching certification in ESL in the state. A teacher simply passes an exam and receives an add-on certificate. In an effort to rectify this gap, ESL teacher educators made use of a civic engagement requirement to create a glocal engagement experience which was tied to preservice

teachers' final course. The focus of the class was ESL pedagogy, in general, and the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Echevarria et al. 2017), in particular. Students were charged with the task of working in collaboration with content area teachers to develop and deliver SIOP lessons at an area middle school (MS). This glocal engagement project guaranteed that students had the opportunity to work with ELLs. Therefore, they could no longer become ESL certified simply by passing a certification test on ESL methodology. We facilitated their engagement in an intercultural educational context and interactions with ELLs.

MS is located in a low-income area with limited resources. It has a tradition of poor academic outcomes for ELLs. According to the Texas Education Agency's Performance Monitoring Analysis System, the district received the lowest rating for ELL academic performance every year from 2010–2015 on state-mandated exams (Texas Education Agency 2015). The goals of this glocal engagement project were twofold: First, they would have a glocal field experience in ESL that was not available as part of their teacher preparation program. Second, preservice teachers could provide support to ELLs at MS. Forty-eight preservice teachers in two sections of ESL methods participated in the study in the fall of 2014. A brief questionnaire was used to collect basic information on the preservice teachers. Most were studying to be elementary teachers, although a handful intended to teach special education at the elementary level. All were White, female, monolingual, English speakers. In the U.S. educational context, the majority of public school teachers represent these demographics. (Gollnick and Chinn 2013; National Center for Education Statistics 2012). All participants were given pseudonyms.

The glocal engagement experience was structured to foster collaboration between MS content area teachers and preservice teachers for the benefit of ELLs. We did not collect data on the content area teachers, but according to the ESL teacher, the content area teachers believed that it was the ESL teacher's responsibility to provide language and content support for ELLs. Each student was given content objectives which had been chosen by MS teachers based on ELLs' weaknesses as measured by state exams and teachers' observations. The preservice teachers designed and delivered both whole class and individual lessons to address those weaknesses in an ESL pullout program. During the time they were teaching, the ESL mentor teacher and an instructional aide were in the classroom to observe and assist if needed. Typically, 10–15 ELL students were in each class, although additional ELLs were occasionally sent to the ESL classroom for assistance by content area teachers.

3.2 Data Collection

The primary data for this study come from semi-structured interviews (Rubin and Rubin 2005) conducted before and after the preservice teachers participated in field experiences at MS. A semi-structured interview was chosen to enable a graduate student to conduct the interviews, rather than the researchers. We hoped this would

provide the participants the opportunity to speak openly because they were not being interviewed by individuals who represented authority figures in the teacher education program. The interviews lasted approximately 30 min and were transcribed verbatim by a transcription service. The first interview focused on their prior experiences with ELLs as well as their interests in teaching. It was conducted at the beginning of the semester before the preservice teachers went to MS. The second interview emphasized the glocal engagement experience itself with a discussion about the ELL students, the MS context, and MS teachers. It was conducted after the semester had ended.

3.3 Data Analysis

Open, axial and selective coding was used to analyze the interviews (Saldana 2013). Both researchers read through the interview transcripts separately multiple times and identified preliminary categories. Then, they discussed their respective categories, returning to the data to resolve points of conflict. The data was then coded in a similar fashion to generate the themes which emerged directly from the data. In order to triangulate the data, the interviews were compared to students' lesson plans and post field experience written reflections. In addition, at each stage of data analysis, the researchers acted as triangulating analysts (Merriam and Tisdell 2016) by coding independently and then comparing the coding. The researchers discussed discrepancies in coding until consensus was reached.

4 Results and Discussion

The interview data was compared across whole data sets as in pre-experience and post-experience interviews and by comparing the pre- and post-experience interviews of individual students. This enabled us to see general trends of student development as well as individual growth. Three themes emerged from the data which indicated an increasingly nuanced view of ELLs: (1) generic diversity to diverse language learners, (2) L1 as a cognitive deficit to L1 as a pedagogical tool, and (3) patience to strategized patience.

4.1 Generic Diversity to Diverse Language Learners

Many of the preservice teachers believed that they would have diverse students in the classroom because as Lori stated, "This is Texas." Texas is a minority majority state on the U.S.–Mexico border with high numbers of ELLs, particularly Spanish speakers. The preservice teachers saw themselves as open and accepting of other

cultures, despite the fact that they often admitted having little contact with other cultures. In the pre-experience interviews, they spoke of diversity in a generic sort of way, as interesting, but without a clear idea of what it entailed. Charity's comment was typical, "I think it would be awesome to have a ton of different cultures in your classroom, because you can use that in teaching them, you can learn about all of their different cultures." While cultural diversity was mentioned, ELLs were rarely mentioned. When asked directly whether or not they envisioned themselves as future ELL teachers, most said they did not or that they had never really considered it before. Very few mentioned that they had done observations in classrooms where there were ELLs present. Instead, they said there were none or that the ELLs in the class were already proficient in English. Thus, while cultural diversity was salient for them, language appeared to be divorced from their notion of diversity.

This lack of interaction with ELLs as part of their teacher preparation program was mirrored in their personal K-12 experiences as students. Although Texas is a very diverse state, with higher numbers of ELLs than the national average, these preservice teachers had little contact with them during their own schooling. In the pre-experience interviews, the majority mentioned having a vague idea that there were ELLs in the schools they attended, but they did not interact with them. Marlene stated when asked whether there were ELLs in her schools as a child, "I grew up in a mostly middle to upper class White community and we had our share of Hispanics, but I wasn't in the same classes." Although Latinos now represent over half of the public school children in the state, the ELL population is 15% (Texas Education Agency 2014). Clearly, the majority of Latinos are not ELLs and the words are not interchangeable, despite the fact that most ELLs in Texas are Latino. However, for most of these preservice teachers, language diversity was not salient. Instead, language was viewed through a lens of ethnicity. Being Latino meant being an ELL, and being an ELL meant being Latino. The cultural and linguistic diversity in their own backyard, therefore, did not necessarily contribute to the development of intercultural competence (Addleman et al. 2014; Burant and Kirby 2002).

In instances when ELLs were in the same classes as the preservice teachers, physical isolation within the classroom appeared to be the norm. Katherine stated, "They [ELLs] just sat in the back. They were just some ones that didn't talk at all really, unless they were talking amongst themselves." The exception was a few students who grew up in South Texas where the White population is a minority and numbers of ELLs tend to be higher than the state average. Yet, despite significant contact with ELLs, Cristina's perception of them was a negative stereotype, "I think that a lot of times they do understand. They just know they can get away with pretending they do not understand. They are getting babied too much." Nancy, too, made similar claims setting up a dichotomy of "us versus them" where ELLs had the advantage.

> They were catered to a lot. They kind of just got everything really handed to them, really easy. Everything was done in a simplified form for them. It wasn't taxing for them at all, where the rest of us were being challenged, and everything.

Positive comments about ELLs were rare among those that had grown up with ELLs in the classroom. Amber was one of the few who appeared to be more favorable in her assessment of ELLs, "They are just people to me. I mean, obviously, there are barriers and everything. But you are able to surpass it." She recognized that communication took effort, but was possible. However, she was one of very few. Instead, the burden of communication was on the shoulders of ELLs who, according to many participants, purposefully chose to isolate themselves. Rebecca's response was not uncommon, "They just made cliques. They always stayed together and they always spoke Spanish with themselves. They never included anybody." Thus, the burden of dealing with language diversity was on the ELLs. According to these preservice teachers, ELLs needed to reach out. There was no mention of English speakers needing to try to engage ELLs in conversation or the necessity of creating learning experiences where ELLs could interact with English speakers.

Prior to their glocal engagement experience, most preservice teachers viewed diversity in a generic fashion which generally did not include language. Diversity meant interesting and unusual with no specific mention of communication issues. An awareness of language as a component of diversity was absent. This may have been due to the fact that few had any direct contact with ELLs during their own schooling or in their previous field experiences. The few that did have experience with ELLs in their prior schooling had primarily negative views, seeing them as lazy and unfriendly who used Spanish for hostile purposes. The adoption of such essentializing terms for ELLs was rather concerning since it has the danger of creating categorical definitions and representations that could further perpetuate monolithic ways of understanding different cultural groups. The interaction with ELLs during the field experience was instrumental in challenging these old categorizations.

After their glocal engagement experiences, for many, their perception of ELLs changed. Cristina, for example, had expressed that ELLs were babied too much and took advantage of their ELL status. After her experience in the school, she stated, "They seemed like they were ready to learn; they knew it was expected of them. I don't think they used the ELL label to their advantage, I don't think they milked it like I thought that they would." Her negative perception of ELLs as lazy and using a nonexistent language barrier to get out of work was replaced with a positive one of engaged students.

They also saw diversity as an important component of background knowledge that should be considered. They recognized that lessons had to be built around ELLs. Maranda stated, "I would ask on the first day of class, give me some information on yourself, where are you from, what does your family look like, what did you learn in 1st or 2nd grade." While it can be argued that all lessons should be built around the student, their specific reference to culture indicates that these

preservice teachers understood the role that diversity played in learning. This, too, demonstrated their developing intercultural competence.

4.2 Language as a Cognitive Deficit to Language as a Pedagogical Tool

As a whole, the participants were surprised at the intelligence of the ELLs. It was clear that they had inaccurate, negative ideas about ELLs that were not expressed in the pre-experience interviews when they commented on their acceptance of diversity. Although they never mentioned ELLs lacked mental capacity in the first interview, the fact that most commented on their intelligence after the glocal engagement experience indicated that many had preconceived notions about their academic potential. Karla's comments were typical of the participants,

> I was expecting them to I guess be more at the level of elementary school students, but they really weren't. They were way smarter. I guess that's what we take for granted in class when we are talking about it, we are not really understanding that they are really smart like all the other kids their age.

As a whole, the findings suggested that prior to the glocal engagement experience, many of the preservice teachers equated lower levels of English proficiency with lower levels of intelligence. This is similar to Callahan's (2005) finding that, "Teachers, principals, and counselors frequently, though perhaps inadvertently, interpret limited English proficiency as a form of limited intelligence…" (p. 10). The fact that most ELLs in Texas are students of color, adds the dimension of race and ethnicity in the ascription of intelligence. This belief that certain ethnic/racial groups have limited intelligence has been well documented in the literature (Dantas 2007; Sue et al. 2007). Providing this glocal field experience served to offer an opportunity to interact with ELLs or challenge any preconceived notions about them. The experience helped preservice teachers make progress toward developing intercultural competence and understanding the challenges and affordances of working with ELLs in content classes.

We were pleasantly surprised that these preservice teachers were already open to other languages. Formally establishing English as the official language of the U.S. is a frequent topic of public debate in the U.S. and has garnered widespread support. The preservice teachers did not use terms like L1 or native language; they all said Spanish anytime they referenced language diversity. In the pre-experience interview, none suggested that ELLs not be allowed to speak Spanish, including those who regarded it with suspicion. Language tolerance would best summarize their remarks. They thought it was natural for Spanish speakers to use Spanish with other Spanish speakers. They did not necessarily see language diversity as negative; however, they believed individuals should learn English if they were living in the U.S. They did not envision themselves as potential speakers of other languages. Many spoke of taking Spanish in school, but learning little. Only a handful

expressed a desire to learn Spanish. However, they did not intend to pursue it because they felt it was too difficult. Thus, they were tolerant of, albeit not very interested in, Spanish. In the post-experience interview, there continued to be a few who viewed Spanish, as a tool of exclusion. Rebecca, when asked if her perception of ELLs changed after working with them, stated, “Not really, a lot of the students that we had, changed to Spanish as soon as they wanted to say something negative.” Interestingly, Rebecca stated in both the pre- and post-experience interviews that she knew no Spanish. It is unclear if this reflected a disdain of any language other than English or was specifically targeting Spanish. However, she did not suggest that Spanish should be banned from the classroom.

Rather than language tolerance, many suggested in the post-experience interview that there were pedagogical reasons for permitting students to use Spanish, thereby indicating their understanding of L1 as a cognitive tool (Pray and Marx 2010). For example, it could be used by ELLs with each other for explanations or by the ESL teacher to clarify vocabulary. Even so, it was evident in the post-experience interviews that the participants varied greatly in the extent to which L1 should be used. On the low end, Katia asserted, “I don’t feel that they should use it [Spanish] the whole time in the classroom. I do feel that they should be able to use it a little bit maybe not an hour at a time, but just maybe sparingly throughout the day.” It was not clear how they would go about enforcing such limits. Instead, they spoke of encouraging ELLs to speak English in class. A few believed that limits should not be imposed, and that ELLs needed to feel safe. As Miranda stated, “I don’t really think that it’s something that we should limit. I think if that’s where they are comfortable, you shouldn’t put a student in a place that they are totally uncomfortable.” The preservice teachers’ beliefs about how L1 should be used in the classroom showed diversity, varying from limiting its use to utilizing it as a cognitive aid.

4.3 Patience to Strategized Patience

In the pre-experience interviews, patience was frequently mentioned as a crucial quality that teachers of ELLs should have. They believed that they possessed this trait which would help them to teach ELLs. Katia’s response was typical, “I feel that you need to have patience in order to work with them, because if they can’t speak English at all, then you will really need to work with them and help them to understand what you’re saying.” Their words were contradictory at times. On the one hand, patience was the most important factor, and they said they were very patient. On the other hand, they did not know if they would be able to deal with any language barriers. Prior to the glocal engagement experience, most did not see themselves as future teachers of ELLs. They knew that it was inevitable that they would have them in the classroom because as many stated, “This is Texas,” but did not feel capable of teaching them. In many instances, the fact that they did not speak Spanish was the missing quality. Margo stated, “My only issue with tackling

it [teaching ELLs] or fear is just not be able to communicate with the children because I don't know any Spanish at all." Thus, in their minds, knowing Spanish was a prerequisite for teaching ELLs.

In general, the participants went beyond the personal quality of patience as a result of the experience. They were more willing to find ways to communicate with ELLs and provide comprehensible input (Willard-Holt 2001). In the first interviews, only one preservice teacher mentioned that knowing ESL pedagogy was the most important element for working with ELLs. They were introduced to ESL pedagogy in the second language acquisition class, and the course they were enrolled in at the time of the study dealt exclusively with this topic. However, while they practiced strategies with each other in the classes, most had had little or no opportunity to try them with actual ELLs. Without a direct interaction with ELLs, teaching them remained something they practiced with their monolingual English-speaking classmates. Language proficiency was irrelevant on the basis of what they gathered from these earlier courses.

In the post-experience interviews, many of the preservice teachers demonstrated a refined understanding of language proficiency and its importance as a basis for pedagogical choices. Most entered the classroom believing that all ELLs would be at low levels of English proficiency, perhaps because little or no understanding of English appeared to be the most salient in their coursework or that is what they feared. Martha's response was typical of their comments, "I thought they would not be on the level that they were. I expected them to be on a lower English learning level, maybe beginner, maybe newer arrivals and what not." The stereotypical view that all ELLs know little English was replaced by an increasingly nuanced view of diverse proficiency levels. As Emily stated,

> I realized that there are many different levels to the ELLs. Even though they are in the same classroom, there are some students that know a lot of English. It's not hard for them to understand. But there are other students who can't understand anything I was telling them. I was surprised by how different they can be.

Thus, studying the proficiency levels as an academic task in their ESL methods courses did not lead to a sophisticated awareness of language proficiency. However, through direct interaction with ELLs in the classroom for the first time, their understanding of language proficiency became a key element in lesson planning and delivery.

This understanding that ELLs are not necessarily beginners was also present in their lesson plans and reflective journals. After the experience in the schools, the key vocabulary they selected to teach became more academic, moving from words like *compare* and *contrast* to *autotroph* and *provocative*. Many noted in their reflective journals that they needed to know the proficiency levels of the students before selecting vocabulary. Laura's reflection on her first lesson is typical of this "If I had the opportunity to teach this lesson again, I would research what level of proficiency the students were on and I would try to find more academic words." Although they had been taught the proficiency levels in their previous classes, watched videos on ELLs and created lessons for a variety of proficiency levels, it

was not until they interacted directly with ELLs that these preservice teachers understood how the concept of language proficiency levels related to designing and delivering lessons (Lee 2011; Olmedo and Harbin 2010; Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012).

The same students who experienced an enhanced understanding that intelligence and proficiency level were independent of each other, also praised the field experience and longed for more. Lynn stated, “It’s definitely helped me grow as an ESL teacher, because now I know what to expect and I know that I can do it.” In the pre-experience interview, most viewed personal characteristics like patience being critical for success in teaching ELLs. In the post-experience interview, pedagogical tools such as how to teach vocabulary and using visuals were cited as important in teaching ELLs. In other words, the glocal engagement experience in teaching ELLs helped to develop a professionalization that included strategized patience. For example, in the following excerpt, Karla noted that ELLs performed poorly on an assessment which went over mechanics of writing, but did successfully engage in writing tasks. She stated,

> Today we had to just, we were going to hand back the quizzes … But we decided not to do that because they were not good scores, they were awful. But we decided to take that out just for the fact that they were actually writing … So, they were really engaged in their writing activity and they were actually getting stuff done.

Clearly, she understood that the assessment did not reflect what the ELLs were capable of doing with respect to writing. Therefore, she made a conscious pedagogical decision to focus on process rather than assessment. An important facet of intercultural competence within the field of education is understanding how language proficiency affects learning and how teachers address this in the classroom (Lee 2011; Olmedo and Harbon 2010; Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012).

5 Conclusion and Implications

In this paper, we reported on a glocal engagement experience that we conducted in collaboration with a local middle school in an effort to build the intercultural competence of the preservice teachers at our institution. We believe that in addition to empathy and awareness, preservice teachers must have an understanding of the language and academic needs of the ELLs they will work with in the future. The pre- and post-experience interviews documented changes in their conceptualization of ELLs. The findings indicated that the preservice teachers made progress toward developing intercultural competence and their perceptions of ELLs and their educational needs were positively altered as a result of the glocal engagement experiences. Some of the preservice teachers initially framed ELLs as an ethnicity which neglected a language component and as having limited capacity to create intellectual work. Many of these beliefs were somewhat transformed after interacting with ELLs in the classrooms. They refined their ideas about diversity to include an

awareness of language. In addition, the preservice teachers discussed that patience alone was the most important characteristic they needed to work with ELLs. They later refined their beliefs about ELLs' language needs, the potential for creative work, and strategized patience as a support mechanism to scaffold ELLs' language and content development.

Most of the preservice teachers were aware of the diversity in Texas public schools and expected to see it in their classroom. Although they commented on how they would respect the cultural differences, they did not necessarily know how to work with ELLs in the classroom and how to support their pedagogical needs. Respecting students' diversity is the first step toward effective instruction. However, intercultural competence should include not only an awareness of students' cultural experiences, but also specific pedagogical strategies that best meet their language and content needs (de Jong and Harper 2005; Olmedo and Harbon 2010). A teacher with enhanced intercultural competence must establish empathy with students (Willard-Holt 2001; Zhao et al. 2009), understand their needs, and implement action that address these needs effectively (Palmer and Menard-Warwick 2012). As indicated in the post-experience interviews, most of the preservice teachers transformed their understanding of ELLs and revamped their lesson plans and instructions in an effort to better address their students' language and academic needs. For example, they selected target vocabulary in accordance with their students' proficiency levels.

As the preservice teachers continued to work with the ELLs in their classroom, their beliefs about students' abilities transformed. Some preservice teachers initially had negative notions that ELLs manipulated their teachers into assigning less work and pretended they were not able to use English. Many assumed that ELLs were of limited intellect. It is important to note that this field experience was their first time teaching ELLs. Most of the preservice teachers were drawing from their past experiences which included little or no contact with ELLs in their personal and professional lives. By interacting with ELLs in classrooms, the preservice teachers experienced genuine communication gaps that had to be dealt with by differentiating instruction and providing language support. Their growing awareness of language differences was one of the critical objectives of the study. Recent research on teacher intercultural competence discussed how intercultural experiences enhanced teachers' language awareness (Lee 2011; Olmedo and Harbon 2010; Wernicke 2010). Parallel to the findings in these studies, the preservice teachers in this study started to put language at the forefront of their lesson plans and moved away from seeing diversity as only a cultural issue.

We attempted to provide this glocal engagement experience in our own backyard in an effort to help our students build intercultural competence. We had hoped that through this experience the preservice teachers would empathize with ELLs and begin to see the world through their eyes. In some of the pre-experience interviews, ELLs were almost nonexistent, not a part of the preservice teachers' personal or professional world. After the experience, most preservice teachers demonstrated a more refined understanding of ELLs and their language needs. Before the glocal engagement project, many preservice teachers did not take proficiency level into

account and seemed to equate lower proficiency with lower intelligence. They later realized that ELLs did not lack intelligence, but lacked language proficiency. The transformation of their beliefs was in line with Addleman et al.'s (2014) three stages of learning: triggering experiences, frame of reference examination, and transformative change. The preservice teachers encountered critical incidents in which they faced gaps in students' language proficiency, and witnessed moments in which they experienced ELLs' intelligence. The discomfort and disorientation in the interactions provided learning opportunities for building teacher sensitivity to diversity (Sharma et al. 2012; Trent 2011). Through these critical incidents, some of the preservice teachers were able to transform their deficit beliefs about students' abilities and begin working to meet their true academic needs. This finding is similar to Dantas's (2007) study in which the participating teachers examined their deficit beliefs about students' potential and sociocultural/intellectual capital. Dantas argued for the need for spaces in which teachers' ordinary assumptions can be challenged, paving the way for a new collection of actions.

6 Limitations and Future Directions

While the present glocal engagement experience was not able to achieve all of the goals identified at the beginning of the study, there were milestone accomplishments that would not have been possible if the preservice teachers did not have this opportunity. Similar to previous teacher intercultural competence studies with incidental negative outcomes or partially miseducative experiences (e.g., Burant and Kirby 2002; Pence and Macgillivray 2008; Pray and Marx 2010), some of the preservice teachers' existing beliefs were perpetuated or were resistant to change throughout the study. For example, some continued to view L1 with suspicion. In addition, none appeared to extend their conceptualization of language diversity beyond Spanish. However, there was still critical transformation in other areas, such as a better understanding of ELLs' language needs, intellectual capacity, and collection of specific strategies to better address their language and content needs. This experience challenged the preservice teachers' existing assumptions of ELLs, their abilities, their weaknesses, and their educational needs. Through this field experience, preservice teachers took on the responsibility of interacting with ELLs, transforming their initial notions which placed the burden of communication on ELLs. Future research should explore how intercultural competence develops over an extended period of time from preservice to inservice teaching. Parallel to expanding globalization and new educational reforms like ESSA in U.S. public schools, we expect to see increasing opportunities for similar glocal engagement projects between public schools and universities. It is our hope that by enhancing their intercultural competence, educators will be in a better position to foster ELLs' success in U.S. schools.

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Part II
Attending to the Contextualized, Glocal Negotiation of Identity and Instruction in Approaches to the “Classroom”

Co-producing Glocal Knowledge: Possibilities of International Education Courses in Japan

Tomoko Tokunaga

Abstract International education courses where students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds learn together in Japanese, English, or both, are one of the growing areas within the globalization initiatives of Japanese higher education. These courses have enormous potential to facilitate glocal interaction among diverse students which could lead to producing glocal knowledge. Using autoethnography, I reflexively examine how I developed, taught, and experienced an international education course which I taught at a Japanese private university. The course focused on educational issues of minorities in Japan including Burakumin (descendants of a feudal outcast group in the Edo period), Okinawans and Ainu (indigenous populations), ethnic Koreans, *kikokushijo* (returnees), newcomers, LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning) students, and students with disabilities. As a hybrid, transcultural, and borderland educator and scholar, I attempted to be critical about the knowledge, language, and pedagogy I used in the diverse classroom environment. I continuously observed, adjusted, and modified the course to enhance interaction and encourage the students to challenge traditional forms of knowledge and coconstruct a new and hybrid one. Specifically, the students and I co-produced glocal knowledge through making the American-centered perspective relative, privileging personal stories, and learning from transcultural comparison. In the twenty-first century, these courses become a critical site in nurturing glocal perspectives and producing unusual forms of glocal knowledge which could transcend national, cultural, and linguistic borders and boundaries.

1 Introduction

In my university classroom, the students and I negotiate intersections of multiple borders, including ethnicity, nationality, language, gender, sexuality, class, ability/disability, and educational background. Many of the individuals I encounter are

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study abroad students who came to Japan for a semester or a year and regularly attended universities in various parts of the world, such as the USA, France, Canada, Sweden, Taiwan, Switzerland, and Germany. Others are degree-seeking students who identify themselves as "*Jyun-Japa*" (pure Japanese) or as *kikokushijo* (returnees) who grew up in multiple countries, such as South Africa, Malaysia, Hong Kong, the USA, France, Canada, and/or Switzerland. Some have a multiethnic/multiracial background—Japanese and Korean, Filipino and Scottish, or Korean and Uzbek. Like my students, I also inhabit the borderlands where "two or more cultures edge each other" (Anzaldúa 2007, p. 19). I am a Japanese citizen who was born in Japan, speaks Japanese as her mother tongue, and grew up mostly in a suburb of Tokyo. But I also spent a third of my life abroad—in Indonesia and the USA. Through my self-reflexive account of my experience as an instructor of an international education course, this chapter focuses on the possibilities and constraints of this course, a potential site in which global and local intersects.

International education courses where students with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds learn together in Japanese, English, or both are one of the growing areas within the globalization initiatives of Japanese higher education. In recent years, under pressure from the Japanese government and industries to nurture *gurobaru jinzai* (global human resources), Japanese universities are attempting to internationalize their institutions (Yonezawa 2014). Top Global University Project is one of the government-initiated projects that funds selected universities to "enhance the international compatibility and competitiveness of higher education in Japan" (MEXT 2014) within the 10-year reform. For example, universities are expanding their exchange programs (for both incoming and outgoing students), internationalizing their curriculum and programs (which often means providing courses in English), and developing double and joint degree programs.

Since the 1990s, scholars in Japan, specifically in the field of intercultural education, have written about the possibilities and limitations of this type of course, often based on their teaching experiences. It is commonly called "*tabunka kurasu*" (a multicultural class) (Tokui 1997), which indicates an interactive and experiential course consisting of "international students" and "Japanese" students. Scholars have argued that international co-learning classes have the potential to create inclusive learning communities among diverse students (Suematsu 2014), develop intercultural understanding and competency (Kagami 2006), and raise awareness toward human rights issues globally (Miyamoto 2013). These courses are not Japan specific but are part of a movement of universities across the globe that are attempting to internationalize their campuses. Scholars have revealed the ways in which universities in New Zealand (Campbell 2012), Korea (Jon 2013), and Australia (Leask 2009) attempted to enhance interaction among international students and host students to cultivate intercultural competence. It is a pressing concern for universities internationally to create a multicultural learning community.

I believe that these international education courses have enormous potential to facilitate glocal interaction among diverse students, which could lead to producing "glocal knowledge." "Glocal knowledge" challenges essentialized and homogeneous understandings of knowledge confined to national, cultural, and linguistic

boundaries and values "relationality and interconnectedness of western and other forms of knowledge" (Tikly 1999, p. 615). It is a situated knowledge developed through "transnational flows, exchanges, and intermingling of (educational) ideas and the processes of local mediation and recontextualisation" (Takayama 2011, p. 463). In a messy transcultural space, a "zone of cultural congestion" (Finkelstein 2013, p. 133), where various metaphorical and literal border crossings take place, students and teachers can no longer depend on essentialized, static, and binary categories. They are expected to be comfortable accepting ambiguity, complexity, and ambivalence in learning, sharing, reflecting, and constructing diverse experiences, identities, and knowledge. They are encouraged to discuss topics through transcultural and comparative lenses in order to interact with others who come from a very different location. They also attempt to be sensitive to the specific time, space, and context in which a course is held.

This transcultural site has the potential to become "a Third Space" where "cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha 1990, p. 211). Some scholars point out the problem of using the category of hybridity and a third space, which could reify and create another essentialized and static understanding of culture (Holliday 2011). Following these scholars, my intention is not to idealize an in-between space but is to explore multiple ways of being and becoming in this contested site.

In this chapter, I reflexively explore the ways in which I developed, taught, and experienced an international education course that aimed to coconstruct glocal knowledge on the topic of minorities and education. Since 2015, I have taught international education courses in English through an international education office of a Japanese private university, one of the largest and highly ranked institutions in Japan. In this chapter, I focus on the course on the topic of minorities and education in Japan that I taught in the first term of the 2015 academic year. My course consisted of 17 international non-degree students and 13 degree-seeking students (12 Japanese students and one international student). We examined the possibilities and limitations of Japanese educational policies and practices that have an impact on the lives of minorities and explored ways to create more inclusive educational sites. We focused on various minorities in Japan such as the Burakumin (descendants of a feudal outcast group in the Edo period),[1]Okinawans and Ainu (indigenous populations), ethnic Koreans (a group called "oldcomers" who have roots in Japan's colonization of Korea), *kikokushijo* (returnees), "newcomers" (relatively new immigrants), LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning) students, and students with disabilities (see Tables 1 and 2 for details about the course).

I use autoethnography, which connects "the personal to the cultural" (Ellis and Bochner 2000, p. 739), to explore the possibilities and constraints of the course in facilitating glocal interaction. Autoethnography is a contemporary ethnographical approach that values subjectivity, reflexivity, and vulnerability of a researcher.

[1]See Bondy (2015) for details about the Burakumin.

Table 1 Basic Information about the course

Topic	Minorities and education in Japan
Year	First term of 2015
Credits	2 credits (1.5 h 14 classes)
Course requirements	•Attendance and participation •Educational autobiography •Two reflection papers •Group project presentation •Final paper
Number of students enrolled	17 international non-degree students and 13 degree-seeking students (12 Japanese students and one international student)
Location of students' home university	Japan (13), USA (10), France (2), Germany (1), Canada (1), Sweden (1), Switzerland (1), Taiwan (1)
Students' majors	Law, Political Science, International Relations, Economics, Policy Management, Environment and Information, Asian studies, Linguistics (Japanese), Sociology, Anthropology, Literature, Art, Education, Computer Science

Table 2 Course schedule (14 classes)

1. Introduction
2. Basic concepts: Dimensions of difference, majority and minority, intersectionality
3. Overview of Japanese education
4. Presentation of educational autobiography
5. School non-attendance and *Ibasho*
6. Buraku students and human rights education
7. Child poverty and schooling
8. Okinawans and Ainu education
9. Long-existing minorities and ethnic schools
10. Newcomer students and schooling
11. Returnees and international understanding education
12. LGBTQ students and education
13. Students with disabilities and schooling
14. Wrap up

According to Ellis and Bochner (2000), autoethnography employs both an ethnographic lens that focuses "outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience" and a biographical lens to "look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations" (p. 739). Autoethnography allows me to reflect on my personal experiences, identity, and positionality, as well as analyzing the relationship between Self and Other in a particular cultural, social, and political context. In reflecting back and creating a narrative of this course, I examined personal reflections I wrote after the class each week and students' reflection papers. I believe that autoethnographic

exploration of the course would allow me to deepen my understanding of possibilities and constraints of the course and could provide insightful suggestions to educators who teach similar types of courses internationally.

I first explore my hybrid positionality in developing this course. Then I examine the ways in which the students and I coconstructed glocal knowledge in the classroom: (1) making the American-centric perspective more relative, (2) privileging personal stories, and (3) learning from transcultural comparisons. Finally, I conclude with the possibilities and constraints of international education courses.

2 My Hybrid Positionality in Developing the Course

I am a "cultural-linguistic hybrid" (Tam 2003) who navigates diverse disciplines, scholarships, languages, institutions, cultures, and traditions. I have navigated lifelong border-crossing experiences, specifically shuttling back and forth between Japan and the USA. My academic training at the undergraduate and graduate level took place in both countries, mainly in the field of education. While I enrolled in a national university in Japan majoring in international relations for my BA, I studied abroad for a year in the field of education at a public university in California. After I received my MA from another national university in Tokyo in the sociology of education and advanced to its doctoral program, I decided to study abroad and entered the doctoral program in the college of education at a public university in Maryland. I returned to Japan after I received my PhD in education and took a postdoctoral position sponsored by the Japanese government. During the 2 years of my postdoctoral research, I was a visiting scholar at the Asian American studies program of a public university in Massachusetts for half a year. During my academic training, I also taught many courses including a few co-instructed classes in both countries using Japanese or English. These included a sociology course at a nursing vocational school in Japan, a culture and education course at a university in Maryland, a sociology of education course at a university in Tokyo, and an Asian American studies course at a university in Massachusetts.

As a "transnational academic intellectual" who "crossed the boundaries and whose epistemic paradigms and positional identities have become transnational" (Kim 2010, p. 583), I have continuously attempted to connect, disconnect, construct, and deconstruct knowledge I acquired in two countries and in two languages. After I returned to Japan and started my career as an academic, I became more critical about my role, location, and position in producing and disseminating knowledge in my research and teaching. This change occurred from discussions with similar hybrid scholars in Japan and abroad who interrogated the hegemony of "Western" knowledge and Japan's peripheral and ambivalent position within it (Kariya 2011; Kuwayama 2004; Takayama 2011; Willis and Rappleye 2011). As one of my attempts, I have written a collaborative autoethnography with my colleague, who also has similar bilingual and bicultural academic training, and exploring our hybrid identities, positionalities, and roles as transcultural academics

based in Japan (Imoto and Tokunaga 2014). Furthermore, I became involved in research projects that attempt to disseminate Japanese scholarship in education to an English-speaking audience. The field of education is one area that is criticized as "domestic" or "national," as a great deal of knowledge produced in Japan in Japanese tends to remain within the national boundaries. Without reinforcing the binary discourse of "the West" and "Japan," I have attempted to explore the ways to critically interpret, (dis)connect, and (de)construct multiple forms of knowledge in an interconnected world.

Reflecting on my teaching experiences in Japan, I realized that I often uncritically employed "Western" theories and concepts in my teaching and was perhaps complicit in the hegemony of "Western" knowledge production. For example, in a course on the sociology of education as part of a teacher education program at a Japanese university, I introduced American social justice theories (e.g., concepts like oppression, marginalization, social categories, and dimensions of differences) to explain educational inequality (e.g., gaps in academic achievement and educational attainment) in Japan. While some concepts were helpful for students in understanding how inequality took place in educational settings, I also noticed confusion, disconnection, and some forms of resistance from them. It was not common or was sometimes even thought to be taboo to use these social categories (e.g., gender, class, race, or ethnicity) to analyze educational problems in Japan. I wondered whether uncritically teaching these "Western" concepts could be a form of colonization of knowledge.

In developing the course that I focus on in this chapter, I paid attention to the intersections of global and local, "Japan" and "the West," and Japanese and English, among others. Some questions I pondered were: What theories and concepts should I introduce to discuss minorities and education in Japan? Are there any readings, videos, and materials written in English that are relevant to this course? If not, is it appropriate to assign readings written in Japanese? What pedagogy should I use in my class, given the diversity of students with different levels of comfort in English? How could I teach this course without essentializing the case of Japan but making theories, pedagogy, and knowledge relevant to students from multiple countries? Is it possible to coconstruct glocal knowledge with the students on minorities and education using Japan's case as a lens?

While I critically considered these questions, initially I referred to the culture and education course that I co-taught at a university in the USA (Cohen et al. 2013) in deciding the theoretical foundations and approaches of the course. I planned to mainly introduce social justice theories and postcolonial cultural studies theories to examine educational issues of minorities in Japan. The main themes I described in the syllabus were (1) majority and minority, (2) diversity, inclusivity, and equity, and (3) agency and oppression, which have theoretical orientations from the USA. I used various categories of difference such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and region to examine various minority groups in Japan. As Murphy-Shigematsu (2008) argues, there is a danger of using essentialized categories of identity that could homogenize the diversity within a minority category. In order to avoid essentializing and generalizing the experiences of minorities,

I introduced the concept of intersectionality, a theory that captures intersecting identities and systems of inequality (Dill and Zambrana 2009). As for the readings, I assigned articles and book chapters written in English (mainly by foreign or hybrid scholars who conduct research on Japanese education) about educational issues facing minorities. I was not sure if introducing these American social justice theories was appropriate or relevant in understanding the experiences of minority students in Japan. As I mentioned above, I knew that directly applying social categories to understand educational issues for minorities was not common in Japan, either in scholarship or in everyday life, which made me feel uneasy and unsure.

It was also challenging to decide my pedagogical approach to this course, given the diversity of the students enrolled. I knew that each student was familiar with different learning and teaching styles. I myself took courses and taught classes both in Japan and the USA and was aware of different styles between the two countries while acknowledging the intra-diversity. I was also trained to facilitate intergroup dialogue courses at an American university that aimed to build bridges among different identity groups. Personally, I preferred dialogues where students could share and listen to each other's personal stories and emotions and could collectively create a community. After much thought, I chose not to run this course as a lecture-style course, a common style in a Japanese university, where instructors give lectures for the entire course while the students remain silent and are expected to absorb what is said. I wanted to make the most of the transculturally rich learning environment and thus decided to run the course mostly through discussions and dialogues in which all students were expected to sincerely listen and share their thoughts, opinions, and feelings about the topic. I decided to assign many reflection papers and comment sheets so that the students who were not used to participating in classroom discussions (or were perhaps not confident in speaking in English) could help co-create knowledge through writing. I left it open and flexible to combine lectures, discussions, group projects, and student presentations depending on the needs and characteristics of the student population.

3 Co-constructing Glocal Knowledge

It was a continuous experiment to develop a class in which the students and I could construct, deconstruct, hybridize, and fuse the knowledge, experiences, and perspectives that we brought to the classroom. I continuously reflected on the course by writing reflections, talking with my colleagues, and conversing with the students. While the process was not linear or smooth, here I will describe three ways in which we coproduced glocal knowledge on minorities and education using Japan's case: (1) making the American-centered perspective relative, (2) privileging personal stories, and (3) learning from transcultural comparisons.

3.1 Making the American-Centered Perspective Relative

In the first few classes, I introduced the main concepts and theoretical lens for the course. Specifically, the topic of the second class was "majority and minority, dimensions of difference," where we discussed concepts such as minority, majority, privilege, oppression, and intersectionality. I assigned two main readings, basic readings often used in American social justice studies courses: Pincus's (1996) "Discrimination Comes in Many Forms: Individual, Institutional, and Structural" and Weber's (2001) "Defining Contested Concepts (Chap. 1)" *Understanding Race, Class, Gender & Sexuality: A Conceptual Framework*. These two readings covered basic social justice concepts, and I thought that learning about systems of oppression and inequality would help in understanding the experiences of minority groups in Japan. Moreover, I wanted my students to consider what it means to be a majority and the privilege the majority group has.

When I asked the students their thoughts on the assigned readings, Yuta,[2] a Japanese American[3] student, said that the readings were "too American." He said that the examples used were all from the USA, so he wondered if other students who were not familiar with the American context would understand the point. Moreover, I realized that the international students, specifically the students from the USA, were participating in the discussion more than the Japanese students. There were ten students from the USA in my class, and all of them were native English speakers, which might have given them the ability to be more vocal in this course. In addition, social justice concepts and the examples discussed in the readings might have been familiar to many of the students from the USA. They talked about majority–minority states, racial tensions between Black and White people, and the invisibility of Asian Americans in the US context, which all were examples of majority and minority relationships from the USA. By contrast, some Japanese students seemed to struggle to understand the Western concepts (e.g., oppression and privilege), as these notions were often not talked about in Japan. For example, I took some time to explain the foreign concept of privilege to the students and also asked each of them to think and share what privilege they have living in Japan. Some discussed the privilege they had being a university student at a prestigious institution that afforded them ample access, network, and resources not available to other students. I attempted to contextualize these concepts through their situated experiences in Japan.

This discussion might have been appropriate in a classroom in the USA, but I felt unsure, confused, and uncomfortable leading this discussion in an international education classroom in a Japanese university. Perhaps, it was a sense of domination I felt by particular students. Some students were left out from the discussion as they

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[2]All the students' names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

[3]While I use identity categories to describe the students (e.g., Japanese students or American students), I do not mean to essentialize their cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and/or national backgrounds. I only use them to give context.

did not have contextual backgrounds to understand the topic discussed. Or perhaps some of them, specifically Japanese students, did not have enough skills to participate in a classroom discussion in English. I also wondered if the discussion illuminated the hegemony of Western (North American) knowledge taking place in my classroom. Some American students often did not contextualize their stories, which might have marginalized other students. An excerpt from my personal reflection shows how I pondered over my complicity as well.

> When we talk about Japan, we often explain about the contextual information. Students from Europe, like a German student, will explain the historical, social, and cultural backgrounds when telling their stories. But I realized that American students often do not. Is this because I am using American textbooks and theories in my course? Or because I had academic training in the United States, and I am familiar with the American context so the students do not feel the need to contextualize their stories? I need to be more mindful of my background and familiarity with the American context.

Through the interaction with my students, I realized that my perspectives, ideas, and thoughts often became American-centric when I used English. The English I spoke was deeply connected to the American context. Since I spent much of my time in the USA, I use many American English terms and feel some form of synergy with students from the USA, which sometimes means other students in the discussion get left behind. As an instructor of this course, I gradually became aware of my orientation toward the USA and realized the importance of unlearning this tendency, or at least acknowledging it. After this class, I often told the students and reminded myself to explain social, political, economic, and cultural contexts of stories, in order to make them more accessible and understandable to other students. Whenever the students used context-dependent terms (e.g., racial tensions in the USA), I asked them to clarify and add contextual explanations for those who were not familiar with the local contexts. Gradually, they started to contextualize their stories on their own or prompt each other without my cue. We collectively aimed to reveal and articulate contexts in which we were embedded, which was an important step in facilitating glocal interaction.

On a related note, I introduced some "Japanese" theories and concepts used in the field of education in Japan in relation to the "Western" theories, specifically from the USA. While the course was offered in English, I intentionally used some Japanese phrases associated with these concepts (e.g., *kyousei* (co-existence) and *housetsu* (inclusion)) and also assigned some optional readings in Japanese. Often, I asked the students who were familiar with Japan and went to Japanese schools to share their experiences in order to give context to these Japanese terms. For example, I introduced the Japanese "indigenous" concept of *ibasho* (居場所) in the class, as it is a "robust concept to understand the struggles of minority students and to create affirming and welcoming spaces for them" (Tokunaga and Huang 2016, p. 166). Ibasho means any place, space, or community where one can feel a sense of belonging, safety, comfort, and acceptance (Sumida 2003). I gave some examples of how people use the term *ibasho*, such as the Japanese phrase "*ibasho ga nai*" ("I don't have *ibasho*"), which describes a sense of non-belonging and nonacceptance. I asked the students to think about ways to support the creation of *ibasho* for

minority students in Japan, and the students often used this notion in discussions throughout the semester. In the final class when all the students gave final words, Hiroyuki, a Japanese student, shared how his attitude toward minorities has changed over course of the semester. He said that he wanted to refrain from using words such as "*Jyun-Japa*" (pure Japanese) and "*Gaijin*" (abbreviated word to describe a foreigner) because they "take away their *Ibasho*." I was struck by his use of the notion of *Ibasho* and cultural and linguistic sensitivity he nurtured over the semester. I also encouraged the students to introduce non-English concepts and theories that they knew and thought were relevant to the topic.

While I attempted to disseminate theories and concepts used in Japan, I was careful not to (re)essentialize them and create the dichotomous view of "Japan" and "the West." As Takayama (2011) argues, "foreign ideas are imported, reinterpreted, and recontextualized as the Japanese critical education movements have developed" (p. 463). In the second class, when we discussed the term "minority," I told the students that the focus on minority groups was ignored when scholarship on education developed in Japan by importing "Western" theories. I added that recently, foreign and hybrid scholars have used the minority perspective to analyze Japanese education, which sheds light on various minorities in Japan (see Shimizu et al. 2014). I tried to show hybridity and the fluidity of scholarship that crosses national borders (Takayama 2011). I continually attempted to question, challenge, and unlearn American-centric theoretical perspectives, making orientations relative by introducing multiple lenses, and being flexible in shifting scholarly discourses.

3.2 Privileging Personal Stories

Following postcolonial, postmodern, and cultural studies, and feminist theorists who argue the importance of lived experiences, I firmly believe in privileging students' personal stories in a classroom. Hooks (1991), for instance, argues, "personal testimony, personal experience, is such fertile ground for the production of liberatory feminist theory, because usually it forms the base of our theory making" (p. 8). Telling and listening to personal stories in a classroom can be liberating, empowering, and healing. Specifically, given this diverse population, I believe that sharing personal experiences has the potential to prevent students from generalizing, essentializing, and using binary categories to understand the topic. Rather, they could see diversity, plurality, and complexity in constructing glocal knowledge around minorities and education in Japan. Salem, a student from France, wrote in his comments on the course, "this course was interesting, because we could experience everyone's personal stories and cross our various, sometimes very different, ideas."

Throughout the semester, I encouraged the students to share their multiple identities, experiences, and stories with their classmates, make connections to each other, and link them with the overall themes of the course. In the first class, after my brief explanation of the syllabus of this course, I asked the students to fill in a

self-introduction sheet, including the reason they took the course, which topics interested them and why, their expectations for the course, and their future plans. Then I asked the students to engage in self-introduction using some questions on the sheet. I wanted to create a culture of the classroom where they could share their personal experiences in a safe and a community-like environment. There were many students who shared their sense of non-belonging, being part of various minority groups in terms of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability/disability, and language, among others. Aya, an exchange student who classified herself in various minority categories such as *kikokushijo*, Zainichi Korean, *haafu,*[4] and Japanese American, mentioned, "I am minority in many ways." Interestingly, without my guidance, the students started to make connections among each other by referring to students who presented before them. I also allotted some time for the students to write and discuss their role in participating in this class and learning about this topic. I wanted each student to take initiative and responsibility in developing this course and also acknowledge the importance of learning and teaching minority issues.

In the fourth class, I allotted the entire time to students' presentation of their educational autobiographies. Before the class, they wrote a four-page essay in which they reflected on their formal or informal schooling experiences as it related to their majority/minority experiences. When I assigned this project, I told them that understanding oneself, making personal experiences relevant to the course, and revealing the location from which they were speaking were critical in learning about minorities and education in Japan. I divided the students into small groups, and the students took turns sharing their autobiographies with others. I kept track of the time, walked around the groups, and observed their presentation and discussion. I emphasized the importance of actively and attentively listening to others without making judgments or assumptions. It was a very lively class where most of the students were passionate in talking and listening to each other. Flora commented after the class that she was "enlightened" by the activity. In the reflection paper of the presentation, Matteo wrote, "I think I heard stories that I only saw on TV or movies. It's really powerful to hear stories from people who really lived them." As his comment revealed, in this activity, the students learned about this topic through their own and classmates' lived experiences and not from a textbook or an image constructed by media. They also started to see interconnections among each other's stories, which were very different but also had similarities. Yuta wrote in his reflection, "I learned that there are shared experiences that transcend the borders of nation in regards to education. Everyone felt a sense of marginalization in their respective experiences." I believe this activity established a classroom culture in which the students realized the power of personal stories, respecting each other's experiences, and attempting to examine the various meanings that these stories revealed.

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[4]*Haafu* is a term in Japanese to describe individuals who are "ethnically" "half-Japanese" and an implied "half-(Other)" (Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008).

Starting with the sixth class, I made the students do group presentations (three to four students per group) on educational issues of a minority group they chose (working class, Burakumin, Okinawans and Ainu, Zainichi Koreans, newcomers, returnees, LGBTQ, or people with disabilities). In addition to doing literature research including the assigned readings on the topic (e.g., Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011), the students were required to conduct fieldwork as part of their presentation, which was another attempt to collect personal stories from distinct communities. After group presentations, we had a discussion time where we asked each other questions, challenged our thinking, and collectively explored the possibilities and constraints of minority education in Japan. Since I valued the students' co-learning process, I intentionally sat with the students and became part of the discussion for most of the time. During the discussion, I often noticed the students asking each other if they had any personal experiences or stories they wanted to share related to the topic. It was their collective attempt to inductively build theories from their diverse lived experiences.

During the class on "returnees and schooling," we had an interesting discussion on home and belonging for people who lived in multiple countries. In the Japanese context, "returnees" are those who have Japanese parents and lived abroad as children due to their father's job (Goodman 2012). There were five Japanese students who identified themselves as returnees in the classroom, so they shared their stories of, for instance, their upbringing in multiple countries, struggles of readapting to a Japanese society, and making sense of complex identities. While other students did not fit into this category, their border-crossing experiences resonated with returnees, which allowed many of them to actively participate in the discussion. Saki, a Japanese returnee student who presented commented in her paper, "through discussions after presentation, it was interesting to see lots of students felt relevant to returnee's problem. Since students studying abroad might have once felt discouraged because they are foreigners in Japan, it may have been a sympathetic topic. In this way, exchange students and returnees can collaborate to create inclusive education policy."

In the discussion, the students connected the topic of returnees to a broader theme and category: the notion of home for border-crossers. Salem asked one of the returnee students a complex question: If she was traveling abroad and there was an emergency, to which country would she think of returning immediately? This question was carefully crafted to identify a place where she felt a sense of roots, attachment, and/or belonging. Salem added that he would instinctively think of France, even though he was born in Tunisia and his parents were in Tunisia. His upbringing in France mattered to him. The returnee student answered "Malaysia," as she lived there until the age of 8. She thought more and mentioned that perhaps it was because she had the "best memories" there. They collectively examined the factors that contributed to creating a sense of home for border-crossers, including age, time, memories, and school experiences. Then Hui-ting, a student who was born in Taiwan and immigrated to Canada during elementary school, said that she saw Taiwan as her hometown when she was in Canada but thought of Canada as her home when she was in Japan. Kumi, a Japanese American student, added that

she identified herself as Japanese in the USA but American in Japan. They complicated each other's stories and mentioned that sense of home changed depending on the context. By sharing their personal stories and making linkages among them, they collectively expanded a Japan-specific case of returnees and constructed glocal knowledge on border-crossers and notions of home. As Murphy-Shigematsu (2012) mentions, "they [individuals] move[d] beyond the personal by placing their lives in a broader social context, believing that they have been given the opportunity to unite different worlds" (p. 213).

While the students were sophisticated in drawing from each other's stories and making interconnections, they sometimes struggled when we discussed topics that were irrelevant or foreign to their lives, such as the Buraku people or Zainichi Koreans. On these occasions, international students often asked Japanese students if they had any personal stories or indirect experiences on the topic, as if they were "spokespeople" who were well informed about minority groups in Japan. But in reality, the Japanese students, most of whom are privileged, often did not have any direct experiences with, and tend to be uninformed about, this population. Some have never learned or heard about the Burakumin or Zainichi Koreans at school or even at home or in their community. They thought that it was taboo to even talk about this population openly. The following excerpt from my reflection shows the frustration I felt about the fact that many students were unaware of these minority issues.

> I realized that so many students, Japanese students, do not know about these issues [on minorities in Japan]. So many are *muchi* (ignorant in Japanese). They might be complicit in colonizing and oppressing these minorities through not knowing the problems and what minority youth are going through. So how can we change the education, how can we educate the majority Japanese, what is our role, as [the name of the university] students in doing things differently is something we need to think about.

International students also often mentioned about their ignorance of minority issues in their own countries. In the final class when each student said final words, Matteo remarked, "I was blind," implying his ignorance of minorities in his home country of Switzerland. The fact that they had less knowledge on these groups in Japan made us realize the limitation of the school curriculum—that Japanese mainstream schools put less emphasis on teaching about minorities and marginalized communities.

On these occasions, I often shared my personal and research experiences on this invisible minority population. For example, I often described my research on working-class Filipina immigrant girls in Japan and the social, economic, and cultural struggles they faced living in this society (Tokunaga 2011). I shared how a number of Filipina/o immigrant youth struggled economically and academically and dropped out of high school and worked multiple part-time jobs in unstable work conditions. It was my way of intervening in a discussion that sometimes romanticized the reality of immigrant students, many of whom are from working-class backgrounds. The students often seemed surprised to hear the

hardships these minority students experience in Japan and problematized the fact that immigrant students were often invisible in Japanese education and the larger society. I often pushed the students further and asked them to critically think about their positionality and role in learning about minorities and education— specifically, to be attentive to their privileged background. Some questions I asked were "What would you do differently?" and "How would you apply what you learned in this course to your daily life?"

I appreciated the ways the students shared their stories and attempted to make sense of them as they related to the theme of the course. However, I sometimes had difficulty in not essentializing students' personal stories when I tied them to academic discourse. It was challenging for me to make all the students do the assigned readings and connect student presentations with arguments made in the readings. Sometimes I had to introduce and emphasize important statements in the readings in order to enrich the discussion. What perspectives and knowledge do the readings offer the students? How could the students use knowledge produced in academia to further analyze their own and others' personal stories? How could the students learn from the voices of minorities featured in poems, novels, newspaper articles, journals, and videos? I have examined some ways to be creative in connecting knowledge produced in academic and nonacademic settings with what the students brought to the class.

3.3 Learning from Transcultural Comparison

As the semester progressed, I noticed that the students actively shared their own perspectives, lenses, and knowledge and compared these with others in order to deepen their understanding of minority education in Japan. Minority issues are not unique to Japan; many other countries around the globe are grappling with their own exclusive policies, practices, and cultures toward marginalized populations. My students and I carried "heavy weights of tradition and expectation" (Finkelstein 2005, p. 1) and brought our experiences of being part of both minority and majority in the local contexts in which we lived. We had our own values, thoughts, and understanding of history, structures, policy, ideologies, and cultures on minority groups. It was through our personal and localized standpoint that we understood and constructed knowledge on education for minorities in Japan. We shared our own interpretations with each other, and the classroom interaction itself became a site of transcultural understanding.

In my class, I never asked the international students to talk about the case in their "country," which I believe is a problematic statement in emphasizing "methodological nationalism," "the epistemological assumptions about the primacy of the nation state as the fundamental unit of social analysis" (Sugimoto 2003, p. 17). I avoided generalizing their unique experiences and expecting them to serve as experts of an entire country. Instead, I told them that they needed to be aware of their own unique standpoint and the location from which they were speaking.

I encouraged them to see the phenomenon from their own cultural lenses, and aim to understand others' views to collectively explore the relevant topic.

The students understood, questioned, and discussed educational issues through transcultural comparisons. Throughout the semester, we often discussed the topics of segregation, integration, and assimilation of minority groups into mainstream society. In particular, we had a heated debate on whether specific schools should be created exclusively for minority students (e.g., ethnic schools for newcomers and oldcomers, "free schools" for *futoko*[5] (school non-attendance) students, etc.) or whether we should consider ways to integrate them into mainstream schools. In the class on Ainu and Okinawans, indigenous populations in Japan, the students who conducted the group presentation asked others if Ainu students should be assimilated or if they should be given a choice to integrate or segregate themselves from the mainstream. The students from the USA strongly resisted the idea of segregation and creating separate schools. They drew on the problematic history of the government-led exclusionary segregation of Native Americans and argued that these policies were not effective. Sara, an American student, asked if there were any incentives to create a space for minorities. She asserted that the Japanese majority needed to change to accept and welcome these marginalized populations.

Similarly, in the class on Zainichi Koreans, one of the discussion questions presented was whether attending ethnic schools was effective in preserving students' Korean heritage. Salem expressed strong resistance toward the idea of segregating minority students or "preserving" their cultural heritage. He did not fully explain why he opposed ethnic schools, but perhaps it came from his own experiences and the thoughts and values he carried. While he was reticent to articulate the contextual backgrounds and reason behind his argument, his strong emotion impacted many of us in the classroom and triggered reactions from us. Specifically, some of the students had never considered the negative impact of ethnic schools, so his contribution allowed them to understand these schools in a new and different way. Yuta gave a different point of view and mentioned that these ethnic schools could provide important heritage language instruction and cultural affirmation for Zainichi Korean students. He drew from his own experiences as a fifth-generation Japanese American who had a difficult time learning Japanese and feeling a connection to Japanese culture in a mainstream school in the USA. He said that attending Japanese school empowered and affirmed his cultural background and identity. While he described the meaning of ethnic schools for ethnic minorities

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[5]According to MEXT, *futoko* is a situation where students do not or are unable to attend school for over 30 days due to psychological, emotional, physical, or social factors and backgrounds (excluding illness or economic reasons). (Retrieved January 16, 2017, from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/chousa01/shidou/yougo/1267642.htm)

Since the 1980 s, parents, former teachers, and community actors have built "free schools," alternative educational sites that often do not follow rigid school structure and value students' autonomy and creativity in an attempt to serve diverse needs of students. See Shimizu (2011) for details about *futoko*.

in the USA, his perspective illuminated some positive aspects of ethnic schools for Zainichi Koreans in Japan.

I appreciated how the students brought comparative lenses to illuminate the possibilities and constraints of ethnic schools. However, I noticed that they sometimes intuitively made judgments on Japanese education policies and practices toward minorities without acknowledging complex historical, social, and cultural contexts. For the discussion on ethnic schools, I emphasized the fact that these schools were often "sites of linguistic and cultural resistance" (Tokunaga and Douthirt-Cohen 2012) for some minority communities in Japan (Motani 2002). In a country where multiculturalism is not valued in national law and policies, these schools have different meanings and roles. I encouraged the students to suspend their judgment and broaden and deepen their knowledge on the pros and cons of separate schools in a global context.

Another interesting discussion occurred during the class on "returnees and schooling." First, some international students challenged the category of "returnees," mentioning that there was no such category in many other countries. This category was based on an assumption that students would "return" to their "home country," which seemed problematic and questionable for students whose experiences contradicted this assumption. In this globalized world, where people frequently cross national boundaries and people's movement is becoming more dynamic and diasporic, we discussed how the category itself needed reconsideration.

In addition, we discussed whether returnees (who often have power and privilege) can be called a minority, drawing from the argument of one of the readings assigned (Goodman 2012). Some students stated that since returnees have more wealth than other minority groups like the Burakumin or newcomers, they felt uncomfortable counting returnees as a minority group. The returnee students in the class added that they had privilege in entering prestigious universities by using *tokubetsuwaku* (a special quota system for returnees). While some agreed with this statement, one group of students strongly opposed it. Steven, an Asian American student, compared the case of returnees and Asian Americans and argued that while Asian Americans are called "model minorities" due to their high educational and economic achievement in the USA, they are considered a minority because "they are treated differently." He said that it is not the fact that they number "less or more" but the fact that they are treated differently that makes returnees a minority. Perhaps we were discussing a different understanding of the term "minority," but his perspective pushed much of our thinking to another level. The students mentioned his comment in the reflection papers and further considered the similarities and differences of returnees to other minority groups.

4 Final Reflection: Twenty-First Century Course?

As many people are crossing multiple literal and metaphorical borders, this type of a twenty-first century course with students and teachers with diverse cultural backgrounds have much possibilities to enhance glocal interaction. As a hybrid, transcultural, and borderland educator and scholar, I attempted to facilitate interaction of our complex identities, experiences, and perspectives and maximize transcultural learning in this diverse classroom environment. I continuously observed, adjusted, and modified the course to enhance interaction and encourage the students to challenge traditional forms of knowledge and coconstruct a new one. We pushed national, cultural, and linguistic boundaries and borders in the class by challenging our own and others' perspectives and thoughts, openly sharing and sincerely listening to personal experiences, and making transcultural interconnections and comparisons. I believe that these interactions in a specific context of a Japanese university classroom allowed us to co-produce glocal, dynamic, and multifaceted knowledge around minorities and education.

For example, I realized that our understanding of majority and minority became more complex, broad, and multidimensional as we progressed through the semester. I initially wondered if using the concepts of majority and minority in this class was effective, or whether perhaps I needed to introduce more nuanced concepts that would capture both structural inequality and complex lived experiences. However, the students often questioned and criticized the dichotomous and static notions of majority and minority. We discussed our shifting identities, how each of us had both majority and minority experiences, and how these were context dependent. Masaya, a Japanese student, said in his final reflection paper, "I was surprised at how international students approached minorities differently compared to Japanese students but it (that approach) was very important for me to expand my perspective." Perhaps we developed some skills and abilities to question our worldview, imagine unknown ways of understanding, and see the world through a transnational, transcultural, and translinguistic lens.

While I made many attempts to enhance transcultural learning, I also experienced challenges in engaging the students. Some felt they were learning mainly from each other and wanted more lectures from the instructor. Others felt that too much reflection was required and did not enjoy writing reflection papers. There were some students who struggled while conducting group projects with students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For example, I noticed that some students divided their group project into individual work, which prevented their collaborative learning. I had to tell the students repeatedly that the coherence of their group project was extremely important and told them to work together. Due to language barriers, some Japanese students rarely spoke up in class. I sometimes called on them or provided some time for a small group discussion so these students could participate. As a class that consisted of 30 students who had different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, learning styles, and educational experiences, it seemed almost impossible to harmonize our needs, expectations, and goals. I continuously

observed and reflected on each class and attempted to be open and flexible in adjusting the class to meet the needs of students. I strongly believe that enhancing interaction among diverse students is critical in developing creative, innovative, and nontraditional forms of teaching and learning. I hope to continue my endeavor in nurturing diverse learning communities and cocreating new forms of knowledge by bridging multiple scholarships, disciplines, and knowledge locally and globally.

As more students cross national, cultural, and linguistic borders to enrich their learning experiences, I hope more universities in Japan and abroad provide this type of international education course in which students and instructors can dialogue, interact, and connect with diverse populations and learn across differences. In providing these courses, it is crucial for educators to be reflexive regarding their positionality and guide the students to be mindful of their standpoint and contextualize their stories. With so much diversity within a classroom setting, instructors need to be flexible in adjusting pedagogical approaches, assignments, and teaching content, depending on students' cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds. I also encourage instructors to listen to the needs and desires of students and adopt creative pedagogical interventions such as fieldwork, group projects, video-making, and exhibits in order to enhance interaction. Often, these experiential and student-led activities could reduce language and cultural barriers among the students and facilitate a nurturing learning community. I believe that international education courses are becoming a critical means of nurturing glocal perspectives and producing unusual forms of glocal knowledge that can transcend national, cultural, and linguistic borders and boundaries.

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Education for Glocal Interaction Beyond Essentialization and Idealization: Classroom Explorations and Negotiations

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Abstract The following chapter details a year-long, sociohistorically-situated poststructural ethnographic account (Britzman 1995) of 23 students and their teacher (this author), exploring and deconstructing fluidly local–global linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, political, religious, geographical, educational, philosophical, professional, and gender-related discourses implicated in the discursive construction of dominant and critically-oriented worldviews of globalization, and of "being equipped for participation in the global community" (グローバル人材/*guroubarujinzai*) in Japanese society. In and through their lived experiences, the students and their instructor conceptualize, construct, problematize, challenge, affirm, cross, and deconstruct essentialized borders of Self-Other in Japanese society, and Japaneseness-Otherness in terms of "beyond Japan."

1 Introduction

Who am "I"? Who are "you"? Who are "we/us"? Who is "not us/them"? What is "my/our" relationship to/connection with "them"? In approaching issues of identity, globalization, and being or becoming a participant in the global community, students and teachers wrestle discursively with positioning and being positioned (e.g., Kubota 2011, 2013; Oda 2007; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2016a; Toh 2014, 2015a). In this chapter, I[1] present an account of my students and me exploring dominant and alternative discourses of identity, globalization, and becoming グローバル人材 (*guroubarujinzai:* an individual equipped for participation in the global

[1]Throughout the chapter, I use the first-person "I" (and my), and active voice, in concert with the postmodern and poststructural commitments shaping my study. In doing so, I am revealing my subjectivities as a participant in the fluid co-construction of the study and the course described herein (Sultana 2007).

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community), and, in the process, apprehending, problematizing, and/or affirming bounds of Japaneseness and Otherness, in complex, and at times contradictory (Davies 1991), ways.

In this chapter, I begin by presenting an overview of identity, as conceptualized through a poststructuralist lens. I then review literature pertaining to the sociohistorical and discursive construction of "Japan", "Japaneseness", and "Otherness" in Japanese society, which posit Japan's unique status as a site of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national homogeneity (e.g., Befu 2009; Lie 2004). In doing so, I unpack critical challenges to dominant constructions of identity, which argue that Japan has always been, and continues to be a site of linguistic, sociocultural, ethnic, national, political, religious, geographical, educational, philosophical, gender-related, and professional movement, border-crossing, and hybridization (Murphy-Shigematsu 2004, 2008; Sugimoto 2009; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008). Situating the study in dialogue pertaining to the negotiation of being and becoming in Japanese society, I then present episodes of student apprehensions and negotiations of discourses of being and becoming in interaction with this author, course contents, and each other. Finally, I briefly touch upon how this study provides an example of "troubling" (Lather 1991; Vaughan 2004) essentialized discourses shaping the "cans", "shoulds", and "ares" of being and becoming (e.g., Kubota 2011, 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2016a; Toh 2015b; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008), and its potential contributions to critical dialogue.

2 Conceptual Framework

2.1 Identity Through a Poststructural Lens

Theory and inquiry located under the banner of "poststructuralism",[2] conceptualizes identity as fluidly, dynamically, discursively, and contextually negotiated in the interplay of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, educational, professional, and gender-related *discourses* of "being" and "becoming", dominant, and otherwise (e.g, Bhabha 1994, 1996; Davis and Harre 1990; Rutherford 1990). Morgan (2007) describes discourses as "systems of power/knowledge (Foucault 1982) that regulate and assign value to all forms of semiotic activity for instance, oral/ written texts, gestures, images, spaces, and their multimodal integration" (p. 952). Dominant discourses *essentialize* borders of being and becoming, an ongoing process Rudolph (2016a) describes as, "the subjective construction (or acceptance and perpetuation) of static categories of identity" (p. 13). Essentialization involves the

[2]There is indeed ontological and epistemological variety embedded within the work of scholars situated within "poststructuralism." Some scholars contend there is no apprehensible meaning, and therefore apprensible subjectivity or positionality (Procter 2004). Additionally, as Agger (1991) notes, there is distinct overlap between poststructural and postmodern theory and inquiry. In this chapter, I focus and draw on poststructural scholarship that conceptualizes "self" as discursively constructed, while not doing away with "self" entirely.

implicit and explicit construction of binaries of inside-outside, Us-Them, pure-impure, and correct-incorrect in communities, cultures, societies, and nations (e.g., Burgess 2012; Kubota 1999, 2002; Pavlenko 2002; Rutherford 1990). These borders are patrolled by individuals and groups, with the intention of cultivating and maintaining power (Fine et al. 2007).[3] In and through their lived experiences accepting, acquiescing to, problematizing, challenging, and/or crossing these borders, people dynamically construct their sense of self, or *subjectivity* (Wheedon 1997), as they both dynamically position themselves and are positioned purposefully and unintentionally, very often in contradictory manners (Davies 1991). "Self", can therefore conceptualized as a verb (Davies et al. 2004, p. 368). Davies (1991) argues the perceived apprehensibility of a stable, linear "self", results from: (a) an individual's positioning within a discourse appearing to be part of that person and not the discourse, (b) linking together an individual's lived experiences to construct meaning, (c) an individual's embodiment of discourses, and (d) the conflation of the consistency of the features of discourses an individual negotiates and embodies, with who a person "is" (pp. 49–50).

Though there is no discursive separation between an individual and "the collective", people may nevertheless make choices with degrees of authority, when positioning themselves (Davies 1991; Davies and Peterson 2005). This choice making is *agency:* the "capacity to resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted. It is the freedom to recognize multiple readings such that no discursive practice, or positioning within it by powerful others, can capture and control one's identity" (Davies 1991, p. 51).

2.2 Identity: Essentialization and Beyond in Japan

In Japanese society, dominant, essentialist discourses have fluidly constructed and perpetuated the notion of "Japan" as a place of linguistic, sociocultural, and ethnic homogeneity (e.g., Befu 2009; Lie 2004; Sugimoto 1999, 2014). Scholarship, drawing upon strains of social constructivist and postcolonial work, and particularly, upon postmodern and poststructural theory, has argued that this construction of an essentialized "Self", implicitly and explicitly contrasted with an essentialized "Otherness", overlooks, downplays, ignores, and even denies Japan's history as a space for movement, exchange, and hybridity (e.g., Burgess 2012; Chapman 2011, 2014; Denoon et al. 2001; Hane and Perez 2014; Kubota 2002; Sugimoto 2009; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008). In this overview, I present one brief sociohistorical account of the ongoing negotiation of identity in Japanese society, through a postmodern and poststructural lens, and how constructions of Self-Otherness shape approaches to globalization and education for glocal

[3]Critically-oriented discourses, though challenging the discursively "dominant," may also affirm or construct essentialized borders of identity (see Menard-Warwick 2008; Rudolph et al. 2015).

interaction with "flows" (Appadurai 2000) of individuals, ideas, finances, goods, and information.

Scholars have contended that the essentialization of modern "Japaneseness" and "Japan" began toward the end of the Edo era (1603–1868) and beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912) (Chapman 2014; Lie 2004; Robertson 2010). Prior to the Meiji era, the Tokugawa *bakufu* (feudal military government), had established a period of *sakoku* (forced closure) spanning more than 200 years. This period, initiated in the interest of consolidating authority within Japan, involved control of flows of people, goods, and ideas into and out of Japan, as well as the banning of Christianity, which had arrived with the Portuguese in the sixteenth century (Laver 2011). With the forced "opening" of Japanese ports to American ships in the early 1850s, numerous political and ideological factions within Japan clashed (see: Totman 1980). In 1868, an imperialist oligarchic government, with a restored Emperor as its figurehead, emerged victorious, thus ushering in the "Modern" era.

In the interest of uniting and controlling the people of Japan, and to face modernization, industrialization, and ever-increasing participation in the international community, the Meiji government, in concert with dominant political, social, and educational forces in society, set about constructing a shared "national identity" (Lie 2001, 2004). These efforts involved the creation of a "shared national" language (*kokugo*), a new "standard" dialect of Japanese (*hyoujungo*) rooted in the sociolect of educated Tokyoites (see: Heinrich 2012; Lee 2010), and the construction and propagation of gendered language (Inoue 2002). Religiously, the government established a form of national, State-controlled, Shinto (formerly an ancient, indigenous, polytheistic collection of beliefs, practice, and mythology), which contended for the divinity of the Emperor (Hardacre 1989). With the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, the government drew on structures for social order and control propagated by the Tokugawa shogunate (e.g., father-son; teacher-student; ruler-subject), to instill "morality" and submission to the Nation and Emperor, which intertwined religion and education (Khan 1997; Luhmer 1990).

During the 1870s, the government began work to establish a modern family registry system (*koseki seido*) to identify the national population (*kokumin*), which later paired with the Civil Code (*minpo*) and Nationality Law (*kokuseki*) to establish the bounds of "national identity" (Chapman and Krogness 2014). The *koseki* itself not only served to construct the family unit, but also to ground individuals to place (as recorded in the registry). This had the added effect of binding the *burakumin*, members of a social caste stigmatized by their "unclean" occupations associated with death, to their place of birth and residence (see: Neary 2009). The koseki was additionally significant, as the borders of "Japan" were expanding throughout the Meiji, Taisho (1912–1926), and early Showa (1926–1989) era due to annexation and colonization, as Japan grew into an empire. Individuals in the Bonin (Ogasawara) Islands and former Ryukyu kingdom were incorporated into the koseki (the Bonin Islanders, as *kikajin*, or naturalized foreigners), as were the indigenous Ainu people of Hokkaido. Using external registers to manage each of its colonial possessions (including Taiwan, Korea, Manchukuo and southern Sakhlin Island, north of Hokkaido), the government created *naichi* (internal) and *gaichi*

(external) registers, allowing for "inclusion and demarcation to occur simultaneously" (Chapman 2008, p. 429).[4]

Beginning in the Meiji period, individuals and groups additionally discussed and debated the cultural and ethnic origins of the "Japanese population" (Morris-Suzuki 1997). Influenced by the discourses of Social Darwinism and eugenics, a dominant, essentialized construction of Japaneseness eventually emerged, which fluidly commingled culture and ethnicity (Robertson 2010). Sugimoto (1999) argues that the conflation of culture and ethnicity was in turn combined with nationality to form the "NEC equation" (p. 81), or measure of Japaneseness. Thus, "Japaneseness" was constructed in and through essentialized linguistic, sociocultural, ethnic, geographical, religious, and educational discourses of identity. Descriptive, historically romanticized terms for "Japan", such as *Nippon* and *Yamato*, were employed politically, socially, and educationally in concert with race (*jinshu*) and ethnicity (*minzoku*), to form a new essentialized national identity that combined "phenotype, geography, culture, spirit, history, and nationhood" (Robertson 2010, p. 195). These essentialized constructions of "Japan" and "Japaneseness" formed a collection of discourses, labeled *nihonjinron*, that posited the linguistic, cultural, political, educational, philosophical, religious, geographical, ethical, ethnic, and even physiological distinctness of "the Japanese" (Befu 2001, 2009; Sugimoto 1999). Scholars including Robertson (1991, 1998) and Befu (2009) note how the construction of national identity has also produced a reductionistic nostalgia of past and of place that, while shared as part of a collective "Japanese" consciousness, did not, and does not, correspond with the diversity of lived experience within Japanese society.

The construction of an essentialized "Self", fluidly and concomitantly included the construction of "Otherness". In the Meiji period, this involved attempts at facilitating linguistic, cultural, religious, and educational detachment from Asia (Befu 2009; Lee 2010; Sugimoto 2009), followed by the juxtaposition of an essentialized Japan and Japaneseness against an essentialized, idealized West. The discourses driving this negotiation of "separation", were often in competition and conflict with each other. Yukichi Fukuzawa, an influential scholar and educator, for instance, argued in an 1885 newspaper editorial entitled *Datsu-A-Ron* (Leaving Asia), that Japan needed to prioritize interaction with the West, politically, socially, educationally, and philosophically, in order to attend to the urgent demands of modernization and interaction with the international community (Banno 1981; Benner 2006). Fukuzawa problematized many discourses implicated in the essentialization of national identity, however, including the construction of State Shinto and othering of Buddhism (Hardacre 1989), and challenged idealization of Japanese

[4]Though other forms of population registry have continued to emerge and evolve in Japanese society, the *koseki* continues to be a tool defining the bounds of "Self-Other," marrying genealogy and geography. Immediately following Japan's defeat in World War II, for example, all individuals documented in the *gaichi* registers were stripped of citizenship by the government (Chapman 2014). For further reading, see: Chapman (2008, 2012, 2014); Lee (2012); Lie (2001, 2004).

history (Benner 2006). This deviated, ideologically, from the narrative perpetuated by the increasingly dominant discourses of *nihonjinron*, emergent during the very same period, which militated for a Japan and Japaneseness disjoined from its sociohistorical interaction with Asia, and contrasted with the “West”. Though such discourses of identity were conflicting and contradictory in many ways, they nevertheless collectively constructed Japan and Japaneseness in a dichotomy opposite an idealized Western Otherness (Burgess 2012).

There are two important points to mention at this juncture, when discussing the essentialization of Japanese and Japaneseness and Otherness. First, the discourses of homogeneity that became dominant in Japanese society, were, and continue to be, challenged and perpetuated by Japanese and non-Japanese alike (Manabe and Befu 1992; Shimizu 2006; Sugimoto 2009). Furthermore, the construction of identity in Japanese society is glocal in nature. The linguistic, cultural, ethnic, political, economic, religious, educational, and philosophical discourses implicated in the creation of a nation and national identity flowed into and out of Asia, the West, and Japan, in dynamic fashion. Thus, the essentialization of being and becoming, in Japanese society, was predicated upon movement, exchange, and hybridity.

Essentialized discourses of Japaneseness and Otherness, first politically driven, have, since World War II, become mainstream, shaping social, political, educational, and legislative approaches to identity in Japanese society up to present (Befu 2009; Chapman 2014; Lie 2004). In the ongoing negotiation of Self-Other in Japanese society, the essentialized, idealized Westerner/Other has largely been constructed as Caucasian, male, monolingual, English-speaking, North American or British, urban dwelling, and middle to upper class (Burgess 2012; Heinrich 2012; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rivers and Ross 2013; Kubota 1998, 2002; Marlina and Giri 2014; Oda 2007; Toh 2014, 2015a). Education for the negotiation of interaction both within and beyond Japan, has been glocally constructed and conceptually equated with English language education predicated on the linguistic and cultural “knowledge” and “behavior” of an idealized native speaker (Kubota 2011, 2013). Within English language education, space for being and becoming, in terms of language ownership, learning, use, and instruction, has been limited and even eliminated for individuals whose identities do not correspond with that of the essentialized, idealized member of Japanese society, and native speaker of English. This limitation and elimination of space for being and becoming applies not only NSs of English and “non-native”, non-Japanese English speaker teachers whose identities do not align with idealized categories, but also to individuals located within the categories of “idealized Japanese” and “idealized NS of English” (e.g., Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph et al. 2015). Approaches to globalization and preparing individuals to become guroubarujinzai, therefore seek to maintain the “cans”, “shoulds”, and “ares” of Japaneseness and Otherness underpinning dominant approaches to identity in Japanese society (Rudolph 2016a).

Despite the continued dominance of essentialized discourses and corresponding conceptualizations of identity in Japanese society, Japan persists as a site of ever-increasing linguistic, sociocultural, ethnic, national, political, religious,

geographical, educational, philosophical, gender-related, and professional border crossing and hybridization (Murphy-Shigematsu 2004; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008; Sugimoto 2009). Scholars have problematized and challenged essentialization in Japanese society, pointing to the heterogeneity within Japanese society, and to the glocal flows of people, information, goods, finances, and ideas that increasingly shape Japan and Japaneseness (e.g., Befu 2009; Chapman 2011; Denoon et al. 2001; Heinrich 2012; Rudolph 2016a; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008). Scholars have also documented the fact that Japanese people interact with a wide variety of individuals from diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national backgrounds, both within and beyond Japan, in English, Japanese, and other languages as well, as participants in the global community (e.g., Kubota 2013; Matsuda 2012; Murata 2015; Sugimoto 2009). Such work has contributed to the problematization of essentialized approaches to globalization and the cultivation of *guroubarujinzai,* therefore destabilizing fixed categories of identity (e.g., Asian/Western; Japanese/non-Japanese; NS/NNS; native and non-native English speaker teacher [NEST/NNEST]), inscribed with experiences (e.g., privileged/marginalized), as well as essentialized contexts and spaces, including “Japan”, “the West”, and “the international community” (Befu 2009; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Kubota 2011, 2013; Murata 2015; Oda 2007; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rudolph 2016b; Sugimoto 1999).

Scholars have further sought to destabilize conceptualizations of the “classroom” as a site with fixed, definable boundaries, arguing in contrast, that classrooms are discursively constructed in and through glocal discourses of identity (Vaughan 2004). In this dynamic space, “students” and “teachers”, in positioning themselves and others, and in being positioned, may actualize, affirm, maintain, problematize, and/or resist dominant and alternative discourses of being and becoming in tense and often contradictory ways (Rivers 2014; Rudolph 2016a). The following study seeks to contribute to the increasing critically oriented dialogue exploring and apprehending learners’ and teachers’ discursive negotiations of identity and interaction in language education in the Japanese context (e.g., Rivers 2014; Rudolph 2016a; Seargeant 2011; Toh 2015b), and beyond.

3 The Study

This study is situated in a large university, exclusively for “women”, located in west-central Japan. In the university’s department of English, there are three long standing paths of study—linguistics and language education, “business English”, and literature—and a new fourth path for advanced students who qualify based on TOEIC score and grade point average, labeled “international liberal studies”. Originally, the primary expressed purpose of the fourth track was to provide advanced students with an education exclusively in English (though this has been resisted, and such resistance is now reflected in official track descriptions). This was coupled with the goals of cultivating students’ international mindedness, equipping

students for participation in the global community, and affording students opportunities to explore Japaneseness and Japanese culture. The track is comprised of a cobbling together of courses from the other three tracks of study, including a semester abroad in the US at the university's English institute in concert with all students in the English department. Additionally, a choice of three content-based, year-long elective courses was added in the third year of the program.

In 2014, I was assigned to teach one of the electives on the topic of globalization and Japan, in English, to a group of 23 students. The course was new, existing in name only, and I was given permission to shape the course in the manner I chose. In addressing the themes proposed by the department, I designed the course to include the following key components:

- Students sharing their conceptualizations of Japaneseness and Otherness, globalization, and *guroubarujinzai;*
- Exploration of dominant, sociohistorical, discursive constructions of identity, globalization, and *guroubarujinzai* in Japanese society;
- Examination of alternate approaches to identity, globalization, and *guroubarujinzai*, problematizing dominant, essentialized constructions of "Japan" as a site of homogeneity (Befu 2009; Lie 2004; Morris-Suzuki 1997; Sugimoto 1999, 2014), and contending for apprehension of "Japan" as a location of historically dynamic linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, political, and geographical movement and diversity (Chapman and Krogness 2014; Denoon et al. 2001; Hane and Perez 2014; Weiner 2009);
- Problematization of essentialized constructions of "Otherness" as juxtaposed against an essentialized, idealized "Self" (Toh 2015b; Rudolph 2016a; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008);
- Contextualized attention to who Japanese people might interact with (in English, Japanese, and other languages as well), where, and for what purposes (Kubota 2013; Murata 2015; Sugimoto 2009), and to the uses, varieties, and functions of English (Japanese, and other languages) beyond an idealized "native speaker" (e.g., Rivers and Houghton 2013; Kubota 2011, 2013);
- Addressing the question—*What knowledge, skills, and experiences might learners (specifically in the course) therefore be equipped with in order to more successfully negotiate interaction with a wide variety of individuals in and beyond Japan?* (Selvi et al. 2016, p. 88).

In crafting the course in such a way, I hoped to equip students with linguistic, sociocultural, political, historical, geographical, and other knowledge and corresponding skills that might contribute to their personal and professional growth. As such, students were free to bring in topics and issues of their own interest, and played a role in shaping the nature and direction of course contents, materials, and activities.

The course both implicitly and explicitly created space for the notion that there are many ways to be or become a participant in the global community, an English learner, user and instructor, and Japanese. Yet, I did not want to force any views

upon students. Having taught nineteen of the 23 students before, and knowing the other four well due to their participation in extracurricular activities in the international liberal studies path, I felt the students and I could potentially co-construct a space in which to explore, discuss, challenge and/or affirm, learn, and reflect upon worldviews of and approaches to identity and interaction in (and beyond) Japan. This, I also believed, was an opportunity for inquiry, grounded in two overarching research questions: (1) "How do students conceptualize identity, globalization, and becoming a participant in the global community?," and (2) "How do students dynamically negotiate and construct apprehensions of identity, globalization, and becoming a participant in the global community during their tenure in the course?"

3.1 Gaining Participants

Following a brief explanation of the course on the first day, I asked students for permission to use thoughts, conversations, discussions, and reflections connected to the course, for research purposes. Participation in the study, I added, would be anonymous, and would not affect their course grades either negatively or positively. Students were free to withdraw from participation, at any time during the study, and any data linked to them would be removed from the study and destroyed. Students verbally agreed to having the course documented in the interest of inquiry. Concerned with not pressuring students to participate, however, I provided them with the opportunity to withdraw from the study, either via e-mail or in person, for any reason, and reconfirmed consent with each of them at intervals throughout the year and during our final reflection-oriented class of the second semester.[5] My interaction with the participants, handling of all data, and creation of the present study, conformed to the Science Council of Japan's (2013) *Code of Conduct for Scientists*, which provides a framework for ethical research, in the interest of protecting participants, researchers, and Japanese society at large.

3.2 Approaching Inquiry

I conceptualized and approached this study as a *poststructural ethnography* (Britzman 1995). This approach to inquiry challenges the Modernistic commitments of mainstream ethnographic research, underpinned by the notion that "truths", and therefore reality, are stable and "there waiting to be captured by language" (Britzman 1995, p. 232). Through such a lens, the researcher, capable of

[5]In eliciting student participation, I did not ask students to sign a document. This decision was not in conflict either with Council of Japan's (2013) *Code of Conduct for Scientists,* or with any policy at the institution in which the study takes place.

observation and comprehension of reality, aims to reveal truths about a given "site" and the people therein (Britzman 1995; Popoviciu et al. 2006; Vaughan 2004). Ethnography, underpinned by poststructural theory, in contrast, problematizes the presupposition that researchers/writers are "reliable", and that participants in a study "say what they mean and mean what they say" (Britzman 1995, p. 229), as rational repositories of knowledge. Poststructural thought interrogates the mainstream, Modernist, ethnographic goal (critically-oriented and otherwise) of apprehending, packaging, and presenting the "realities" of "places" and "experiences" in a manner wherein readers, "by proxy", might come to "understand" the way things "are" and "how they became", in a coherent and non-contradictory fashion, in the interest of "problem solving" (Britzman 1995; Vaughan 2004). This involves a problematization of the use of clean dichotomic divisions of place (e.g., the classroom/beyond), identity (e.g., teacher/student; member of a majority/minority) and experience (e.g., empowerment/disempowerment; privilege/marginalization) (Murphy-Shigematsu 2008; Popoviciu et al. 2006).

Ethnographic inquiry through a poststructural lens, is instead a subjective, sociohistorically situated exploration and *deconstruction* (Derrida 1976) of the discourses implicated in the "invention", perpetuation, and maintenance of essentialized borders of place, identity, and knowledge, as well as of individuals' dynamic negotiation of identity and agency—of discursive positioning and being positioned (Britzman 1995; Davies 1991; Holstein and Gubrium 2004; Peters and Humes 2003; Vaughan 2004). Neither researchers and participants, nor readers who interact with ethnographic accounts of lived experience, are able to "rise above" their discursive negotiation of subjectivity, in the interest of comprehending "truths" about identity, experience, and space/context. Yet, participation in and interaction with poststructural ethnographies may cultivate a troubling of discourses, dominant and otherwise, which shape and are shaped by individuals' negotiation of positioning and being positioned.

3.2.1 Reflexivity and Positionality

In an educational setting, the "researcher"—at once, potentially a teacher, mentor, colleague, advocate, parent, and/or member of a given community—subjectively shapes analysis, apprehension, and problematization (to varying degrees) of the discourses and borders of being and becoming mentioned (and unmentioned) (Choi 2006). As such, researchers are charged with self-reflexively addressing how their ongoing negotiation of subjectivity and construction of knowledge discursively shapes how they position, and are positioned by, their participants (Davies et al. 2004). Lather (1993) contends, researchers must attend to "seeing what frames our seeing—spaces of constructed visibility and incitements to see which constitute power/knowledge" (p. 675). Apprehending reflexivity through a poststructural lens, Choi (2006) asserts that "the purpose of reflexivity, from a poststructural point of view, is not to increase the validity or to find the researcher self, as if the researcher

self is out there independent of relations; rather, conversely, the purpose of reflexivity is to deconstruct the authority of the researcher" (p. 441).

At the outset of the course and study, and for their duration, I was open with my students/participants regarding my dynamic negotiation of subjectivity as a critically oriented researcher–practitioner seeking to problematize and destabilize essentialized discourses of being and becoming in Japanese society and education therein, and as a friend and colleague to many individuals negotiating identity in the borderlands of Japaneseness and Otherness. I freely shared with students, when prompted, regarding my lived experiences negotiating identity, interaction, and membership in Japanese society as a self-identified Caucasian male from North America, married to an American woman, and raising two bilingual daughters who are attending public elementary school. I additionally shared with students regarding my ongoing apprehension of, and reflections upon, our negotiation and co-construction of knowledge, and invited their comments and critique.

In approaching the study, I also reflected upon my negotiation of personal–professional lived experiences as a member of Japanese society, and how those experiences may serve to territorialize (St. Pierre 1997; Vaughan 2004) my approach to the teaching and research in question, here. As with the contents of a poststructural ethnography, I intended our "course" not to reveal "the truth" about identity and education in "Japanese society", but rather to serve as a discursive catalyst for the deconstruction of discourses of being and becoming, giving shape to our lived experiences in context. Yet, there is no escaping the possibility that some students believed they were being led toward conclusions good for "me" the "teacher", and "me" the "researcher". This interpretation may be true as well for readers who take in, digest, critique, and reflect upon the contents of this study. I found (and still find) myself negotiating tension between modern and poststructural commitments inscribed in my journey of inquiry: of believing I did not aim to construct and perpetuate "the truth" via my teaching and research, yet worrying about the remnants of objectivistic "validity". This, in itself, is the unresolved burden, and intention, of a poststructural gaze (Britzman 1995; Vaughan 2004).

3.2.2 Data Collection, Analysis, and Presentation

In this study, I draw upon written data taken from: (1) students' introductory explorations of identity, globalization, and *guroubarujinzai* during the first week of class, (2) an inquiry-based paper exploring the lived experiences of an individual negotiating identity and interaction in the global community as a professional, and (3) the course reflections students completed toward the end of their second semester, asking them to revisit and reflect upon their experiences as a member of the course, both within and beyond the classroom. Additionally, I draw upon notes taken during the course, grounded in my interaction with students. This interaction consisted of observing and participating in small group and class-wide discussions and question and answer times during class, and chatting with students after class, both in the classroom and in my office. I additionally utilized notes related to my

reflections upon the course and study, and anecdotal experiences. In handling documents and recorded notes, I employed a number key corresponding with students, in the interest of preserving student anonymity and organizing data. In the "results" section that follows, I refer to students by number (e.g., Student 11), when using direct quotations, or when paraphrasing dialogue.

In this study, I present data in the form of "episodes" (Youdell 2004, p. 87), which I constructed after repeatedly reviewing the contents of the above-mentioned course assignments and notes. That is because they afford "discursive evidence and background" (Vaughan 2001, p. 20) for apprehension of discourses of being and doing relating to identity, globalization, and participation in the global community—a phenomenon that both students and I concomitantly negotiate, in terms of positioning and being positioned, both within and beyond the classroom. Additionally, I have included a (largely) anecdotal reflection, in which I revisit conversations related to discourses of gender and *guroubarujinzai.* I recognize my subjective role in analyzing data and constructing these episodes, and note that the episodes, and indeed the entire chapter, are chronotopic (Blommaert 2015), as they are sociohistorically situated, incomplete, and intertextual (Bazerman 2004) constructions of time-space. In line with my ontological and epistemological commitments regarding language ownership and use, I have chosen not to use "sic" when presenting students' words in direct quotations, in the episodes (Rudolph 2016a). On a final note, all translations of Japanese, in the results section, and throughout the chapter, are my own.

4 "Results": Episodic Tension, Negotiation, and Reflection

4.1 Episode 1: Constructing Japaneseness and Otherness

During the first week of class, I prompted students to share their initial views of Japaneseness, globalization, and "becoming a participant in the global community." Students first brainstormed their ideas on paper for 30 minutes, subsequently discussed their answers in small groups, and then compiled them succinctly on the class blackboard.

A common discourse manifesting in student comments was that Japan—as an isolated island nation—was characterized by sameness: "We, Japanese, are all the same" (Student 15). This sameness was encapsulated in many vocabulary words defining the bounds of Self and Other in society. Student 12, noted, for instance, that "We often say 'We' or 'We, Japanese, are…' or we can hear anywhere, so I think that Japan is 同一性" (homogeneity)." Students 3, 4, and 5 argued that Japaneseness, or membership in the Japanese community, could be ascertained linguistically and in terms of birthplace, with Student 5 noting "To be Japanese, we should live and be born in this county and Japanese should be our first language)." Connecting identity to place, Student 19 contended that, "Japanese people are

people whose ancestors were originally from Japan and who have black hair, brown eyes, and mongoloid face." Student 6 agreed, noting, "I think Japanese people means who speak Japanese and looks like Japanese. For example, black hair, black eyes, short legs, small eyes…" Culturally, Student 14 contended that she "can define 'Japan' and 'other countries,' and 'we' and 'foreigners' obviously," as did Student 9, who noted that she "can easily frame each culture or country." Student 20, however, disagreed with her classmates, arguing that Japaneseness could potentially be imagined in diverse and unique ways, though this diversity would not always be recognized as genuine: "I think Japaneseness of people are decided by people themselves. If they think they are Japanese, they are. No one can blame the fact, but it is natural sometimes to refuse the fact in the deep mind."

When discussing グローバル化 (*guroubaruka*: globalization), referred to as "one of those trend words in Japan" by Student 1, some students equated the term with the import of Westernization and/or Americanization: of "absorbing English, Western culture, and using them" (Student 7) and "accepting foreign cultures and languages, especially from America or European countries" (Student 19). Student 2 elaborated in class, noting that "Japan imports and includes new things and ideas from abroad (mainly America), and it makes Japan more like America or Western Countries. Not in terms of diversified but, just be like America, include the style of white American people's life and so on." Student 16 plainly stated that, "globalization makes our life Americanized." Other students viewed globalization as synonymous with interaction. Student 3 defined globalization as "speaking English with people," and students 12 and 13 agreed: "Globalization is using English to interact many people who live in the world" (Student 12)"; "Globalization is Japanese people interacting with foreigners in English" (Student 13). Student 6 also agreed, contending that, "Globalization is using English with native English speaker: people who looks like American," as did Student 14, who viewed globalization as "interacting with America and going to the USA- with Western and white people." A third of students linked globalization with business, as did Student 5, who argued "Globalization is speaking English and having jobs with foreigners," and Student 8, who opined, "We goes out to foreign countries, and then work and communicate with native speakers. Many Japanese company try to find a market abroad today." Student 16 stated that, "I think only Westerners work in business" (Student 16), a belief that many of her classmates concurred with, during class-wide discussion. In fact, 21 of 23 students equated English use with globalization, with more than half of students referring to interaction with "native speakers" or "Westerners." Six of these students used the word "foreigners" interchangeably with "native speakers" in writing, while approximately half of the class did so verbally. Additionally, six of these students used "White" or "white people" interchangeably with "native speaker" and "Westerner."

One student (Student 11) viewed globalization alternately as synonymous with movement and hybridization, asserting, "Globalization is the mixing up some cultures, like foods, music, clothing, education, etc." This, for her, was a positive thing. Student 15 concurred, saying, "receiving something from abroad is globalization, and it only has a positive effect for us," while Student 9 confirmed that,

"globalization can only lead to good things." Student 18 argued, in contrast, that globalization was potentially threatening to Japaneseness and Japanese culture: "We Japanese still have strong idea of what Japan should look like and feel we have to protect our unique culture." Nearly half the students explicitly stated, both verbally and in writing on the first day, that globalization posed a perceived and/or real challenge to the uniformity of Japaneseness and society. This, according to Student 17, caused Japanese society to be a context, "used to unwelcoming foreigners, and people are afraid of the ideas of difference." Globalization was nevertheless a necessary phenomenon Japanese people were to collectively face, as characterized by Student 16's remark that "Japan can't live by itself."

As mentioned above, when conceptualizing preparing for and/or participation in the "global community," 22 out of 23 students argued for the necessity of acquiring and using English, which half of students contended would be employed with "native speakers." "We must do so to become グローバル人材," stated Student 13, while Student 12 contended "If you can't speak English, you cannot be a グローバル人材 or if you can't speak English you will be abandoned by the world." Student 6 argued that as グローバル人材、Japanese people would be "speaking English and interacting with foreign people. Foreign people is mostly American people and looks like Westerners who speak English. English native speakers are American" (Student 6). Learners, Students 4, 5, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, argued, were preparing for interacting in English in the business world outside Japan. In fact, only Student 15 mentioned the use of English in Japan to "welcome foreigners positively."

During class discussion, I noted, an overwhelming majority of students affirmed the equation of English use with internationals, with English-speaking Westerners. Many students (7, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19) mentioned the necessity of speaking English "fluently". For Student 7, "fluent" entailed sounding native-like: "Perfect pronunciation: Western's accent." Student 13 agreed, arguing that fluency involved "using good English which means beautiful accent like native speaker—Westerners." Student 14 agreed, stating that fluency involved "speaking English native-like-American accent is the best." Student 4 felt "we have to be like white English speakers, so we have to learn collect English (collect accent)," while Student 16 described "correct English" as "speaking a 'standard language' in English." Students additionally connected sounding "native-like" to thinking and behaving like a "native speaker." Student 7 believed that Japanese students needed to learn "how to think, how to communicate, gesture" like Westerners. Student 14 argued that successful Japanese users of English were "Outgoing person—not quiet person," while Student 19 emphasized in class that Japanese students need to "be talkative." This, for many students during the final discussion, included being able to debate and discuss. In writing, four students (4, 7, 16, 18, 20) had emphasized that preparing to become a participant in the global community/becoming an English user necessarily involved studying abroad. Student 7 noted, "グローバル人材 must be a person who lived abroad (mainly America, England, Canada… English area) at least one year, and speak English perfectly." When I asked the class where Japanese learners might study abroad in general, only Student 14 mentioned a location other than the USA,

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or the UK: South Korea. In saying so, Student 14 noted that “I am Korean-Japanese, and I speak Korean.”

In addition to speaking English, a majority of students asserted that Japanese learners needed to become “people who understand other cultures well” (Student 4). These “other cultures”, argued Student 19, “are English speaking countries, especially America or the UK.” Student 2 agreed, noting, “Understanding about culture mainly America or other English-speaking countries is important.” Student 10 contended for the need for “people who have the will to understand each other,” while Student 15 expressed the need for people “who are able to understand foreign cultures, and spread them in Japan.” Three students noted, in writing, that *guroubarujinzai* were, “People who present Japanese culture to the world” (Student 10); who “tell our cultures to others when we go to other countries” (Student 13). This was another discourse affirmed by many students during the group discussion, with the statement “we need to learn about (alternately ‘our/Japanese’) culture” (Students 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18).

A group of students (1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18) contended, in writing, that the ability to speak languages including, or in addition to, English, could be valuable for participation in the global community. When prompted during our class discussion, the primary language mentioned was Chinese, though two students (12 and 14) mentioned “Korean”. I noted throughout the first day of the course, however, students constructed “the global community”, and its linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and geographical features, as Caucasian, English-speaking, and Western (more specifically, American).

4.2 Episode 2: Wrestling with Boundaries of Identity: A Focus on Food

In the second class of the first semester, I endeavored to provide students with an opportunity to explore how people construct (and challenge) borders of being and becoming. To do so, I asked students to “define Japanese food”. First, students were to brainstorm a list of foods they considered to be “Japanese”. Immediately, voices in the class shouted out items, including *sushi*, *sashimi* (raw meat), *soba* and *somen* (noodles), *natto* (fermented soybeans), *miso* (soybean paste), and *tsukemono* (pickled vegetables). Next, students viewed an assortment of PowerPoint slides I had prepared containing pictures of items I thought might be challenging to categorize, with the task of noting whether the items were “Japanese”, “not Japanese”, or if they were “not sure”. These items, including curry rice, ramen, fried chicken, sweet potatoes, *ebi tempura* (fried shrimp), *kasutera* (a type of pound cake), and ice cream, were commonly identified in Japanese as Western food (洋食) or Chinese food (中華料理), or with terms denoting their foreignness, such as 和風味 (Japanese-tasting, though partially or wholly “foreign” in origin). I additionally included a photo of *souki soba*, which is a noodle dish in broth, containing chunks

of pork, originally from Okinawa.[6] As we made our way through the photos, students expressed playful shock at what they were seeing. "へー 難しい!" (Whaaat… difficult!), was a refrain ringing through the classroom.

After students wrote down their answers individually, I asked them to share with the class. Students responded in a host of ways to the photos, constructing the bounds of "Japanese food" very differently. One point of interest noted by the class, related to the *ebi tempura* and *kasutera*. Approximately half of the students in class noted they imagined *ebi tempura* as Japanese, and *kasutera* as "not Japanese", while a fourth of the students raised their hands to indicate that both were "not Japanese", and a fourth called both "Japanese". When I mentioned that both foods had arrived in southern Japan with Portuguese merchants, at approximately the same time during the sixteenth Century, students began to laugh out loud. Why, I asked students, did they think the two foods were viewed differently? "Japanese food is not sweet, and that is why *kasutera* is not Japanese," offered Student 14, while Student 16 noted that "the name for *ebi tempura* is in *kanji* (Chinese characters employed in Japanese writing), while *kasutera* is written in *katakana* (one of two syllabaries in Japanese, often used for words imported from abroad)." In the end, there was no resolution to the question.

Another reaction came when the picture of *souki soba* was discussed: "Ah, 沖縄 (Okinawa)!," remarked several students in the room. "*Souki soba* is *Okinawan*," remarked Students 10 and 17. "Okinawa is a part of Japan, as we know, so would you consider *souki soba* Japanese food?," I asked the class. Approximately half of students responded "no", while a quarter said "yes", and the remaining students noted they were "not sure".

4.3 *Episode 3: Wrestling with Linguistic Borders*

4.3.1 Semester 1, Week 7: Linguistic Diversity in "Japanese"

In the middle of the first semester, after unpacking dominant constructions of Japaneseness and Otherness, we began to explore the idea of "Japan" as a site of sociohistorical movement, hybridity, and diversity. One day in class, in the interest of focusing on linguistic and cultural diversity in Japanese society, I presented the topic of "Using Japanese together at (our) university," with a focus on the members of our class. Students in class hailed from multiple locations around the *Kansai*

[6]The island of Okinawa, and indeed all of present-day Okinawa prefecture, together with the Amami Islands of Kagoshima prefecture, were annexed by Japan in the early 1870s. These islands are all part of the former Ryukyu kingdom, which was linguistically, culturally, ethnically, economically, and politically distinct from "Japan," though throughout history there was contact and exchange between the two "spaces" (e.g., Chapman 2008; Denoon et al. 2001). "Okinawa" has long existed in a borderland space (Anzaldua 1987) in which its Japaneseness and Otherness is alternately questioned and affirmed (e.g., Heinrich 2012).

(west-central Japan) and *Banshu* (an historical area in far western Kansai with its own linguistic and cultural variety) regions, as well as one individual (Student 10) from *Tohoku* (a region in northeastern Japan). First, I asked students to "Please share a little about your language use on a typical day commuting here (to school). Does it change depend on where you are or who you are talking to, and why?" Students from Banshu noted they spoke multiple *hougen* (dialects), while those from locations around Kansai noted they spoke 2–3 dialects each day. Next, I asked students, "What do you use with each other when interacting together in and beyond class?" Students 16, 19, and 21 described this Japanese as a "*kansairashii hyoujungo*" (kind of a Kansai-style, standard dialect). I asked students what they meant by "standard" as there exists a "*hyoujungo"* ("standard Japanese") constructed and established by the Meiji-era government. Student 19 responded by stating, "I mean a general Kansai-ben (Kansai dialect) we can all use together." I asked if they meant "lingua franca", or language people from different backgrounds employ in negotiating meaning in interaction, shaped by their identities and experiences, they (Students 16, 19, 21) responded "Yes". "So", I continued, "it sounds like there are many ways to be Japanese, linguistically. And if linguistically, then culturally…"

4.3.2 Second Semester, Week 3: Juxtaposed Correctness/Nativeness

By early second semester, the students and I had read about and discussed dominant sociohistorical constructions of Self and Other, "globalization" and "becoming equipped for participation in the global community" in Japanese society, which included the notion of an idealized native speaker of Japanese juxtaposed with an idealized Western, Caucasian, English-speaking Other. After exploring dominant, essentialized constructions of being and doing in Japan, we had then read and chatted about alternate conceptualizations of Japan as a site of movement, hybridization, and diversity. Concomitantly, I presented students with critically oriented conceptualizations of language ownership, learning, use, and instruction beyond an "idealized native speaker", which pointed to the idea that there is a diverse array of contexts, users, varieties, and functions of "English". Students additionally explored the notion of identity and interaction being discursively negotiated within and across linguistic and cultural "borders", meaning that individuals' translinguistic and transcultural identities both shape, and are shaped by, interaction.

After I recounted this in class in Week 3, Student 18 stated, "YES, maybe there are many Englishes and types of people, but we need to speak correct English—or more correct English, so people can understand us." I asked her, "What do you mean by correct?" Student 18 responded: "You know, native-like." "Would you consider someone from India, for example, a native speaker, and someone to model yourself on?," I inquired. "No", she said, "they speak with an accent". "What about Japanese," I suggested, referring to our conversations in the first semester, "is there a better way to be a Japanese speaker?" "Yes," Student 16 interjected, "standard

Japanese is used because it is more correct, just like standard English." At that moment, whispers and grumbling began to become increasingly audible in the classroom. "So, are we saying that standard Japanese is more educated, or more polite than the language you use everyday?," I asked. "Kansai-ben is ちょっと汚い (a little dirty; less sophisticated)," noted Student 17, to which gasps and sounds of anger, and affirmations, could be heard.

4.4 Episode 4: What Glocal Participation Looks like

During the second semester, students were tasked to interview someone in their career of interest, in order to approach the question of "What does glocal (local–global) interaction look like in the Japanese context?" The idea behind the interview, paper, and presentation, was for students to have an opportunity to connect, on a personal and practical level, what they had been exploring in class, to their career/profession of choice.

Though many of the individuals students chose to interview were connected to English study (as this is who students "knew"), they expressed surprise at the diverse array of people their interviewees interacted with, including Vietnamese, Nepalese, South Koreans, Malaysians, Chinese, Germans, and Americans, and the fact that people used languages other than English to communicate, including Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. In her paper, for example, Student 9 stated that due to her interview with an individual who used Chinese, Japanese, and English in his company, "I realized 'global' means not only English and America, but also other languages and it includes culture." Other students emphasized skills and behavior. Student 13, for instance, whose interviewee worked in an international exchange office at a university, asserted in her presentation, "To know language is essential, but we also require knowing the people, accepting and approaching their ideas. To understand them, their culture, and country, connects with successful interaction. Glocal people need to contextualize their own linguistic, sociocultural, economic, and political knowledge." Student 17, who interviewed an individual working for a Japanese NGO, contended in her presentation that, "As listening to his story, the most important qualify may be listening to someone and having an attitude to try to understand him, which is the basic behavior when people have a conversation as like you are talking with friends." Student 12 noted, in her paper, the importance of being equipped to interact with a diverse array of people in the Asian context. Her interviewee, a flight attendant working an international route for a Japanese airline had told her that, "she was surprised and shocked because English is very different, depends on those who are from different countries. Some passenger suddenly started to pray in the aisle of the flight because of the religion."

When all the presentations ended, a final question that had been touched upon in discussion throughout the two semesters, emerged once again: why did not education match what was happening "out there in the world"? (Student 16). Why

could not they study with teachers, and learn about and with a variety of individuals?

4.5 *Episode 5: Week 13: Student Reflections*

After nearly two semesters of conceptualizing, exploring, unpacking, and grappling with identity, globalization, and preparing for and/or engaging in participation in the "global community", I asked students to reflect on their course experiences in writing. In their reflections, students chose to pay particular attention to discourses of Japaneseness, "nativeness" in terms of English, and being and becoming a participant in the global community.

4.5.1 Being and Becoming Japanese

Many students reflected upon how their views of Japaneseness had evolved during the school year, to include different ways of being and becoming a member of Japanese society. Student 15 noted, for instance, that "I strongly noticed that people have their own identity, idea, and belief even they are categorized as Japanese," as did Student 7, who argued, "We Japanese have to understand there is not only one way to everything." Student 5 concurred, stating, "There're a lot of Japanese people whose backgrounds are unique and who have international backgrounds and family." Student 3 noted, "I had never thought that people who look internationals could be born and raised in Japan, so I just used to use English to communicate with those people, but now I've noticed that each person has different backgrounds, so I started to think first." This diversity something that gave Student 3 a sense of pride: "I feel it great that we have different idea for not only event, but also another things." Students expressed sensitivity to the creation and maintenance of borders of identity in Japanese society, as characterized by Student 17: "Japanese people are unconsciously draw a line between 'you' and 'me.' Although this is not only Japan." Student 6 took issue with such lines, believing that, "I can say we cannot easily say what is 'inside' or 'outside.'" Student 10 wrestled precariously, both earlier in the year and in her reflection, with the destabilization of fixed notions of Japaneseness and Japanese culture, lamenting, "There is just a name 'Japanese', but there is nothing inside because everyone is different. Who knows what Japanese culture is? There is no black or white. Only gray." Others paid particular attention to their personal acceptance and perpetuation of essentialized approaches to Japaneseness. Student 14, for example, shared that, "I defined Japan and other countries, and 'we Japanese' and 'foreigners' obviously. I did not try to respect other culture and custome. I though all things that Japanese doing was the correct and everyone should have to be like 'us.' My idea has changed a lot."

4.5.2 Essentialized Nativeness

Students additionally reflected upon wrestling with their apprehensions of "nativeness" in English and "Otherness". Student 14 noted that prior to the course, she had equated Otherness with an idealized, Caucasian, western, English speaker: "Before, I tended to focus on one view, which was Western and white people. So, before taking this class, I had more essentialized view for globalization." Student 6, who had held similar beliefs, described her own destabilization of who a "native speaker" might be: "A native speaker is not only people who 'looks like American,' but also other people who speak English as a mother tongue." Student 8, as with Students 9, 11, and 16, described her journey of reconceptualizing who she might be or become as an English learner and user, and who might be afforded the chance to teach someone like her: "I could realize I didn't have to be like 'collect' English speakers. White English speakers is not the only one we should learn English from. Every English speaker has their own English such as Singlish (Singapole), so I thought we can't say 'it's not the collect English just because of their accent.' All English is collect English."

4.5.3 "Global Community"

Students wrote, at length, regarding how they were experiencing rethinking how they imagined the global community with whom they might interact in the future. Student 11, for instance, stated, "I often think about not only America but Korea, China and other Asians countries." Student 20 expressed a need to focus her attention on Asia, as "there are many ways to interact across countries, for (with) not only Westerns, but also Asians," as did Student 5, who had discovered "the countries we have more chance to do business is in Asia." This realization, for Student 16, challenged a fundamental belief she had long held about professional participation in the global community". "I thought only Westerners work in business. However, it's not."

4.5.4 Becoming Guroubarujinzai ≠ Speaking English

Students detailed a variety of ways in which they were problematizing their previous equation of becoming an individual equipped for participation in the global community, with speaking English in a "native-like" fashion. Student 9 argued for a focus on "knowing more about Japan", as did Student 5, who contended "I think to understand our own country or culture is the first step to understand globalization." Many students additionally contended for the value of languages other than English. Student 5, for instance, stated, "English is the world language, but we don't have to speak English to be a グローバル人材. We can use Chinese, Korean, or something if the people who we interact speaks it. Globalization doesn't always mean to speak English or have jobs with foreigners." Student 8 shared similar

thoughts, arguing, "グローバル人材 does not mean the person who can only speak English well. It means the person who can English, and other languages as well."

4.5.5 Focusing on Context

Many students argued for the importance of attending to context, when preparing or being prepared for participation in the global community. Student 12 articulated that, "What we need to globalize is not English at all, but depends on who we interact. I think that not English skills but also the skill to understand "now who I interact?," "now where I am in" "what kind of people are around me." Student 6 shared similar sentiments, asserting, "Globalization meants not only language, but also we need to know background of the person and country which we interact with," as did Student 15, "We need to learn about each person who interacts with such as background, knowledge of the country, etc.," and Student 18, who stated, "In order to do business with people from other countries, not only the language but also the culture." Student 1 posited "Being able to work or live in around the world needs language skill as グローバル人材, but also it needs to have a mind to try to understand each other."

4.6 Anecdotal Episode: Discourses of Gender and Guroubarujinzai (?)

At various intervals throughout the course, class dialogue touched upon discourses of gender and constructions of "women" and "participation in the global community". In Week 8 of the first semester, for example, when discussing governmental attempts at addressing the issue of an aging and shrinking Japanese population and workforce, I provided students with an activity that prompted them to explore proposals related to increases in immigration and women in the workforce. Through this conversation, the students and I noted that it appeared women were meant to "save Japan" economically, culturally, and even ethnically, by working and having children, in order to ameliorate the need for immigrants. This "responsibility" caused the students stress, as they questioned the support they might receive, societally and professionally, to do so.

In Week 7 of the second semester of the course, the students and I were discussing what the contextualization of education for participation in the global community might look like in our particular department. Students 10 and 17 noted that none of their classes had been tailored to fit the student population, as the department was situated in a "women's" university. Student 10 pointed out, however, that she had taken a class with a teacher who "discussed Japan and feminism" from a critical perspective. I asked the other students, at that time, if any of them had ever talked about such a topic in their classes, or if they had taken a class

tailored to addressing the subject. Only Student 12 mentioned taking such a course: "My zemi (seminar) teacher talks about women and working and Japan." In a conversation outside class, however, Students 16 and 23 mentioned they believed that the very absence of discourse attending critically and practically to students' lived experiences negotiating identity and education, was evidence of gender-oriented privileging and Othering underpinning the construction of "becoming a participant in the global community" on campus and in Japanese society.

5 Discussion: "Troubling" Discourses (Lather 1991; Vaughan 2004)

In attending to worldviews of identity, globalization, participation in the global community, and education for such, in Japan, the students and I discursively grappled with the ownership, learning, use, and instruction of "English", and with "Japaneseness-Otherness" simultaneously. Apprehending positionality, in terms of who students (and teachers) "are", and who they "can" and/or "should" be or become, both within and beyond the classroom, therefore involved attention to local–global discourses of essentialized and idealized identity, in terms of both "nativeness" in English, and of Japaneseness (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2012, 2016a; Toh 2015b). In the class, the students and I fluidly deconstructed the abstract "safety" and "apprehensibility" of the idealized NS of English, becoming a participant in the "global community", and of idealized Japaneseness. In doing so, we often found ourselves wrestling with discursive, binary-oriented borders (of our own co-construction and/or apprehension), relating to what might be speakable-unspeakable, sacred-profane, clear-chaotic, pure-impure, correct-incorrect, real-imagined, historical-mythical, and constructive-destructive. Apprehending and approaching essentialization and idealization, relating both to identity and interaction, was a contextualized, and fluidly critical-practical, affair.

Within the dominant discourses of critical scholarship in the globalized, discursive field (Pennycook 2007) of English language education, problematizing the essentialization and idealization of identity and interaction has been conceptualized as problematizing and challenging *native speakerism* (Holliday 2005, 2006). This native speakerism is apprehended as pertaining to:

- the construction of an idealized native speaker of English, inscribed with essentialized knowledge, skills, experiences, qualities, and characteristics;
- the establishment of boundaries, predicated upon essentialized and idealized nativeness, relating to the ownership, learning, use, and instruction of English, which result in privilege and marginalization most often being experienced categorically (e.g., native speakers of English = privileged; non-native speakers of English = marginalized);

- the perpetuation and maintenance of essentialized and idealized nativeness throughout the globe, the discourses of which flow from the West

(see, for example: Braine 2010; Mahboob 2010; Kamhi-Stein 2016).

Attending to essentialization and idealization critically and practically, therefore, involves a focus on deconstructing essentialized and idealized nativeness in English, in the interest of attending to the diverse contexts for, and varieties, users, and functions of, the "language" (Mahboob 2010).

In contrast, recent critical scholarship underpinned by postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructural commitments (e.g., Kubota 2011, 2013; Menard-Warwick 2008; Motha 2014; Park 2012; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rivers and Zotsman 2016; Rudolph et al. 2015), contends that apprehending and addressing essentialization and idealization involves contextualized attention to the intersectionality of fluid, local–global linguistic, cultural, ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, political, educational, geographical, professional, and gender-related discourses that construct borders of who individuals "are", and "can" and/or "should" be or become, both within English language education and the context in which it is situated. These borders assign, afford, limit, and eliminate space for identity, resulting in contextualized and potentially fluidly experienced privilege-marginalization (e.g., Doerr 2009; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph et al. 2015). In line with such scholarship, I would therefore contend that apprehending and addressing constructions of "nativeness" in "English", and manifestations of privilege marginalization, requires broadening the conceptual scope of criticality beyond "moving beyond the idealized NS of English".

In the majority of such scholarship, terms including "native speakerism" (e.g., Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015) and "(non)native-speakering" (e.g., Aneja 2016), are retained as points of discursive departure. In this chapter, I have alternately explored the notion of apprehending, problematizing, and destabilizing essentialization and idealization, with the intent of: a) accounting for my students' and my negotiations of identity and co-construction of the course, and b) contributing to ongoing critical dialogue both seeking to address Othering, and attend to the complexity of identity and interaction, in and beyond the classroom (see also: Rivers and Zotsman 2016). I desire for this approach to contribute to continuing efforts toward conceptual congruence, in critical work, between ontological and epistemological approaches to "identity", "experience", "inequity", "agency", and "interaction", and the terms employed to describe their apprehension.

6 Conclusion

Apprehending and approaching essentialization and idealization, in terms of identity and interaction, and negotiating a potential co-constructed move beyond such discourses in the classroom, can be all at once, for students and teachers, deeply

exciting, rewarding, confusing, and threatening. This is due to the fact that students and teachers are wrestling with fluidly local–global discursive constructions of Self-Other that may be established and dominant "truths" within communities and education located therein. Thanks to the kindness and willingness of my participants, this study provides one chronotopic view into the tensions that may manifest, and the directions discourse may meander, on a such a journey.

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Complementary and Contradictory Visions of Epistemic Justice in World Englishes Graduate Seminars: A Dialogue

Curt Porter and Gloria Park

Abstract This chapter begins with a dialog between two educators and their experiences teaching a World Englishes seminar in a Composition & TESOL graduate program. The dialog examines complementary and conflicting visions for how concepts in World Englishes can promote epistemic justice and social equity. The authors consider how their identities as a female "non-native" English speaker of color and a White, male, "native" English speaker impacted their beliefs, goals, and approaches to teaching a World Englishes course. In the second half of the chapter, the first author offers reflections on his efforts to facilitate direct engagement with linguistic and cultural difference and the ways that a sensory-based pedagogy might extend classical and contemporary depictions of language variation. The authors conclude by considering the relationship between "critical" and "sensory" practices in the classroom in light of larger epistemological, disciplinary, and institutional realities in twenty-first century academia.

1 Introduction

> There's no need to fear or to hope, but only to look for new weapons.—Gilles Deleuze

Discussions of globalization tend to conjure extreme feelings of hope or despair. It seems that the primary means we have for making sense of our times are in terms of the dire consequences of neoliberalism and economic/cultural/linguistic conformity or of a celebration of diversity and collaboration on unprecedented scales. Graduate classrooms with culturally and linguistically diverse students and instructors are one arena in which these hopes and fears come into contact. These spaces produce dynamic encounters between national identities and global citizenship (Sabbagh and Vanhuysse 2014) forcing graduate instructors concerned with the political

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dimensions of our work to seek out new kinds of critical engagement relevant in the twenty-first century. Specifically, we must ask if and how concepts like linguistic diversity and epistemic justice can operate in educational institutions that serve global knowledge economies (Bates 2008; Flores 2013; Frank 2013; Howe and Xu 2013; Spellmeyer 1996). How do "critical" educators in graduate programs manage the apparent paradox that their pedagogical convictions are constantly at risk of succumbing to broader patterns of hegemony? How does one offer a clearly articulated political purpose without imposing a transcendental vision of justice?

This chapter offers a dialog between two teacher educators who see these questions as an entry point into their pedagogical work. More specifically, we examine a transition that occurred when Curt Porter assumed the duties of teaching a World Englishes in Composition and Applied Linguistics graduate course initially developed and taught by Gloria Park. We begin by juxtaposing our personal experiences entering the field of applied linguistics as a "non-native" English-speaking woman of color and a White, male, "native" English speaker, and we link these professional narratives to our respective visions of epistemic and pedagogical action. Curt then describes activities that he developed in his own World Englishes course in light of the preceding dialog before offering some concluding thoughts on the links between our professional experiences, our pedagogies, and the potential for glocal understandings of "critical" classroom practice and inquiry.

We feel that this somewhat unorthodox collaboration works on several levels. First, it provides links between our personal/professional experiences and our teaching practices and demonstrates how two very different narrative paths can produce both shared and divergent political concerns. Second, Curt is able to elaborate on his efforts to develop a sensory-based orientation to difference to the study of World Englishes as it comes into tension with Gloria's challenge to develop anti-oppressive educational practices. Finally, this paper demonstrates how collegial reflection can emphasize a shift from "content" as the driving force in a graduate curriculum, toward explorations of the many idiosyncrasies that comprise our local spaces of teaching and learning. Adapting Grant and Radcliffe's (2015) *duoethnographic* approach, each of us kept personal teaching journals which we used to record and explore our classroom experiences related to our World Englishes courses. We individually referred to our own journals as we wrote short summary-letters to one another describing key events that seemed central to our planning and teaching of these courses. Through the process of writing and responding to one another's short summary-letters over several weeks, we were able to identify key differences in our goals for the courses and the activities, assignments, and materials we developed to pursue those goals. This exercise allowed us to reflect on our respective teaching journals, to respond to each other's reflections, and to merge these reflections with stories from our more distant past. Finally, we examined these summary-letters (roughly 10 in total) in order to identify key themes that had emerged through this extended written dialog. We selected and edited the letters that best articulated these points of divergence and presented them in sections one and two below. We offer this letter writing process

as a means of finding and exploring tensions rather than absorbing our experiences into a single cohesive story (Grant and Radcliffe 2015). This had the result of maintaining boundaries between our writing voices and allowed us to emphasize our differences without trying to reduce them into a single narrative or a single "lesson". We feel this process provides a way of valuing divergent experiences in educational settings and can enable scholars to account for privilege and marginalization without reducing them to a "life lesson" or token identities.

2 Part One: Orienting to Our Places of Learning

2.1 Gloria

While contemplating on how I would begin this collaborative paper with Curt, I was reminded of my weeks leading up to my beginning years at my current institution. Even though the job description "called" on me as a teacher education specialist hired to begin my tenure-track journey, my inner voice that houses and complicates my epistemological perspectives challenged my decision to accept the position. My inner voice was, even more, protective of my impending first-time motherhood as well as a possibility that my spouse's job of 10 + years would be in jeopardy if we were to relocate to western Pennsylvania (Park 2013).

My knowledge about the world I live and work in is complex, and I work to understand what I do as a teacher scholar from not only my own experiences but also from the experiences of those who enter my life as students, family, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. I do believe that, at times, some of us are more privileged than others; but overall, we live on a continuum of how privilege coexists with issues of marginalization (Kumashiro 2000; Park 2015). Critically important is the fact that I continue to wrestle with where I am on this continuum of privilege and marginalization. All my knowledge construction and sharing of and listening to experiences were performed in my own disciplinary home in a College of Education. It was a space that welcomed me and comforted me since my colleagues and I were all known as educators with diverse sub-disciplines. My fear was that this would all change at the new institution. In essence, I embarked on a journey that would challenge my own worldview and how I performed within that worldview. As such, I was fearful of working through a crisis that was uncertain and inevitable.

While I could not pinpoint an exact reason for my distaste with the group of English Studies experts, I knew that I was not served well in my Grades 3 to 16 by similar disciplinary voices with whom I have been hired to work and collaborate. Challenging this disciplinary neglect of positioning the linguistically and culturally diverse students on the margin was why I became an educator specializing in the fields of TESOL and teacher education. I am a product of College of Education, which has always focused on assisting pre-service and in-service teachers to bridge

theory and practice in championing the students from diverse backgrounds in general and those from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds in particular.

2.1.1 Disciplinary Divide

As a teacher education specialist in the areas of TESOL, I would be housed in an English Department at the new institution. My immediate reaction to this disciplinary home was the perception of being an outsider. I am already perceived to be an outsider due to my racial and linguistic identities constructed by myself and others around me. At least, I was used to being a linguistic and racial other advocating for others similar to me, but never before had to defend my own disciplinary turf beyond *College of Education*. I would need to work collaboratively with those who are experts in literature and criticism, creative writing, composition, genre studies, to name just a few. I saw them as outsiders to what I knew, how I was prepared, and most importantly, what I would champion in affirming the voices and experiences of those from a multitude of linguistic and cultural spaces (Nieto 2010; Nieto and Bode 2007). For me, it is *not enough* for individuals from a variety of disciplines, especially those in higher education, to be housed in the same department to showcase diversity. It is *not enough* for us to understand the difference that we bring into our disciplinary home of English Studies. It is *not enough* for us to tolerate the level of linguistic pluralism that paints our classroom landscape. It is *not enough* for us to simply say, “They are different. Let them be. We have met the diversity quota.” As I am thinking about the diverse disciplinary nature of my department, I am reminded of Nieto’s (2010) conviction:

> … Caring for students of color must go beyond being “nice” to them. It is not enough to be kind and sympathetic when kindness and sympathy are located within systems of inequality and oppression. Sometimes going beyond being nice means just the opposite of what one might define as “nice.” That is, it means having high expectations and rigorous standards, pushing students further than they might believe they can go, and supporting them as they try to accomplish their goals. (p. 264).

While Nieto’s conviction as a multicultural teacher educator champions students of color, I believe that this same type of ethic of care with students can translate into having high expectations and rigorous standards in departments with diverse disciplinary areas such as my English Department. Having said this, my commitment is to affirm the epistemic diversity that empowers who I am as a teacher–scholar in higher education—it is to combat injustices inherent in education by becoming and being agents of change in the work I do as a TESOL teacher educator. Specifically, championing academic disciplines such as the fields of TESOL and Applied Linguistics to have an extensive voice and visibility in the field of English Studies.

2.2 Curt

One of the greatest benefits of working with Gloria has been in her challenges to consider how my own experiences have led me to certain beliefs and practices in my teaching and writing. I was struck by her reflections and I did not realize how much a background in a College of Education impacted her transition into our program. Her thoughts resonated because I am currently living through some of the "uncertain and inevitable" changes that she described. I confess to feeling like somewhat of an outsider in our program. I also come from a background in education that challenges me to do more than "tolerate" diversity and pay lip service to difference. Yet the disciplinary similarities I share with Gloria are complemented by a background in TESOL and many years working outside of the United States, both as an English teacher and teacher educator. These professional experiences have led me to view the teaching and learning of English from a perspective that feels quite different from many of my colleagues. As much of my professional career involved working in countries that have not traditionally claimed ownership of English, the impacts of English on the educational, social, and political life of "non-native" speakers have been central to my understanding of pedagogy. For me, being a "White", male, native speaker in these settings introduced major tensions, particularly as I became concerned with questions of how my work fostered or inhibited social justice.

As strange as this might sound, the point that resonated most with me was Gloria's feeling of being perceived as an outsider. That might seem absurd—as I am immediately recognizable as a White, male, native-English speaker with a nice, middle class (albeit slightly southern) American accent. I lived a relatively privileged life teaching English in South Korea, a country with a long and well-remembered colonial past. I think that gave me a number of opportunities to consider the political dynamics of English education alongside my own privilege as a perceived "insider" in the English-speaking world. Yet, when Gloria described "a continuum of how privilege coexists with issues of marginalization," I saw a shift away from a cohesive (privileged or marginalized) subject toward a focus on the various ways that we find, create, and re-create ourselves. This opens a space between identity and the movements, places, and events that exceed any account we could possibly give of ourselves. Thus, I see the experience of privilege and marginalization as (partially) freed from "us"—as more of a matter of becoming both *insider and outsider* through a constant interplay between our sense(s) of self and the materials that surround us.

2.2.1 The Making and Unmaking of an Emancipatory Modernist

Advocating for linguistic and epistemic justice, while teaching English and English teachers in so-called "English peripheries", presented contradictions that were, at times, almost debilitating. My first job after graduating from a secondary teacher

education program was in a mall. I had been recruited by a major corporation in Japan that had opened English "schools" in shopping malls across the country. I would sit in a little glass booth, just next to a McDonald's, and shoppers strolling by would trade in prepaid tickets to sit and chat with me for 40-minutes at a time. My job, as explained to me during my two days of training, was to be funny. I was also expected to teach basic grammar points from a textbook and to come up with topics of conversation that would allow students/customers to practice communicating in a nonthreatening space. The job had its perks. I got to travel the world, earn decent money, and make friends. But, I was also troubled by certain privileges I enjoyed when I began to notice that people who looked and talked like me were getting jobs that more highly educated and experienced "non-native" English speakers were deemed unsuitable for. I gradually felt less easy and self-assured about the role I was playing in Japan.

I was first exposed to World Englishes, as an academic discipline, when I started graduate school. I encountered ideas that challenged certain privileges I had gotten very used in Japan and Korea. The discipline also spoke, perhaps a little too easily, to a sense of justice that had been instilled in me during my time as an undergraduate in a teacher education program. I became filled with an urge to share my new appreciation for linguistic and cultural diversity with anyone who would listen, to enact social change through education, and to challenge injustices anywhere I was able to identify them. Of course, in classrooms and elsewhere, one should always be cautious of a White man on a mission. And when I reflect back on my old writings and lesson plans from those early years of graduate school, I am struck with how simple I perceived linguistic and cultural injustice to be, and how clearly I thought I understood the ideologies that I thought I opposed.

In slightly more technical terms, one could say I adopted a role as an emancipatory modernist (Pennycook 2001), prepared to combat injustices along simplistic lines of nationality, gender, and race, and pointing out privilege in its most static and obvious forms. I was confident in the knowledge that the promotion of "native-speaker" expertise was illogical and unscientific (Phillipson 1992), and that the value of diversity was both empirically verifiable and ideologically sound. I was ready to do whatever was necessary to impart greater awareness and correct thinking among all those duped by native-speaker myths or standard language ideologies.

The longer I spent teaching English (and later, English teachers), and the more I immersed into my new host culture in South Korea, the more that the celebration of diverse Englishes seemed problematic, and the more that simplistic discourses of inclusiveness began to bother me. I began to wonder how English, rather than offering opportunities for individual mobility and social progress (Crystal 1997), might sustain an economy and culture of globalization that hardens class lines (Shin 2004; Song 2011). I encountered arguments connecting global Englishes to the global market (Judy 1999), speculations that perhaps the celebration of diversity could be understood as a key component in the building of a new global elite (Vandrick 2011), and assertions that the promotion of multilingualism and linguistic/human rights play important roles in the propagation of global economies

that may not be in the interest of local knowledge and practices (Dor 2004; Flores 2013; Makoni 2012). It became clear that my "emancipatory" agenda might have found its confidence in the oversimplification of English practices and a naïve faith in liberal multiculturalism. I began to wonder if, perhaps, posing as the progressive, culturally sensitive, White American male was little more than a contemporary update of the expert protector and propagator of "proper" English.

These concerns complement a large body of work that challenges tendencies in World Englishes studies to equate stable varieties of English with national or cultural identity (Canagarajah 2013a; Park and Wee 2011; Pennycook 2010). Concepts such as superdiversity (Arnaut et al. 2016), English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2011), practice-based approaches to language (Edwards 2012; Park and Wee 2011), and translingualism (Canagarajah 2013a) offer tools suited for more nuanced engagements with the everyday creation of language practices. What early World Englishes scholars had once identified as stable varieties of English are now broadly viewed as "product[s] that emerge out of our engagement with things, ideas, and other people in interaction" (Park and Wee 2011, p. 365). This essentially undermines notions that language can or should be studied as an abstract or stable system distinct from the practices and places from which they emerge.

Living among people with whom I had no common tongue made the experience of difference an everyday fact of life. Being in a state of perpetual uncertainty in regards to how I affected those around me produced a certain respect for the limits of understanding. Thus, despite my alignment with academic models that have rejected modernist or emancipatory inclinations in traditional World English studies, I also become uncomfortable with the ways that these alternatives maintain an emphasis on "communication" and privilege the understanding and negotiation of messages. It goes without saying that immersing into another culture does not guarantee cross-cultural understanding (see Appleby 2013). But that was precisely my concern. Just as "language" as an abstract system did not to provide a skeleton key to understanding those around me, "understanding", in the sense of "getting" intended messages, seemed to fail to account for the complexity of becoming a part of the world around me. I came to wonder if sharing a meal could produce a sense of intimacy inaccessible through other forms of communication. I began to wonder if a common spontaneous goal or "meaningless" play might offer transformative potentials that exceed any understanding achieved through a common language and semantic transparency. I became deeply suspicious of our academic tendencies to privilege communication over sense—or "knowing" as distinct from becoming.

3 Part Two: Grounding Our Courses

3.1 *Gloria*

3.1.1 Merging of the Disciplinary Sub-fields: Looking Through the (Anti)-Oppressive Lens

In my second year (2009–2010) at my current institution, I was provided an opportunity to design and implement a new course. My immediate response was a positive voice since I wanted to learn more about how I can promote collegial dialogs between compositionists and applied linguists in the Graduate Studies in Composition & TESOL. Around the same time, I was becoming more and more interested in the field of World Englishes and what this field could do for me as I continue to co-construct knowledge around what it means to extend my work as a teacher–educator in the field of English Studies—encouraged by the works of Horner et al. (2011) as well as Canagarajah (2006) in promoting a critical and dialogic inquiry into how compositionists can work more collegially to meet the needs of multilingual writers' epistemes. In summer of 2010, I decided to offer a graduate seminar in World Englishes in Composition & Applied Linguistics as a one-week theory to practice workshop. While my goal was to bring together voices and experiences of those from diverse disciplinary homes such as Writing Center, Composition Studies, Applied Linguistics, Literature, Creative Writing, etc., I was even more excited about compiling a set of seminal readings in World Englishes. Together, the students and I would work toward understanding, exploring, and disrupting the monolingual imperialism pervasive in the English Studies.

My summer 2010 pedagogical goal was simple—to begin our conversations around what it means to understand the field of World Englishes—begin conversations around linguistic diversity at the heart of what we do as advocates of students who come from diverse linguistic spaces around the world. I also wanted to make clear to myself that I needed to align myself with Kumashiro's (2000) critique of what often occurs in classrooms–"[t]eaching … like learning, cannot be about repetition and affirmation of either the student's or teacher's knowledge,…" (p. 44). Ultimately, I wanted the seminar participants, including myself, to wrestle with "*uncertainty, difference, and change"* (p. 44, italics my own) that were at the heart of designing and implementing the world Englishes graduate seminar.

> Whether working from feminist, critical, multicultural, queer, or other perspectives, [educators] seem to agree that oppression is a situation or dynamic in which certain ways of being (e.g., having certain identities) are privileged in society while others are marginalized. (Kumashiro 2000, p. 25)

In the remainder of this collaborative reflection, I use Kumashiro's (2000) theorizing of anti-oppressive education to discuss my rationale behind designing and implementing a graduate course focused in World Englishes. It is also about self-reflexivity of my privileged teacher–scholar identity, especially in discussing the process of coming to know the strengths and challenges inherent in the World

Englishes paradigm. While the definition of oppression may seem simple and universal, I use the aforementioned excerpt in defining my use of the construct of oppression. As such, I build on Kumashiro's (2000) four approaches to conceptualize and work toward anti-oppressive education–(1) Education for the Other, (2) Education about the Other, (3) Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering, and (4) Education that Changes Students & Society (p. 44)—in documenting what occurred, analyzing the changes that occurred, and questioning the challenges raised in three separate classes of World Englishes graduate seminar between summer 2010 to fall 2012. It is in the utility and the combination of these four approaches that I discuss how English language and its users, namely the field of TESOL and applied linguistics, are positioned in the field of English Studies.

Much has been researched in understanding and attempting to assist international multilingual students in taking courses in English Studies (Horner et al. 2011; Canagarajah 2006; Matsuda 2006). Much, if not all, of the research points to transforming how academic English should be understood and taught to meet the needs of multilinguals. These critical scholars' discourses and pedagogies disrupt the monolingual assumptions built into the standard English ideology pervasive in the academy. These scholars also affirm that given the billions of dollars that are brought into the U.S. as a result of admitting international multilingual students into U.S. postsecondary institutions, it is only fair and just to educate the international multilingual students to navigate the US academic discourses to succeed throughout their educational journeys. Kumashiro's (2000) approaches demand educators alike to scrutinize the environment in which learning and teaching occur, specifically "to improve the experiences of students who are Othered, or in some way oppressed, in and by mainstream society" (p. 26), in particular through both the actions and inactions that cause some type of harm in their educational experiences. Equally important is the type of oppression of the Othered, which can be highlighted by "looking at assumptions about and expectations for the Other—that influence how the Other is treated" (p. 27). Anti-oppressive educational initiatives should not stop at educating the Other, but "focusing on what all students-privileged and marginalized—know and should know about the Other" (p. 31). Knowing about the Other means disrupting the existing knowledge around what the society defines as "normal (the way things generally are) and what's normative (the way things ought to be)" (p. 31). This particular approach raises questions such as whose knowledges and experiences are embedded in the school curriculum, which points to partial knowledge—often result in misleading and stereotyping knowledge about the Other.

While Educating the Other and Educating about the Other are initial steps in combating oppressive forces in our educational spaces, the approaches of Education that are Critical of Privileging and Othering as well as Education that Changes Students and Society are just as vital in our work toward anti-oppressive educational endeavors. Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering "advocates a critique and transformation of hegemonic structures and ideologies" (p. 36). In other words, it is our responsibility to teach, "the processes by which some are Othered while others are normalized" (p. 36). This often calls us to "unlearn" what

has been learned as "normal" and normative (Britzman 1998a cited in Kumashiro 2000, p. 37). For instance, that "privilege is often couched in other discourses" (p. 37). In particular, in the English Studies field, standard English is equated with American or British English usage in classrooms. The Englishes that come from the peripheral such as Indian English, China English, etc., are not legitimized since they are often not seen to conform to the "authentic" American English discourses. Moreover, teaching English is assumed to be positioned by those who speak only American or British English and White, native English-speaking individuals from the middle class. Disrupting these normative discourses pervasive in who speaks the correct English and who should be an ideal speaker and teacher of English is largely anchored in hegemonic discourses, the proponents of the English Only movement who are uncritical of the lives and experiences of international multilingual students in English Studies. Finally, Kumashiro's (2000) final approach to combating oppressive education focuses on ideas of discourse and citation (p. 40). According to Kumashiro, "oppression originates in discourse and in particular, in the citing of particular discourses, which frame how people think, feel, act, and interact. In other words, oppression is the citing of harmful discourse and the repetition of harmful histories" (p. 40). Specifically, "the power of a stereotype to harm derives from a particular history of how that stereotype has been used and a particular community of people who have used that stereotype and who constitute that history" (Butler 1997 cited in Kumashiro 2000, p. 40). By not only disrupting the discourse and citation that continue to assume certain stereotypes of individuals but also critiquing what is said as well as not said to rework these stereotypes. In other words, anti-oppressive education "must involve learning to be unsatisfied with what is being learned, said, and known … to construct disruptive, different knowledges" (p. 43). While there is an element of "unlearning" and "unknowability" in working with students, it is in the process of understanding how to combat injustices that continue to privilege and marginalize certain individuals in the schooling that becomes vital in our journeys as teacher–scholars.

3.2 Curt

3.2.1 Political Sensation and the Feeling of Language

Gloria was driving us across campus toward a Thai restaurant when she asked me if I would be willing to teach a World Englishes course the following year. I accepted, but I was hesitant because I felt that my value to our doctoral program was in pedagogy and curriculum theory, and I did not feel I had enough formal linguistic or sociolinguistic knowledge that I associated with WE studies. Upon further discussion, I came to an understanding that this course could offer a platform for exploring perceptions of difference and political questions that surround the vocation of English language teaching. Gloria sent me copies of her WE syllabus, filled with themes on privilege and marginalization, connections between language

variation and oppression, and opportunities to integrate social and linguistic theories with pedagogical practice. Reading her syllabus offered/imposed a certain responsibility to grapple with the political dynamics of my new position as a faculty member. I recognized that I had believed that leaving Korea relieved me of the political tensions that come with being a White, native English speaking, American, male teaching in the so-called English periphery. But Gloria's approach to her WE courses reminded me of our shared background in education studies—that the political dimensions of our work are always in play, and that agreeing to teach this class required much more of me than formal knowledge of language and theory.

I saw this as an opportunity to build on Gloria's work and to prompt inquiries into the politics of WE studies. But where Gloria emphasized beginning conversations and disrupting discursive practices and histories, my past experiences prompted me to consider questions of how we feel, sense, and experience language. While maintaining a concern with oppression and agency, I found myself focusing on ways that aesthetic experience rather than critical consciousness might act as an engine for political/pedagogical action. In this sense, aesthetics describes practices that create and manipulate what is and is not perceivable—and what can and cannot be said or done in a given space (Ranciere 2004). This notion of aesthetics does not refer to a style of speech or critique so much as it brings attention to the immediate conditions through which the act of critique takes place. As such, one cannot consider critique or criticality a pedagogical goal without engaging practices that make certain acts or speech "count" as meaningful.

The primary question that drove my design of the course was *how can our classroom practices deliberately engage sensory experience as a mode of political and epistemic activity?* This constituted a marked break from Gloria's work, even though our concerns were well aligned. Rather than exploring and developing knowledge about the nature of injustice, I saw opportunities to perceive, to feel, and experience English(es) in new ways. Lessons would not be centered on fostering knowledge but would aim to enhance, provoke, and disrupt typical ways of sensing, feeling, and responding to difference—linguistic and otherwise. To initiate this in the context of WE studies, I drew on work in translingualism (Canagarajah 2013a, b; Horner et al. 2011) as a step toward placing the formal study of language into a consideration of aesthetics and sensation.

Translingualism, in broad terms, blurs a set of common sense boundaries that tend to govern our understanding of languages and speakers (Canagarajah 2013b). This includes challenges to common sense delineations (1) between languages (i.e., no simple or solid distinction between English, Korean, French, Swahili, etc.), (2) between varieties of these languages (i.e., no simple or solid distinctions between standard English and vernacular forms), and (3) between language and other semiotic resources (i.e., no simple or solid distinction between language and gesture, image and text, and so on). Systems of communication are and have always been in a state of flux. Accordingly, what one would call a linguistic "system" always consists of permeable boundaries and must be understood as an expression of particular strategies that emerge from a particular set of available resources (Canagarajah 2013a; Harris 1998). Rather than emphasizing a systematic

foundation for communication, one affirms the flexibility required to make meaning in any communicative act. As a result, the traditional task of affirming linguistic deviations as systematic (and therefore valid) is turned on its head. Pennycook (2007) captured this when he emphasized "not so much the transparency and normalcy of sameness and the opacity of difference, but rather take the difference to be the norm and sameness as that which needs to justify itself" (p. 581).

While translingual approaches offer a rich account of communication without a need for stable and shared communicative systems, there is a need for an account of how one comes to perceive language, communication, and speakers in such a way. There are also important questions to ask in terms of how and why this constitutes a new vision of political and/or epistemic justice. My own response is to put into question the well-established academic imperative to "understand", to "grasp", or to "know". It is one thing to make an empirically supported claim that Standard English does not exist in any static form. It is quite another to engage the sensations that arise when hearing something perceived to be Standard English. Similarly, one can argue for the legitimacy of "different" ways of using language, but this is a far cry from becoming attuned to the sometimes-novel rhythms and sensations that accompany the negotiation of unfamiliar language practices.

In this regard, the *aural history of political action* developed by Panagia (2009) was extremely helpful to me. Borrowing from Ranciere (1999, 2004), this work places political action directly into the realm of sensation, arguing that:

> [T]he problem is not for people speaking different languages… to understand each other, any more than it is for linguistic breakdowns to be overcome… The problem is knowing whether the subjects who count in the interlocution… are speaking or just making noise. (Ranciere 1999, p. 50)

To distinguish between *speech* and *noise* is to distinguish between what is fundamental and what is ancillary to meaning. It is speech that we typically associate with democracy and freedom of expression. *Speech* is human, rational, semantic; *noise* can be attributed to anything that happens to be audible or perceivable (Panagia 2009). Speech carries meaning with it across speakers, times, and spaces, while noise is arbitrary, an interruption—something to be filtered out in our pursuit of "understanding" (Hall et al. 2008). Our delineations between speech and noise, between making sense and "mere" sensation differentiate between what we are and are not able to "make sense" of. Ranciere's (2004) work offers a key insight —*that which does not make sense is not necessarily meaningless*. The primary challenge is that it is not only our beliefs that succumb to ideological norms, but also the very experience of perceiving and sensing people, places, and languages that are shaped by (shifting) norms.

Where theories of translingualism disrupt any clear delineation between languages, and between language and other semiotic tools, this aesthetic work confronts common sense partitions between what "counts" and what does not count as meaningful in any given experience. Language (or translingual practice), then, becomes more than semiotic, more than a matter of "human" communication (Jordan 2015). Communication becomes integrated with "perceptual forms of

knowledge that parse what is and is not sensible, what counts as making sense and what is available to be sensed" (Panagia 2009, p. 6). This politics of sensation transforms or "plays with" what we can or cannot perceive and what we perceive to be meaningful. Pedagogical action, therefore, involves much more than a critical and rational engagement with ideological systems. It involves a reconfiguration of the borders, lines, and partitions that make experiences "sensible" and meaningful.

Subscribing to this stance offers an alternative not only to linguistic and cultural "recognition" on the basis of stable identities produced in/by discourse, but also references the processes by which we come to perceive a certain sound, scribbling, image, or act as significant, and thus places these perceptual tendencies into political contention. In this sense, the tendency to understand language in solely communicative terms might constitute another delineation that can be disrupted. Perhaps affective, unintentional, and visceral responses to difference play an important role in communicative experience—as may material, animal, spatial, and other non-human actors (Jordan 2015). Perhaps the formal study of language in classroom settings has yet to tap into the profoundly complex ways we engage the sound, timbre, taste, smell, and feel of our languages.

4 Part Three: Curt's Steps Toward a Pedagogy of Sensation

To view politics and pedagogy as sensual encounters means supplementing rational critique with activities that emphasize what we perceive when confronted with difference. To confront power and affirm the productive value of difference in classrooms requires a continual process of challenging our habitual ways of perceiving others. It requires us to put difference to work—to create spaces in which our thoughts and movements can collectively transform our sense of one another in the classroom setting. While this no doubt sounds lofty, I believe there are some very straightforward and practical implications of this stance. For my World Englishes seminars, it meant emphasizing two sustained questions throughout the semester: *how does language "feel",* and *how can it feel otherwise?*

4.1 Activities & Lessons

I designed a number of assignments and activities with the explicit purpose of provoking interactions with languages, speakers, and practices of different sorts. These ranged from simple classroom encounters to lengthier assignments, but each represented an effort to emphasize the experience of negotiating meaning while giving an account of these struggles using relevant theoretical concepts from WE studies.

Notes on a simple negotiation The first exercise was a direct response to an assigned reading on translingual negotiation (Canagarajah 2013b). In a large group setting, I asked two volunteers to sit face to face at the front of the classroom. I ensured that the first volunteer was proficient in a language other than English and that the second volunteer did not have proficiency in that language. I then asked the first volunteer to stand with her back to the chalkboard, where I wrote three simple phrases:

– Please give me your email address?
– May I borrow your cell phone?
– What do you think about the article on translingual practices?

The second volunteer sat with his back to these phrases, while the first volunteer used any resources available (other than English—their shared language) to convey the meaning of each phrase. The rest of the class participants were given observation forms and were asked to jot down specific strategies that each speaker used to successfully communicate these phrases.

While conveying simple phrases in this artificial environment does not equate with the sustained negotiation of meaning required in real-life classrooms, business settings, and social encounters, the exercise brought out a few observations worth noting. Students noted strategies like gesture, intonation, and repetition. But we were also able to point out less tangible or objective features, such as a willingness to "guess at meaning", the use of context clues, and a general comfort with the struggle to successfully communicate. The conclusion that we came to as a group was that meaning making events are very much dependent on the "ways" in which speakers approach the event—the demeanors they exhibit, the perceived value of the exchange, and a willingness to be somewhat comfortable with a lack of understanding. These insights then informed us as we turned our gaze outside of the classroom in an attempt to take a closer look at authentic language in our immediate communities.

Moving outside of the classroom With this shift away from shared codes as a basis for meaning, we shifted our focus to the ways we make meaning in/of public spaces. I showed a sequence of photographs I had taken of various graffiti across our campus and around Pittsburgh. The first two photos were taken in a study area near our classroom. They offered an entry point into a discussion of graffiti as a means of producing and claiming ownership of space (Pennycook 2010).

The first photo (Fig. 1) suggested a fairly straightforward statement written in ink on the wall of an individual study booth: *RIP to my GPA*. As a class, we agreed that this expressed a sense of anxiety that might be common among university students while sitting in these isolated study booths facing the task of cramming for a high stakes exam. Some students theorized that although this could be deemed a deviant act, it referenced a sanctioned use of this space (a space to study). It also expressed feelings that members of this community could easily identify with—studying for an exam and feeling like doing so is fruitless. We suggested that it was a feeling of

Fig. 1 Markings in a university library study booth

familiarity that allowed us to easily decipher a coherent message and to identify with the artist.

A second photo (Fig. 2) of a phrase written in the same study booth, however, elicited very different feelings among class members.

We admitted that we could not offer a clear interpretation of this piece ("Hood POPE" written in a thin black marker). Though class members noted that the term "hood" could have racial connotations, and we speculated that this reaction was influenced by the fact that a number of us had noticed graffiti around campus centered on racial identities. We considered that while the phrase was likely not written to be universally understood by everyone who saw it, there was nothing

Fig. 2 Markings in a university library study booth

stopping us from coming to our own understandings of the piece. Further, our (possibly ill-informed) interpretations were based on the ways we made meaning of these pieces in light of our understanding of the larger social context. The final photo we examined, taken in Pittsburgh, offered a further opportunity to extend these thoughts.

This picture (Fig. 3) featured a U.S. Postal Service mailbox with the word "APATHY" scrawled across it in highly stylized letters. Like the "Hood POPE" piece above, we enjoyed speculating on possible meanings, but ultimately conceded that as outsiders we were probably not intended to fully understand any underlying message—at least not through the mechanisms of classroom discussion and analysis that we were using. Our inability to provide a definitive interpretation helped initiate a looser discussion about the ways we felt about the piece, a line of discussion that turned out to be much more interesting. Our key questions became *how does this piece work, what emotive responses might it invoke in a viewer, how might it generate certain reactions within the space where it was drawn?*

As it was displayed, the term "apathy" seemed to function as much more than an isolated design or tag. It seemed to index the government logo, the mailbox, or possibly even the act of producing the piece— (i.e., the very real risk the artist took

Fig. 3 Graffiti on a public mailbox

in placing this script on government property). It became plausible that the best way to “understand” this piece was not as a message or a sign, but as a provocation of any range of possible responses. One might sense a territorial effect, for example, that conveys ownership in a given space, invoking a feeling of belonging or exclusion. A number of students subsequently noted problems with treating graffiti as we would more traditional works of art to be hung in a museum or analyzed in a classroom. As it became impossible to clearly delineate a line between the piece and its context, the work of the artist did not have to be limited to a written script and the ability to convey a message. We could see the work of the artist as a production and manipulation of relations between an artist, a design, an object, a place, and a viewer/participant.

On one level, I hoped this emphasis on emotive responses would attune us to the complexity of social, ecological, and architectural dimensions, and the value of artistic or literacy practices as a means of engaging our responses with/in them. On another level, I hoped to instigate a reflexive element that drew our attention to our own habits of thought, perception, and speech as expressions of our classroom space. If the meaning we make never unfolds in a neutral environment, a “sense” of who we are and what we know is a part of the environments we collaboratively build, whether inside or outside a classroom.

5 Part Four: Final Reflections

5.1 Localized Globalism and Embracing Uncertainty

Entering the academy as a “non-native” English-speaking woman of color, and as a White, male, “native” English speaker seem to have influenced our respective approaches to World Englishes as a subject and a domain of political practice. Where Gloria’s emphasis on a direct and sustained critique of language ideologies serves her model of epistemic justice, Curt has turned toward aesthetic encounters with language practices as a means of reorienting our perceptual habits. It is clear that our stories give an account of how our unique experiences and identities inform our practices and provide opportunities to consider productive differences in our approaches. These differences are real and important. A sense in which aesthetics might deemphasize cohesiveness among individual subjects means that topics central to Gloria’s epistemological work with oppression, marginalization, and privilege would not transcend particular places in which they occur. Yet there are benefits to identifying coherent and systemic accounts of power and hegemony (Grosz 1994). Any pedagogy that emphasizes place, locality, and particularity could struggle to give an account of the global persistence of inequality and broader accounts of discrimination and language variation. On the other hand, Curt’s affirmation of sensory politics and place implies that the language of critique could benefit from a broader understanding of material and affective expressions of

subjectivity, oppression, and ideology. It suggests that far from being equivalent to "small scale", *the local* always exceeds global accounts of experience (Pennycook 2010). Yet this needs to be remain open to possibilities that national identities and imagined communities act as spheres of political action.

We might resist the somewhat obvious outcome here, a merging of ideological critique with sensory-aesthetic experience, in favor of more profound questions about our own search for our intellectual and political voices. In this light, the immediate problem that comes from the juxtaposition of our stories is a lingering sense of remaining "outsiders" in our discipline. One might say that Gloria, as a prominent voice in teacher education and language pedagogy, and Curt, as a longtime language teacher and "native" English speaker don't seem to fit the profile of academic "outsiders". Yet it is important to consider the possibility that "insider" or "outsider" status in today's academy might not be a matter of personal and professional identity so much as it reflects the uncertainties of contemporary scholarship. Speculating on a historical view of disciplinary scholarship is helpful here:

> Around the beginning of the 18th century… the ideal of encyclopedic knowledge was replaced by specialization. Withdrawal into a fortress of limited knowledge meant one could defend oneself on one's home ground; it gave one self-confidence of a limited kind; it left one helpless in vast areas of one's life… Now that the silences produced by specialization have become deafening… it is possible to reconsider the choice, to ask whether people might not be better off if they begin looking again for the road that leads beyond specialization, if they tried seeing the universe as a whole (Zeldin 1994, p. 197).

Perhaps this sense of being "different", an "outsider", is intimately connected to the demands of a residual "specialist intellectualism" that states, first and foremost, that one must be an expert of "something", and must deliver that expertise according to accepted academic conventions. One could argue that these disciplinary divisions are steeped within a twentieth-century model of politics that places institutional membership in tension with individual expression (Deleuze 1995). Further, the contemporary loosening of disciplinary boundaries might impose a need to continually rediscover and re-create ourselves in light of an increasingly uncertain academic world. In short, our uncertainties might be an expression of intellectual life in an era of transition from disciplinary to transdisciplinary models of intellectualism. The value of aesthetics in contemporary research and practice would not be to unify local and global politics or to synthesize identity politics with mobility and hybridity. Aesthetics, as practices that produce certain kinds of visibility, would reference not only what we say about linguistics and epistemic justice within our disciplinary conventions. They would offer us opportunities to explore and to "play with" the disciplinary and professional conventions within which a vision, an idea, a statement, becomes sensible.

We might, therefore, advocate teacher–scholar practices akin to a *localized globalism* (Jacobs 2013) that moves beyond a local–global dichotomy and casts local practices as singular events populated by diversity and difference. "Glocal" means more than addressing the shortcomings of both the local and the global or of translating global discourses into local practices (Conk 2012). It means beginning

with a radical uncertainty and a belief that equality is a point of departure rather than a pedagogical or political achievement (Ranciere 1991). This requires active and continual challenges to our disciplinary and pedagogical certainties and a model of critical practice that is always already engaged in a process of re-articulation in light of local happenings. Gloria's engagement with linguistic and cultural diversity, and Curt's sensory politics would resist classifications as "modernist" or "emancipatory" on one hand, and "postmodern" or "new materialist" on the other. Our positions would be contingent local responses that draw on theoretical insights while rejecting ideological pigeonholing.

We suggest that graduate programs working at the intersections of globalization and knowledge production might therefore benefit from faculty collaboration that offers avenues for identifying disciplinary uncertainties that could otherwise lead to intellectual and pedagogical isolation. These feelings of being "outsiders" might become engines for exploration rather than anxieties over personal identity in academic institutions. Yet given the institutional boundaries that "discipline" both experts and novices, it is a formidable challenge to resist reification as particular "kinds" of scholars practicing particular kinds of scholarship. Fostering uncertainty, therefore, is something that cannot happen in isolation. It requires an openness to vulnerability and more textured accounts of that vulnerability. We hope that this writing exercise constitutes not only some modest insights into how one might conceptualize World Englishes graduate seminars in glocal settings. We hope that it demonstrates one means through which we can move beyond a dichotomy of hope and despair—a new weapon, perhaps, that confronts disciplinary boundaries and the uncertainties expressed by an increasingly fluid and interconnected world.

Returning to the epigraph by Deleuze (1995) that opened this chapter, there is a fierce challenge embedded in the declaration that there is no reason "to hope or to despair." How does one find value in their teaching in the absence of hope? How can one take any ethical position if there is no anticipation that it serves a greater good? Perhaps this is where the notion of the glocal finds its most intimate pedagogical value. To value change without trying to determine its direction or imposing it upon a larger global community may be the cautious hope of glocal education. To teach and learn in glocal spaces means to explore the local as a foundation for all interaction (Geertz 1996; Pennycook 2010), but it also means to do so with our attention focused outwards—beyond any fixed category, group, or cultural identity. Perhaps the professional practice of juxtaposing our unique stories and the ways they inform our practices might offer a snapshot of our continuing adaptations to our local sites of learning and the interdisciplinary bodies of knowledge that inform them.

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Local Languages as a Resource in (Language) Education

Ahmar Mahboob and Angel M.Y. Lin

Abstract One of the most consistent and positive findings in research on attitudes towards NNESTs is that NNESTs may share their students' local language(s). Whilst having a shared language between a teacher and their students can be a strength in an English as an Additional Language (EAL) classroom, teachers need to be trained in how to use this resource appropriately to get the most benefit out of this. Currently, teachers, regardless of background, are rarely trained to use local languages efficiently in the classroom. After briefly discussing some of the reasons for this gap in training, this chapter describes ways in which teachers can effectively use local languages to enhance their students' learning. This chapter draws on work on Sydney School genre theory, critical applied linguistics, and language variation and adapts and extends it to describe how, when and why teachers can and should use local languages effectively in their classrooms. As such, this chapter will be a resource for researchers, teacher educators and teachers.

1 Introduction

In spite of a growing body of literature that shows that the use of 'mother tongue' or 'L1' can be useful for additional language development (e.g. Atkinson 1987; Brown 2014), there remains a general perception that the use of local languages is detrimental for additional language development, and should therefore be discouraged (e.g. Manan et al. 2016). In addition, teachers and administrators in many schools providing English medium instruction (EMI) also believe that letting students use local languages will negatively impact students' English language skills/learning, as well as the learning of other subjects (Manan et al. 2016). Thus, as in

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Fig. 1 A sign in a school in Pakistan discouraging the use of local languages. *Source* Manan et al. (2016)

Fig. 1 below, they discourage the use of local languages. Figure 1 is particularly illustrative because while, on the one hand, the school's administrators direct students not to speak their local languages; on the other hand, they have misspelled the word 'WelCome'. This is revealing because it suggests that regardless of the English language ability of the local administrators/teachers, there is still a push for using only English in the school. It also brings into foreground issues around localization of English and education (Mahboob 2014).

In a previous paper (Mahboob and Lin 2016), we identified some possible reasons for negative attitudes towards the use of local languages in English Language Teaching (ELT). We argued that non-recognition of local languages in dominant TESOL theories and practices is a consequence of the context in which these theories and practices developed rather than an outcome of well-researched investigations of the use and role of local languages in additional language learning contexts. As much of the dominant theory building over the last century was done by native speakers of English in inner circle countries (for the teaching of English in inner circle countries), this work did not need to consider a role for local languages. The paper illustrated how non-recognition of local languages in TESOL relates to, is supported by, and contributes to other hegemonic practices that further limit the role of local languages. In discussing the dominant work, we argued that emerging work, which questions static, monolingual and mono-modal models of language, opens up space for us to reconsider and theorize the role of local languages in additional language learning/teaching. That chapter, then, broadly outlined a teaching–learning model that built on a dynamic, situated, multimodal and semiotic understanding of language, and identified some possible roles that local languages can play in additional language education. In the current paper, we extend our

previous work by discussing the role of local languages in (language) education. In order to do this, we first outline, in some detail, how we use the terms 'local language' and 'target language' in this work. We then consider how, where and when local languages can be used in educational contexts—and not just in teaching additional languages.

2 On 'Local' and 'Target' Languages

This chapter, as pointed out above, looks at ways in which local languages can be used as a resource in (language) education. Our decision to put 'language' within parenthesis in the title of this chapter, is made to highlight the importance of local languages not just in teaching other languages, but also in teaching of other subjects (especially in cases where a language other than students' local language is used as a medium of instruction). This is important, not just in cases where students are taught various subjects through a language that is not their mother tongue (e.g. in the context of EMI in Pakistan or Hong Kong; or the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction in non-Urdu-speaking communities in Pakistan etc.), but also in cases where students use a local dialect or variety of a language that does not match the ways in which language is used in educational contexts; (e.g. speakers of Afro-American English learning (through) 'standard' English; or speakers of 'Laloo Khaiti Urdu' learning (through) 'standard' Urdu). In doing this, we want to expand the discussion regarding the use of local languages in education. In this chapter, we will exemplify our work with a focus on English, but many of the issues raised apply to other languages as well. Before moving on, we need to explain the use of brackets around 'through' in the examples shared above.

Drawing on Halliday's (2004) work on child language development, we differentiate between *learning language, learning about language* and *learning through language. Learning language* is about using language to make and communicate meaning—something that we start doing pretty much from birth. *Learning about language* refers to developing a level of understanding of 'the nature and functions of language itself' (p. 322). And, *learning through language*, 'refers to language in the construction of reality: how we use language to build up a picture of the world in which we live' (p. 317). In the context of education, students are doing (or failing to do) all three: they learn (or not) the language used in schooling; they develop (or not) an understanding of how language works in education; and they learn (or not) about different school subjects/content through language.

In discussing the role and use of local languages as a resource in language education, we first need to define what we mean by the terms 'local language' and 'target language'. Broadly speaking, local languages include the dialect or variety of a language—including those of English. Target language, on the other hand, is the language that is being learnt (or used as the medium of instruction) and refers to specific registers of that language (as used in educational contexts). To explain this further, we will briefly describe Mahboob's (2014, 2017), framework of language

variation and then discuss how we can interpret this framework in the context of the current chapter. We will then discuss how local languages can be used as a resource in language education.

2.1 Mahboob's Model of Language Variation

Mahboob's (2014, 2017), framework of language variation is based on four dimensions along which language can vary: user, use, mode and time. Of these, Mahboob uses the first three to develop the three-dimensional framework of language variation (Fig. 2). The fourth dimension, time, whilst very important to a study of language variation, is not considered as critical in its application to issues under consideration here.

The first dimension of variation in language in the framework relates to who we are as 'users' of the language and with whom we are interacting. The user cline of language variation can be based on 'low' vs. 'high' social distance. People who have low social distance (i.e. they have many shared social factors, e.g. age, education, ethnicity, family, gender, location, origin, religion, profession, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, etc.) may have unique ways of using language that reflect their relationship and this language may not always be transparent to others.

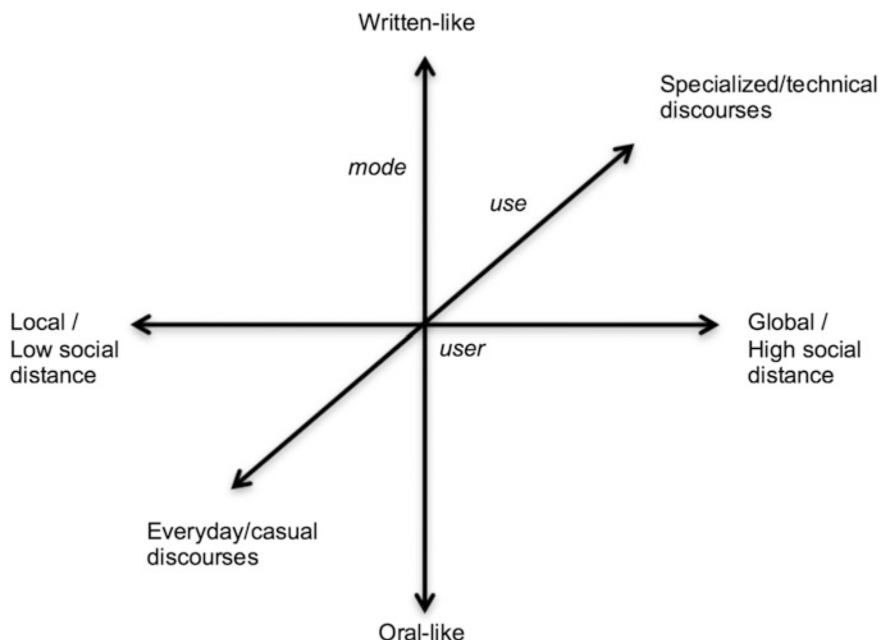

Fig. 2 Mahboob's three-dimensional framework of language variation

The indicator 'low social distance' helps us understand why people use 'local' forms of language, with their local denotations and connotations. For example, couple talk or language used between very close friends reflects the unique and shared histories, experiences and relationships between these people. The way they talk reflects that relationship and it is possible that a close group of friends may say things where only they know what they mean; others who hear it may not be able to interpret it accurately. Perhaps you want to avoid this word…appropriately? In such situations, and where people share multiple languages, they may also feel free to 'code-switch' because they know that they share the same locally oriented linguistic repertoire with their interlocutors. Anti-language is another example of language that is used in closed, tightly knit groups 'in which metaphorical modes of expression are the norm; patterns of this kind appear at all levels, phonological, lexicogrammatical, and semantic' (Halliday 1976, p. 570). On the other hand, the indicator 'high social distance' helps us explain why people use 'global' forms of language, minimizing local forms and features and facilitating communication with people who speak a different 'local' variety of the language. For example, when interacting with people that one does not know well, or when one wants to keep a formal/distant relationship, one tends to use a more 'standard' or 'global' language —one that minimizes 'local' idioms, forms and features and is thus less prone to miscommunication. In such contexts, one will also find a less frequent use (if not an absence) of 'code-switching' as one would not share (or acknowledge to share) each other's linguistic repertoire; instead, one would draw from a shared distant/ global linguistic repertoire (what is often called 'standard' language).

The second dimension of variation in language is related to the purpose or 'use' of the language. To understand this dimension of language variation, we consider whether the language being used is about 'everyday/casual' discourses or about 'specialised/technical' discourses. For example, one could talk about music using everyday/casual language and talk about the various genres of music or one's favourite reggae band; or, one could talk about music in specialized/technicalized way, e.g. a musicologist. Whilst, in the first instance, most people will be able to understand and perhaps even participate in conversation about music in everyday/ casual language; only people who are familiar with the technical terms and concepts will be able to understand a lecture by a musicologist on the technical aspects of the music of, say, Mozart. In both cases, the topic remains the same; however, the specific linguistic choices will vary based on the purpose/use of the exchange. In linguistic terms, this variation is understood as register variation, a concept used extensively in literature in genre and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) studies.

The third dimension of language variation is 'mode'. Modes of communication include aural, visual and mixed channels of communication (multimodal). The way we use language varies based on whether we are speaking, writing or—as is becoming common today—combining these two modalities (e.g. in social media, blogs, etc.). Note that the framework uses 'written-like' and 'oral-like' as the two end points. These labels acknowledge that language may be transcribed through a writing system, but may be more similar to oral language in terms of its linguistic characteristics than to written language, e.g. a dialogue included in a textbook or a

novel, or a personal travel blog that includes images and texts. Similarly, language can be more written-like even when it is spoken, e.g. a plenary talk at a conference. Texts, of course, can also be multimodal, i.e. they can draw on various modalities simultaneously (e.g. a lecture which uses a PowerPoint that includes images and text).

Although each of these three dimensions (as well as the fourth dimension, time) can be understood and studied separately (as in the examples above), in reality they always work in tandem. Since language is used by people (users) to communicate something (use) through a medium (mode) and at a particular time, all four of the dimensions are constantly relevant to all our linguistic choices. A model of language needs to consider and account for language variation across all of these dimensions consistently. One way of doing this is using Mahboob's three-dimensional framework (Fig. 2), which plots 'use', 'user' and 'mode'.

2.1.1 Eight Domains of Language Variation

Mahboob's framework helps identify eight broad domains (Table 1), with each domain including a range of variations (or sub-domains), based on varying combinations of users, uses and mode. Interestingly, as pointed out in Table 1 , different sub-specializations of linguistics tend to focus on different (sub-)domains of

Table 1 The eight (broad) domains of language variation

	Domains	Study in linguistics	Example
1	Local, oral, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Family members planning their vacation
2	Local, written, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Old school friends exchanging e-mails with each other
3	Local, oral, specialized	Anthropological linguistics; needs more attention	Members of an Aboriginal community talking about the local weather system
4	Local, written, specialized	Needs more attention	Newsletter produced by and for a rural community of farmers in rural Australia
5	Global, oral, everyday	English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)	Casual conversations amongst people from different parts of the world
6	Global, written, everyday	Genre studies; traditional grammar	International news agencies reporting on events
7	Global, oral, specialized	ELF; Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Conference presentations
8	Global, written, specialized	Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Academic papers

language variation. Table 1 lists the eight domains,[1] identifies areas of linguistic study that focus their research on that domain and examples of where one would find such language.

Amongst other things, Table 1 points out that what we call 'standard' language, the language that is typically used to describe traditional/pedagogical grammars is the language of domain 6. It is therefore not surprising that the 'rules' of grammar are often violated in the language found in other domains. For example, whilst some people use double negatives (e.g. *I don't want none* in Afro-American English) or double modals (e.g. *I might could come there* in varieties of English in the Southern USA) in their local, oral, everyday talk (domain 1), traditional/pedagogical grammars do not include these features. As a consequence, some people consider these local features of English to be ungrammatical or non-standard.

2.1.2 Some Implications of the Three-Dimensional Model for Education

Mahboob's three-dimensional framework of language variation model has a number of implications for language learning/teaching. One key observation is that we all develop our first language (often called 'mother tongue') in the context of domain 1, this is our primary 'local' language. We may develop domain 2, if the language that we learn in our local communities has a script. However, this is not always the case as not all local/oral languages have a writing system (e.g. the Toda language spoken by a small group of people in southern India). It is, however, possible that children develop multiple 'languages' in the local context and that one (or more) of these do have a written script that these children may learn to recognize and read.

People essentially learn the language of domains 5 and 6 in formal educational settings (including people who may speak a local variety of that language as a mother tongue). This is often the case with (standard) English around the world and the language of domains 5 and 6 is the most common 'target' language for learners. The majority of speakers of English are non-mother tongue users of this language. For example, whilst children may learn their local dialects of English in their home community (e.g. Chicano English), they need to learn 'standard' English (domains 5 and 6) to succeed in school. In other cases, e.g. where English is first learnt in a schooling context (as is the case where English is taught as a foreign language such as Japan), children are first taught and learn the English of domains 5 and 6 (and they come to school with a range of 'mother tongues' or 'local' languages). This is one reason why people who learn English in a school setting and then travel to an

[1]The ordering of the domains here is different than in earlier publications on this framework (Mahboob 2014, 2015). The mode dimension has been reversed here to reflect the primacy of oral language over written language.

English-speaking country have trouble understanding 'mother tongue' speakers of English, who have lots of features of domain 1 in their everyday language (features not shared with the English of domains 5 and 6). This is also one reason why non-mother tongue speakers of English typically find the English of other non-mother tongues users of English easier to understand than that of mother tongue speakers of the language (Smith 1992): most non-mother tongue speakers of English typically learn 'standard' English in the context of domains 5 and 6 and therefore share a number of features; whereas, mother tongue speakers of English develop their language in the context of domain 1 and therefore use language differently. And, this is also one reason why mother tongue speakers of English in different parts of the world (e.g. Kingston, Jamaica vs. Cairns, Australia) may not be able to understand each other's local dialects (because they have different 'local' ways of using English).

Finally, the language of domains 7 and 8 are almost always learnt in special domains. For example, linguists learn the terminology used in their field by being trained in linguistics. No one is a 'native' or 'mother tongue' user of the language of these domains—we all learn this 'target' language either in educational contexts, as apprentices in specialized fields, or as members of communities of practice where such language is used.

One insight of this framework for education is to help us develop a better understanding of how language variation relates to educational contexts and to students. Students come into educational contexts with a range of 'local' languages (their language in domain 1) and may need to develop different 'target' languages (it may be the language of a (sub-)domain 5 or 6 or 7 or 8). There are a lot of variations in both the local and the target languages across the student body. In some cases, the differences between a student's local language (domain 1) and the target language (domain 5) may be minimal; as may be the case with some children from white middle class population in the northern states of the USA. Or, these differences may be quite substantial; as may be the case with Pushto-speaking children in rural Pakistan or Afro-American kids in Bronx learning (through) 'standard' English (domain 5 and 6). These challenges will also exist when the target language is that of domain (or a sub-domain of) 7 and 8. In this case, the language that students bring with them may be the language of their domains 1 and 2 or domains 5 and 6. An understanding of these differences can help teachers develop and use an appropriate set of strategies.

The variations in local and target languages also implies that the 'local' language that teachers can draw on in their teaching may need to be different. For example, in some contexts, and where feasible, teachers may use the language of domain 1 (this can be a local dialect of English or a different language altogether) to help their students develop the language of domain 5. In other cases, e.g. in multilingual classes, where students come from a range of language backgrounds, teachers may have to use more multimodal resources (e.g. images, gesture, signs, videos etc.) or use whatever the shared (English) language that the students have developed so far to help them further. And, in the context of higher education where students are learning specialized/technicalized language (domains 7 and 8) and already have the

shared linguistic resources of domains 5 and 6, teachers can use the language of domains 5 and 6 to help their students. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss or describe how teachers may productively use local languages across educational contexts, such as the ones identified above. What we will do, therefore, is to provide some examples of how teachers in particular contexts use local languages effectively in their teaching and relate this to some recent theoretical developments in Sydney School work on genre theory (in specific with Rose and Martin 2012).

3 Using Local Languages in Education

Our goal in this section is to provide some examples of how to use local languages effectively in the class, and to theorize these so that the readers can consider ways of using these ideas in their own settings. We start this by first considering the use of local languages in relation to the Teaching–Learning Cycle (TLC) and then in the design of a learning task. The TLC is of particular interest in our consideration of how to systematically plan the use of local languages because of the systematic stages of the TLC, each with its unique pedagogical functions. Below we shall consider these in detail illustrating how local languages can be integrated into different stages of the TLC to contribute to the scaffolding functions inherent in each stage.

3.1 Use of Local Languages and the Teaching–Learning Cycle

The Teaching–Learning Cycle (TLC) (Rothery 1996) is a useful curriculum approach to consider in conjunction with the planning of local language use as the TLC adequately prepares students for a writing task through three successive stages, each with its unique functions. Rothery's (1996) model (Fig. 3) implements the idea that knowledge is constructed in a social context and that in order to successfully gain control of language, learners need to be led through cycles of deconstruction, joint construction, and independent construction, whilst simultaneously building their understanding of the field. In doing so, they move towards a critical orientation to, and control of the skills, knowledge and language that is required within specific genres and valued in particular social contexts. The TLC requires that in the deconstruction stage, the teacher first models the text and, in thus deconstructing the text, enables students to understand its purpose, structure and important language features. In the deconstruction stage, local languages can play an important role of helping students with basic target language proficiency to grasp all these important features. Following the deconstruction stage is the joint

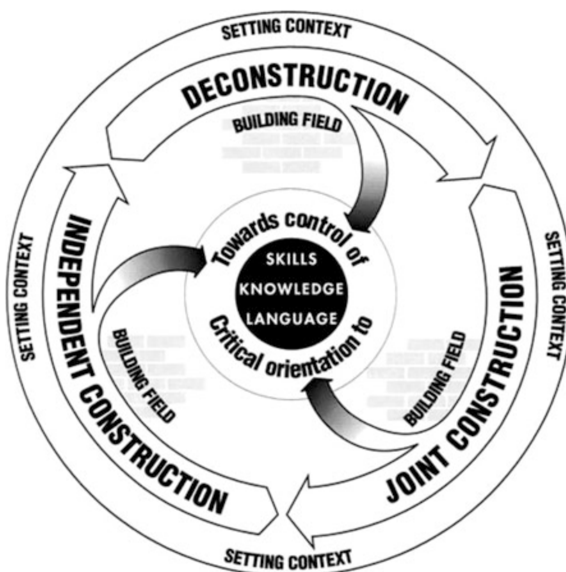

Fig. 3 Teaching–learning cycle. *Source* Rothery (1996)

construction stage, where together with the teacher, who provides the leadership and guidance, students draft an oral/written text of the same type on another topic. During this stage, local languages again can play an important scaffolding role especially if students' target language skills are still fledging. For instance, local languages can be used to provide students with signposts and comments about how a coherent text can be constructed. Finally, and after successfully scaffolding this writing process, learners are given the opportunity to create a text independently.

In the TLC, there should be a gradual shift of responsibility from teacher support (deconstruction and joint construction) to learners taking responsibility for their own learning (independent construction). In contexts where the language used in the texts (which can be either written or spoken) belongs to a (sub-)domain that the students are not already familiar with, there needs to be even greater support in the modelling of a text from a given genre (e.g. exposition, explanation, description) and in joint construction. Again, local languages play an important role in assisting students to grasp both the genre and lexicogrammatical knowledge required to construct a cohesive text in the target language. A recent design intervention study (Ningsih 2015) reported on the positive impact of the use of the students' local language (Bahasa Indonesia) in conjunction with a further developed version of the TLC (called R2L—Read-to-Learn Cycle; see Rose and Martin 2012). The R2L Cycle was used in teaching the science description genre (a descriptive report on an Indonesian bird). It showed that the systematic use of the students' familiar local language led to improved genre and linguistic metalinguistic knowledge and better writing performance in the target language of English. Recent work by Rose (2014 forthcoming) also pointed to the importance of analysing the different stages and phases of curriculum genres (e.g. TLC, R2L) in building a pedagogical

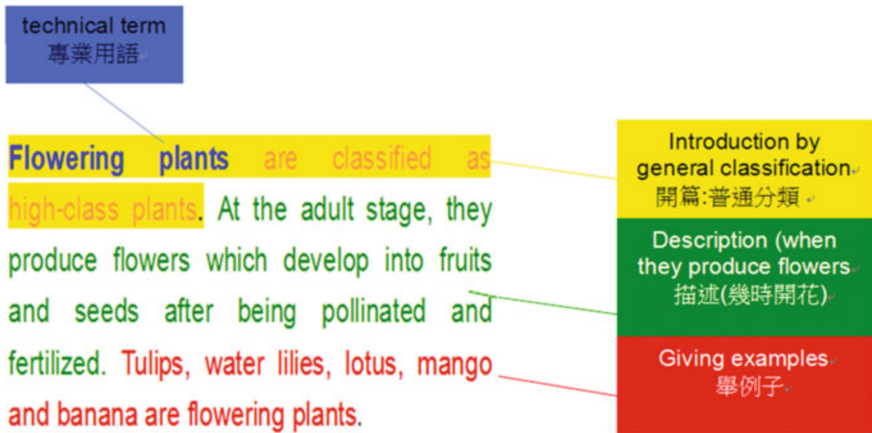

Fig. 4 Modelling Analysis/Deconstruction of a description text (Using the students' local language to scaffold understanding of key text features)

metalanguage to enable teachers to analyse their own classroom discourse. This pedagogical metalanguage will also enable teachers to systematically plan the use of students' familiar, local language(s) in different stages and phases of curriculum genres with different pedagogical functions. Below we shall illustrate with a simple design example to show what this planning process might look like.

Taking the TLC as an example, in the deconstruction stage, teachers can engage students in discussing the main communicative purpose and main ideas of a text and how the writer organizes these ideas systematically through different stages in order to achieve the main communicative purpose by using *both* the local language and the target language. Teachers can introduce a metalanguage to help students identify the different parts of a text in the target language and explain these in the local language. The focus of this phase is on guiding students to notice the global genre structure of the text and to see how the academic content (i.e. *field*) unfolds through the different stages of the genre. Figure 4 shows an example analysis of a description text adapted from a textbook of Grade 4 Science from an Asian context.

The overall purpose of this text is to provide a description of flowering plants (which is a subject-specific technical term) and thus this text is an example of the genre called *description*. Even though it is a short text, the academic content (i.e. the field) unfolds through the two main stages of the genre: Introduction, and Description. Within the Description stage, there is a sub-stage (called *phase*): Giving Examples. There can be more than one Description in a description text, although this short description text has just one. When the teacher jointly reads the text with the students, the teacher does the 'de-construction' or analysis of the text together with the students by drawing the students' attention to these global genre stages of the text. The local language (Chinese, in this case) alongside the English (L2) helps the students to grasp these stages and phases and their communicative purposes.

Table 2 Joint note-making from a text (Scaffolded with local linguistic resources)

Introduction (開篇)	Flowering plants (有花植物)	—A kind of high-class plants (—種高等植物)
Description (描述)	Adult stage (成年期)	—Produce flowers(開花) → pollination (授粉) + fertilization (施肥) → fruits (果實) + seeds (種子)
Giving examples (舉例子)		—Tulips (鬱金香), water lilies (荷花), lotus (蓮花), mango and banana (芒果和香蕉)

Then, the teacher can orient students' attention to the main idea of each stage of the text. For instance, in the Introduction stage, the writer presents the main topic of the text (flowering plants) by classifying them or putting them into a general category of plants (high-class plants). This is a usual way of introducing the topic in description texts. As the teacher guides the students to read to the second stage (Description stage), the teacher summarizes the main idea of this stage for the students: When will flowering plants produce flowers? As the teacher reads the last part of the text with the students, the teacher can summarize the main idea of this last phase: Giving examples of flowering plants. In this way, the teacher models analysing the general structuring of information in the description genre through reading and analysing an example text of such a genre together with students. And with students with very basic target language proficiency, the use of the local language of the students helps students to understand the key features of the model text. For example, the students' local language can be used to scaffold students' learning in the paragraph-by-paragraph detailed reading conducted in the Deconstruction stage of the Reading to Learn (R2L) Cycle (see Ningsih 2015).

During this first joint deconstruction lesson stage, the teacher can jointly make notes with the students on the main ideas of the text using a simple graphic organizer or a table. Table 2 below shows a bilingual note-making table that the teacher and students can use to make bilingual notes whilst reading the text together:

After the first stage of joint analysis in paragraph-by-paragraph reading and joint bilingual note-making (see Ningsih 2015), the teacher can engage students in the joint construction of a new description text based on the notes made in the previous stage. The teacher can ask a student to be the 'scribe' at the blackboard, whilst s/he works with the class to come up with new wordings for each stage of the new description text and produce a new text together. In this phase, local languages can be used to assist the students in the joint note-making process. Bilingual notes can help students to grasp the meaning of key lexicogrammatical items and to connect target language knowledge to local knowledge. Below is a design lesson conversation involving the teacher and students in the joint production of a new text; the underlined parts can be conducted in the students' familiar local language (in this case, it is Cantonese; the English gloss is put in square brackets):

Text 1. Lesson Conversation: Teacher and Students Co-constructing a Text

T: 好嘞,我地依家试下用翻啱啱做嘅笔记嚟写一篇新嘅描述文。边个想做抄写员?Winnie，你嚟做抄写员好唔好?[Okay, let's try to write a new description text using the notes we've just made. Who wants to be the scribe? Winnie, can you be our scribe?]
{Winnie comes out to the blackboard}

T: First of all, in the first paragraph, what should we have? Just now we have analysed a description text together, do you remember, what do we have in the first stage of a description text? {T pointing to the word INTRODUCTION in the table of notes made on the board.}

S1 : Introduction!

T: Yes, Introduction. We shall introduce the topic. What is the topic? {T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

S2: Flowering plants.

T: Yes, flowering plants. 我地可以通過分類去介紹有花植物。有花植物屬於邊個普通類別呢?[We can introduce flowering plants by classifying them. Which general class do flowering plants belong to?] Flowering plants belong to the category of …. of what?
{T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

S3: High-class…

T: Yes, high-class, high-class plants. Flowering plants belong to the category of high-class plants. Let's write this down. Winnie, please help us write this down on the board: Flowering plants belong to the category of high-class plants.{As Winnie is trying to write this down, she stops before the word category}

T: 好嘞,category呢個字點串呢? 邊個可以幫忙? 點串category啊? 睇翻課文,我地啱啱讀過嘅,就喺嗰度。[Okay, what's the spelling of category? Who can help? How to spell category? Look at the text we've just read and it's there.]

Ss: c-a-t-e-g-o-r-y

T: Very good! Yes, c-a-t-e-g-o-r-y category
{Winnie continues to write out the sentence on the board}

T: Very good! Thank you, Winnie. 好嘞,通過分類介紹完個主題,咁描述文嘅下一個文步係乜嘢呢?[Okay, after introducing the topic by classifying it, what's the next stage in a description text?]
{no response}

T: 睇翻我地頭先做嘅筆記。[Look back at the notes we've just made.] {T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

Ss: Description

T: Yes, very good! Description. 有花植物幾時開花呢? [When do flowering plants produce flowers?]

S5 Adult, adult…

T: Yes, excellent! Adult stage… 咁我地可以點樣表達呢? [How can we say this?] During the adult stage, during, 我地可以用[we can use] during, like,

during recess time, during holidays, now, it's during the adult stage… 邊個可以幫我串during呢個字? [who can spell during for me?]

S6: d-u-r-i-n-g

T: Thank you! During, let's spell it together for Winnie: d-u-r-i-n-g.
{Winnie writes on the board: during}

T: 我地開始寫一個新嘅句子,所以應該大寫字母 'D' [We're starting a new sentence, so we should use capital letter 'D'.]. {Winnie corrects it on the board}

T: Very good! During the adult stage, what happens? {T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

S7: Produce flowers

T: Yes, during the adult stage what produce flowers?
{T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

Ss: Flowering plants

T 啱嘞,咁你能唔能夠將成個句子講晒出嚟啊? [Yes, can you give me the whole sentence]: During the adult stage…

S8: Flowering plants produce flowers…

T: Yes! During the adult stage, flowering plants produce flowers.
{T gesturing Winnie to write this on the board; Winnie stops at the word produce; T asks the class to spell the word together; Winnie continues to finish writing the sentence on the board}

T: Thank you Winnie! 咁接住落嚟點呢? 啲花會點啊? 佢地會唔會變成 [Now what happens next? What happens to the flowers? Can they turn into] fruits and seeds?.
{No response}

T: 好,睇翻我地啱啱做過嘅筆記。[Okay, look at the notes we've just made.]
{T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

S9: pollination

S10: fertilization

T: Very good! After pollination and fertilization, flowers turn into fruits and seeds.

T: 咁description嘅下一個句子可以係點? [What can be the next sentence in the description then?]

S11: turn into…

T: Yes, after pollination and fertilization, flowers turn into fruits and seeds.
{T gestures Winnie to write the sentence on the board. Winnie hesitates. T asks the class to spell out the word pollination together, then the word fertilization together; Winnie dictates the words on the board}

T: 唔該晒Winnie! 做得非常好!咁依家我地寫到描述嘅最尾部分嘞。應該仲有啲乜嘢呢? [Thank you so much Winnie! Wonderful job! Now, we have come to the last part of our description text. What should we have now ?]{T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}

S12: Examples
T: Excellent, we can give examples of the flowering plants, right? 咁,邊個記得啲例子呢? 睇翻我地做嘅筆記。[Now, who can remember the examples, look at the notes we've made.]
{T pointing to the relevant words in the notes on the board}
Ss: papaya, mango, banana, rose…
T: Very good! To give examples, 我地應該點樣寫個句子嘅開頭啊? [How should we start the sentence to give examples?]
S13: For example
T: Yes, for example, papaya, mango, banana, rose are flowering plants.
S14: sunflower!
S15: hibiscus!
T: 哦,講得啱,唔該晒!Winnie,你記得晒啲例子嗎?[Oh, yes, thank you! Winnie, have you got all of these examples?]
{Winnie writes the last sentence: For example, papaya….; she stops at some words and the T repeats the practice of asking the class to spell out the words for her; finally she completes the sentence on the board}
T: Winnie, 你做得好好啊!全班都表現好好!依家我地將呢篇新寫嘅文寫翻落個筆記本嗰度。[Excellent job, Winnie! Well-done class! Let's write down this new text in your notebook.].
{T gives some time to the class to copy the text from the board onto their notebook}

In the above design conversation, we can see that the students' familiar local language can be used to achieve a variety of useful functions:

Signposting for students the boundary of tasks (e.g. Okay, let's try to write a new description text using the notes we've just made) Boundary making is an important classroom function. The more clearly the boundaries of tasks and lesson stages are highlighted (e.g. in local languages), the more likely that students can follow the teacher.

Encouraging students' participation (e.g. Who wants to be the scribe? Winnie, can you be our scribe?) (e.g. Thank you so much Winnie! Wonderful job!) (e.g. Well-done class!) (e.g. Yes, can you give me the whole sentence?) Using students' familiar local languages can encourage students' participation by negotiating a shorter social distance between the teacher and the students.

Unpacking key genre and linguistic knowledge (e.g. We can introduce flowering plants by classifying them. Which general class do flowering plants belong to?) (e.g. Okay, after introducing the topic by classifying it, what's the next stage in a description text?) (e.g. How should we start the sentence to give examples?) (e.g. We're starting a new sentence, so we should use capital letter 'D'.) (e.g. What can be the next sentence in the description then?) (e.g. Now, we have come to the last part of our description text. What should we have now?) To help students to deconstruct the genre stages and linguistic features of a target language text, using students' familiar local language can help students gain confidence in

analysing the text by giving them a handle on the different steps in the deconstruction process.

Providing locational cues (e.g. Okay, what's the spelling of category? Who can help? How to spell category? Look at the text we've just read and it's there.) (e.g. Look back at the notes we've just made.) To help students to locate useful information in the text, the locational cues can be provided in students' familiar local language.

The new text co-constructed by the teacher and students would look like the following:

> Flowering plants belong to the category of high-class plants. During the adult stage, flowering plants produce flowers. After pollination and fertilization, flowers turn into fruits and seeds. For example, rose, hibiscus, sunflower, mango, banana, papaya are flowering plants.

In the above lesson extract, students are engaged by the teacher in co-constructing a new text based on the bilingual notes that they have made during the first stage of text analysis. In this second stage of joint reconstruction, the teacher provides ample local language scaffolding to students as they jointly reconstruct a new text based on the notes made, with the teacher constantly pointing at the notes made previously on the board to provide clues to the students to answer his questions as they jointly reconstruct the text based on the notes. The new text looks very similar to the original text in terms of content but new wordings are used. Students feel a sense of accomplishment during the joint reconstruction process, even if they may be heavily guided and scaffolded by the teacher. This joint reconstruction process can be repeated several times with a few more text examples before the students are asked to independently write their own texts as assignments. In this way, the students are prepared for the writing task through the three stages of the TLC.

Through the three stages of the TLC, students can be guided by the teacher to *unpack* an academic text and to make summary notes (joint deconstruction stage) and then scaffolded by the teacher to *repackage (or repack)* the notes into a new text with new wordings both elicited from the students and provided by the teacher (joint reconstruction stage) before they are asked to construct their own text on their own (independent construction stage). Teachers can use students' local languages in this context to capture students' attention and help them to express their ideas freely.

4 Use of Local Languages and the Learning Task

In the previous section, we looked at how local languages can be used in the larger TLC. We will now consider how this may be done within the scope of a particular learning task. However, before we do that, let's look at an example of how a Grade 9 math teacher (Miss Sitt) in a Hong Kong school uses the local language

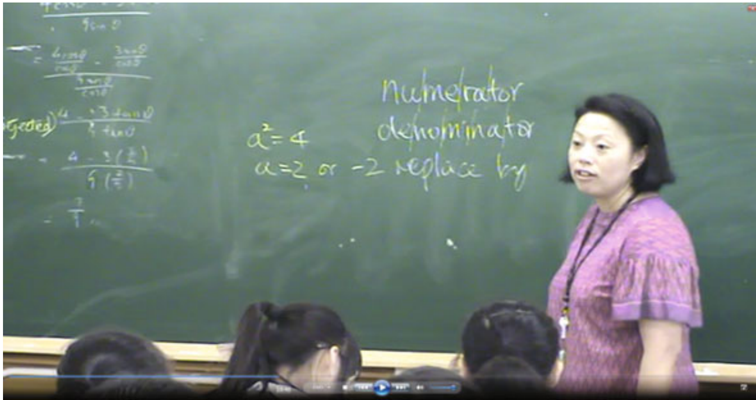

Fig. 5 Syllabification strategy used by Miss Sitt. *Source* Miss Winnie Sitt With permission from Miss Winnie Sitt

(Cantonese in this case) as a *bridging strategy* to provide scaffolding to the students via classroom talk. Miss Sitt is explaining a mathematical operation that requires the understanding of the key lexical phrase: replace… by…

Text 2. Miss Sitt's use of Chinese as a scaffolding strategy. (Source: Tavares 2015, pp. 328–331) (translation of local language in square brackets [])[2]

18:40 … replace Tangent Θ by 2.
Look at the board.
replace Tangent Θ by 2. *(T repeats)*
replace by 代替咗佢 [to replace it], okay?
18:56 For this second way, what have they done here, Alice?
…
And then? What happens on the third line?… What have they done here?
How about the fourth line? What have they done?…
… to replace the…
20:22 Okay, Alice, one more question.
Why do they have to replace it?

In this example, the teacher annotates the key lexical phrase using the local language (domain 1), in this case Chinese, which is shared by all students. In addition, as can be seen in Fig. 5 below, she also uses the *syllabification strategy* to help students 'chop up' multisyllabic words such as 'numerator', 'denominator' into different syllables in order to aid their learning of these key terms in math. In using the syllabification strategy, the teacher draws on the students' knowledge about language (of domain 6 in Mahboob's three-dimensional framework) to help them understand a more technical concept. By skillfully interweaving a focus on the

[2]Data used with the consent of the author, N. J. Tavares and the research participant, Miss Sitt.

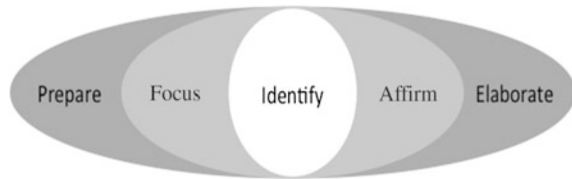

Fig. 6 Design principle: Orbital structure of a learning task. *Source* Rose and Martin (2012)

language aspects into her math lesson, the teacher builds in language support via classroom talk (Tavares 2015).

Scaffolding via classroom talk can go beyond the minimum level of annotating key vocabulary. For example, if students have a very basic English language proficiency and yet owing to policy issues there is a strong desire for parents to put their children into English medium schools, then classroom scaffolding using local languages may be systematically planned into the structure of a learning task. In order to discuss this, we draw on Rose and Martin (2012) orbital structure of a learning task (Fig. 6).

Prepare—In the Prepare phase of the task, the teacher prepares students for tackling the task by arousing their interest and providing necessary background knowledge or key vocabulary for the task.
Focus—In the Focus phase of the task, the teacher focuses students' attention on the question.
Identify—In the Identify phase of the task, the student(s) give the answer to the question, or identify the information required by the question.
Affirm—In the Affirm phase of the task, the teacher affirms the student(s)'s answer or performance in the task.
Elaborate—In the Elaborate phase of the task, the teacher provides additional useful information related to the topic or skills in question.

Amongst the above five phases, the 'Prepare' phase will be most amenable to use of familiar local languages, which can be used to help students prepare for the task. For example, in Miss Sitt's lesson, students' local language (Cantonese in this case) can be used to teach difficult L2 vocabulary (e.g. using Cantonese to annotate 'to replace it') in the Prepare phase of the task. Similarly, in the 'Elaborate' phase of the activity, local languages can be fruitfully used to help students apply what is learnt in new contexts and to provide additional knowledge and information. For example, in Miss Sitt's math class mentioned above, the students' local language can be used in the 'Elaborate' phase to offer more nuanced comparisons of different ways of reaching the same solution to a math problem. The most extensive use of local languages should therefore be in the 'Prepare' and 'Elaborate' phases of the learning task. This is because the teacher is helping students build interest in the topic or connecting the topic with their previous knowledge in the 'Prepare' phase and then extending it in the 'Elaborate' phase.

In the Focus, Identify and Affirm phases of the learning task, teachers should mostly use the target language as they have already helped students develop a

Focus through the use of local languages in the Prepare phase. However, even here, local languages may be used systematically and judiciously to provide annotations of key vocabulary (as shown in Miss Sitt's example above) and multimodalities can also be used to assist the students to accomplish the task (e.g. teacher pointing to the relevant parts of a graphic organizer, a table, or a diagram to provide the position cues of the relevant words/content).

As pointed out above, teachers can use the local language(s) most productively in the Prepare and Elaborate phases. Below, we give some more suggestions on how this might be done in a lesson focusing on 'flowering plants'.

The Prepare Phase In preparing students to read a description text about flowering plants, the teacher needs to arouse students' interest in the topic. This is called the Prepare phase in Rose and Martin's structure of a learning task. In this phase, a lot of strategies can be used: showing students pictures or videos of different kinds of flowering plants, or having students to actually observe and examine a real flowering plant in the school garden (if this is available and feasible), or tell the life story of a flowering plant using the first-person perspective (using personification: e.g. I'm a papaya tree… I grew up in Bangkok…). In this phase, local languages can be used to stimulate students' interest and background knowledge about the topic. Students can brainstorm all their knowledge about flowering plants using local languages (e.g. they might know the names of some flowering plants in their local languages) and the teacher can help them translate some of these words into the target language.

The Elaborate Phase In the Elaborate phase, i.e. the final phase of the learning task, local languages can also be used to apply what has been learnt in new contexts. For instance, students can be encouraged to produce an info-poster on flowering plants. In this phase, the teacher can use local languages to explain how to make an info-poster using an e-tool (e.g. comic life, toondoo, glogster) or how to organize and lay out different kinds of information about flowering plants in the poster. Furthermore, local languages can be used to help students gain awareness of some new language patterns useful in creating new sentences for the poster, for instance, how to design a catchy heading for the poster.

5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter pushes our understandings of language and language variation to rethink how (and what) languages may be used to support student learning in instructional settings—both in language classrooms and in content classrooms. In doing this, the paper first presents Mahboob's three-dimensional model of language variation and identifies some implications of this model for education. This chapter then describes ways in which local languages can be used effectively in teaching/learning by discussing this in relation to some of the recent developments in Sydney School genre-based pedagogy and the Teaching/Learning Cycle (TLC) (Rothery 1996; Rose and Martin 2012). We hope that teachers can take some

inspiration from some of these examples and adapt the principles for their own use in their own unique contexts. The use of local languages serves not only in pedagogical scaffolding functions but also in identity affirmation purposes. By actively and systematically planning the use of local languages in conjunction of the TLC, teachers both build on and affirm the valuable resources that students bring to their classrooms, and in the process, demonstrate to their students that their local cultural identities are valued, just as their local languages. This chapter thus provides a theoretical as well as a practical overview of a number of key issues, and points teachers, teacher educators and researchers into thinking about languages and their use in classrooms in new ways.

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Contexts of English Language Teaching as Glocal Spaces

Bedrettin Yazan

Abstract Cultural and economic globalization has considerably reinforced the use and spread of English as an international language across the world. In return, the learning and teaching of English in numerous local educational contexts has played a major role in making globalization (and its effects) possible. In this chapter, I view the dialectic of the global and the local as a complex, simultaneous, and constant interplay of homogenization and heterogenization, and convergence and divergence which repudiates the one-way flow from global to local. Resting upon the concept of glocalization, I suggest understanding the kaleidoscope of English Language Teaching (ELT) contexts as processual social, cultural, historical, and political constructions rather than essentialized, concretized, and static entities. This is an attempt to reconceptualize the ELT contexts as glocal spaces which are characterized by both global and local discourses and their dynamic interplay and mutual interpenetration. This reconceptualization can afford us the lens through which we can valorize the emergent glocal conditions in ELT practices and debunk the restrictive boundaries of dichotomous approaches. More specifically, glocalization can help gain further insights into the constructs of global ELT discourses and how they shape the possibilities of being, becoming, and knowing and impact the ways ELT professional negotiate identities, agency, and legitimacy in their glocal contexts.

1 Introduction

There has been a symbiotic relationship between globalization and the English language. Cultural and economic globalization has considerably reinforced the use and spread of English as an international language across the world. In return, the learning and teaching of English in numerous local educational contexts has played a key role in making globalization (and its effects) possible (Kramsch 2000). Pervasive processes of globalization, in every sphere of life, have impacted the

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ways in which the purposes of English language learning and teaching are conceived. Being able to speak English has been viewed as a vital prerequisite to become and stay part of the global economy. Underscoring its vitality, national language policy makers tended to glorify English teaching practices as their priority goal which vastly predominated school curricula. In the same vein, national and international companies across the world started to require English proficiency as an essential qualification while hiring their work force. Additionally, transnational migration, mobility to travel across the world, and increased need for cross-cultural communication have boosted the use and learning of English. Those fundamental developments have synergistically brought about a tremendous demand for services of English language teaching (ELT), and a rapidly burgeoning body of English learners (ELs) all around the world. Thereby, the processes of globalization have led ELT to grow as an enterprise on a global scale.

The spread of ELT practices concomitantly reinforced the expansion and prevalence of global discourses of ELT mainly oriented by the literature on linguistics, second language acquisition (SLA) theories, and ELT methodology. Those discourses are powerful in shaping teachers' and learners' beliefs and "notions about the nature of language, the nature and purpose of communication, and appropriate communicative behavior" (Tollefson 2007, p. 26) as well as what effective language teaching and learning should look like. However, in numerous diverse local instructional contexts which are socially, culturally, and historically constructed, English language teachers and learners negotiate the global ELT discourses. Because of "the perspectival heterogeneity of locality" (Pennycook 2010, pp. 32–33), local contexts function as temporal and spatial sites of negotiation that shape the practices of teaching, learning, and using English situated at the interstices of global and local forces. There are two main prevalent approaches to understand the dialectic between the global and the local in the field of ELT, but both need to be honed to better grasp the complexities of this dialectic as it pertains to ELT practices (Canagarajah 2005, 2014; Pennycook 2007). One approach centers on the homogenizing and universalizing influence of the global flows of ELT discourses (regarding the nature, use, teaching, and learning of English) into local contexts. The other one foregrounds "emergent national standard[s]" localizing English, which "falls into the trap of mapping centre linguists' images of language and the world on to the periphery" (Pennycook 2007, pp. 22–23). Relying on Robertson's (1995) notion of glocalization, this chapter suggests reconceptualizing the contexts of ELT as glocal spaces to capture the fluidity and dynamism in the interpenetration, interdependency, and interrelationship between the global and the local in ELT practices. Thereby, it intends to contribute to the ongoing scholarly conversations about glocalization in ELT by presenting a conceptual framework to gain a nuanced understanding of ELT contexts after synthesizing the extant theoretical and empirical work.

2 Glocalization

Introduced by Robertson (1995), the concept of glocalization has become popular as a neologism blending the terms "global" and "local." Robertson coined glocalization to better conceptualize and capture globalization encompassing the concurrent processes of "regionalizing and globalizing" (Ching 2000, p. 233) and to highlight the fluid interplay and complex flows between the global and the local forces. He intends to move away from the common inclination to pit globalization against localization and contends that "globalization … has involved and increasingly involves the creation and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1995, p. 40). Therefore, the glocalization perspective repudiates the traditional, monolithic understanding of globalization as a unidirectional, homogenizing, and universalizing phenomenon which leads to the erosion and destruction of local cultures and practices. It foregrounds the complexities involved in the concurrence and interaction between the global and the local in "the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe" (Blommaert 2010, p. 13). In simpler terms, it offers a new vantage point which invites further exploration of "globalization from below" (Appadurai 2000, p. 3). Against this conceptual backdrop, the discussion in this chapter is based upon the following premises drawn from the construct of glocalization:

a. The relationship between the global and the local is rather *mutually constitutive* than dichotomous.
b. The local and the global *simultaneously* and *actively* shape the processes of globalization in temporal and spatial contexts.
c. The global and the local *fluidly interfuse, interweave*, *interpenetrate*, and *transform* each other.
d. The negotiation and construction of *agency, identity*, and *legitimacy* are contextually situated and embedded at the nexus of *bidirectional* global and local flows of discourses.

The conflation of global and local in one name, glocalization, is not just an endeavor of nomenclature to replace "globalization." It is an attempt to transcend the critique of vast global change which is erroneously viewed as the obliteration of the identity and particularity of local cultures (Pennycook 2010). It directs further attention to the fact that globalization not only leads to universalization and homogenization but also regionalization, and diversification principally due to transnational movements of people and flows of knowledge, ideas, and discourses across local communities via various technological tools, particularly the Internet (Shin and Kubota 2008). The notion of glocalization also opposes the common inclination to conceptualize "the very idea of locality … cast as a form of opposition or resistance to the hegemonically global" and the standardization and normalization of locality positioning it against globality (Robertson 1995, p. 29). Such an inclination misses the idiosyncrasies of local contexts and creative local

responses that use “strategies of resistance and negotiation” (Bhatt 2005, p. 26). It is capable of going no further than solely imagining a binary and essentializing the interaction between the global and the local. This essentialization neglects the variability, complexity, and contradictory dynamics of this interaction. Therefore, Robertson (1995) suggests being “much more subtle about the dynamics of the production and reproduction of difference and, in the broadest sense, locality” (p. 29). This subtle approach can enable the grasping of the ways in which local actors “navigate sociolinguistically [as well as socioculturally] between their regional riches and the homogenized global norms” (Bhatt 2005, p. 26).

3 Global Expert Discourses

Unpacking the complex interaction between the local and the global entails a better understanding of knowledge construction promoted and conducted in modernist scientific circles. The movement of modernism coupled with colonialism sponsored the dissemination and adoption of such ideals as “universality, standardization, and systematicity,” for the purpose of accomplishing “predictability, efficiency, and eventually, progress” in modernist reasonable vision (Canagarajah 2005, p. 5). Whatever emerged as variable, contingent, and different were flagged as problem and suppressed in “a uniform march to attain progress” (Canagarajah 2005, p. 5). The processes of model building and knowledge generation to scientifically make sense of phenomena required various levels of abstraction which left local knowledge out of scope. Those processes were politically controlled by the discourses of the powerful communities whose locality were promoted to the level of global in the name of modernity, civilization, and enlightenment (ibid.).

The globally powerful communities have maintained the political and systematic knowledge construction and its legitimacy and dissemination across local communities. This maintenance was enabled through “global expert or venerable discourses” (Bhatt 2005, p. 28). Relying on Foucault’s (1972) notion of “fellowships of discourse,” Bhatt (2005) defines those discourses as “a body of statements that denigrate local practices and promote the global norm” (p. 28). Those discourses shape the way we name and define phenomena, recount stories about lived experiences, and perpetuate the existing power relations and structure favoring the dominant and powerful. They provide readymade “narratives” and “subject positions” for those who are manufacturing and consuming scientific knowledge in local contexts (Lin et al. 2005, p. 198). In essence, with the modernist goals of universalization and predictability, global expert discourses intend to control epistemological and ontological outlooks and presuppositions in communities. From Foucauldian perspective, Bhatt (2005) comments:

> … the production of discourse in any society is at once controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed according to a number of procedures whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to master the unpredictable event. As such, the preservation, reproduction, and the distribution of power is serviced by the same institutions that produce it, enabling

> "fellowships of discourse," the function of which is as follows: "…to preserve or to reproduce discourse, but in order that it should circulate within a closed community, according to strict regulations, without those in possession being dispossessed by this very distribution" (Foucault 1972, p. 225). (p. 29)

"Fellowships of discourse" entail political and strategic processes of elevating certain norms, ideas and ideals and demoting or relegating others, which is to ensure appropriate demarcation of boundaries. These processes function for the sustenance of "the architecture of existing power configurations" (Bhatt 2005, p. 30).

However, the process of globalization does not only encompass the imposition of global discourses on various localities to maintain the global power holder's status. When local actors are presented the prepackaged "narratives" and "subject positions" (Lin et al. 2005), they do not passively align their epistemic commitments with the global norms and standards. They actively engage in a negotiation of the knowledge generated and serviced through the global discourses. The negotiation and interpretation of this knowledge occur in light of the contextual parameters and their personal/professional lived experiences and identities in their sociocultural contexts. Who they are and who they aspire to become personally and professionally and their assertions of the agency for (non)participation in their imagined community shape collectively the local actors' negotiation and use of knowledge disseminated through global discourses. The role of contextuality and individuals' identities and agency in this negotiation makes knowledge fluidly glocal which is constantly being (re)negotiated and (re)constructed, rather than a solely global end-product. In return, with the goal of perpetuating power status (and the role of generating and disseminating knowledge), the global discourses go through revisions and reconsiderations in response to localities. This makes the entire process of globalization even more complicated and fluid.

4 Expert Discourses in ELT

As a powerful instrument and a major consequence of globalization, the global ELT field has produced and maintained its discourse and ideology. It has been molded to a large extent by the social, political, and cultural processes of knowledge formation and model building vastly oriented by the movements of modernism and colonialism (Canagarajah 2005). The field of ELT offers the scholars and practitioners universal linguistic and SLA models to explicate the nature of the English language and guide the standard instructional approaches and methodologies that shape the practices of English language learning and teaching. Those models, approaches, and methodologies are all driven, maintained, and reproduced by global ELT discourses. With their ideological power, those discourses project the dominant and powerful "one's own practices and beliefs as universal and commonsense" (Tollefson 1995, p. 2), which renders local knowledge and practices as secondary and leaves them out of the entire picture. Thereby, they sustain the entrenched and

"established orthodoxies" of ELT (Canagarajah 2005, p. 25). As an example of the spread of ELT discourses with their ideological power, British and American Englishes reigned supremacy in almost all local ELT contexts for a very long time. Almost all English language textbooks or "the global coursebook" (Gray 2002, p. 151) in use have been published and disseminated by the publishing companies in those countries and those textbooks are "highly wrought cultural constructs and carriers of cultural messages" (Gray 2002, p. 152). It has become the universal norm to learn either British or American English and the contrary (e.g., learning South African or Indian Englishes) was inconceivable. What is more, during pre-service teacher education, English language teacher candidates have been educated to teach those two varieties of English with certain one-size-fits-all methods which have flown from the Center to the Periphery.

Expert discourses of ELT also determine and provide the possibilities of being, becoming, knowing, and meaning for those who are engaged in the practices and research of ELT, particularly, learners, teachers, and scholars. Intimately associated with its being ideologically laden, the field of ELT has ontological and epistemological dimensions which are (re)produced and preserved by its dominant discourses (Bhatt 2002; Modiano 2001, 2004). For this purpose, "the establishment and promotion of ideology is often realized through the use of inferred acceptance of supposed givens, an activity which inadvertently (or blatantly) impresses upon others a definition of the world" (Modiano 2001, p. 163). In this definition of the world, constrained possibilities of being, becoming, knowing, and meaning draw boundaries of legitimacy, authority, desirability, and efficiency as well as pertinent beliefs, values, and priorities in order to sustain existing power structures and power relations. For example, due to those nicely drawn boundaries, ELs are denied ownership of English to play with or manipulate it for their own communication purposes, and they always need some "authority" to tell them if what they utter is "intelligible" and "acceptable" (Widdowson 1994; Norton 1997). Also, as manifestations of native speakerist ideologies in the field of ELT primarily drawn from linguistics and SLA (Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2005; Selvi 2014), nonnative English speaking teachers are assigned as less than linguistically and culturally legitimate, competent authorities of English language instruction.

Knowledge construction and interpretation of learners' and teachers' lived experiences in the global ELT field are shaped by its expert discourses in light of ideological, ontological, and epistemic commitments. All sorts of knowledge and interpretations are overruled other than the ones that support "the architecture of existing power configurations as well as the parameters of structural changes in those configurations appear normal, obvious, and, in fact, desirable" (Bhatt 2005, p. 30). Only "the proper knowledge" about the nature, learning, and teaching of English is "manufactured" and disseminated as the essential, valuable, and desirable knowledge which is predominantly comprised of generalizations and abstractions (Bhatt 2005, p. 29). This whole ongoing project of knowledge formation, dissemination, and promotion detaches the phenomena from its locality, "the structure is reduced of its social and cultural "thickness," and the particularity of experience informing the model is suppressed as unruly or insignificant" (Canagarajah 2005,

p. 5). As its most detrimental effect, this detachment is ideologically, ontologically, and epistemologically complicit in the codification of a long list of dichotomies (e.g., proficient—deficient, native—nonnative, standard—non-standard, explicit—implicit grammar instruction) which have "haunted" the learning, teaching, and use of English in many local contexts through numerous essentialized "non" categorizations. Those dichotomies or the normalization of dichotomous perspective permeated the entire global enterprise of ELT, defined and imposed distinct boundaries for the ownership of English which determine the distribution of linguistic privilege, and deprived the field of inclusivity (Rudolph et al. 2015).

Bhatt (2002, 2005) conceptualizes this project as a completely ideological language problem and contends that predominantly Anglo-American institutions have led the above-mentioned detachment. Those institutions are crucially operative in preservation and sustenance of the centrality of the Center. Bhatt (2005) remarks:

> Contemporary fellowships of expert discourse on English language are constituted by researchers and scholars in leading Anglo-American educational, professional, and cultural institutions in the language-related fields, those who disseminate their knowledge through prestigious scholarly journals and books, and professional conferences and statutory bodies. (p. 30)

Canagarajah (2002, 2005) argues that the dominant modernist discourses of ELT do not allow those researchers and scholars to endorse the ways in which ELT practitioners are conducting their work in their respective local settings. He observes that "the knowledge generated in our daily contexts of work about effective strategies of language learning and teaching may not enjoy professional or scholarly recognition" (p. 4). However, this observation also demonstrates that ELs' and teachers' practices are full of divergences from the global contours of scholarly knowledge, which corroborates that globalization as a movement involves both regionalizing/localizing and globalizing (Appadurai 1996, 2000; Ching 2000). Although they are ideologically, ontologically, and epistemologically influenced by the global ELT discourses, the local actors (especially learners and teachers in the case of ELT) can strategically steer away from the "potholes" caused by "the dichotomizing, essentializing, and hierarchicalizing" narratives, assumptions, and rationalizations involved in "the discursive and institutional processes of Othering" (Lin et al. 2002, p. 296). This divergence is a significant indication of contestation arising from and voiced by the local because "the orthodoxy will itself generate opposition and deviation at the local level through the sheer process of individuals attempting to define their independence" (Canagarajah 2005, p. 5). The individual English learners, users, and teachers' identities, assertions of agency, aspirations, and imagination inform their investment in English and negotiation of global ELT discourses for their purposes in their respective contexts.

5 Locating ELT Practices in Local Contexts

First of all, any view on the local should be attentive to the fact no local knowledge is purely local anymore because of the penetration of the global in all communities and we can only define the local in relation to the global (Canagarajah 2005). This caution is actually another reason why we need to investigate how each one is being absorbed into the other, rather than being opposed to each other. Therefore, from the perspective of glocalization, the global and the local mutually constitute and concomitantly transform each other. In the case of global ELT field, understanding the impact of globalization upon ELT practices entails a closer look at the fluidity of global discourses and local practices of English language learning and teaching which infuse and interpenetrate one another. What globalization does is to facilitate and intensify the flows of knowledge across cultures (Appadurai 2000; Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2007) and this facilitation and intensification made possible and significant the interaction between global and local discourses of what good language teaching and learning should look like. However, the local actors like instructors and learners do not neutrally adopt whatever is prescribed and promoted by global expert ELT discourses (Bhatt 2002) through coursebooks full of ostensibly best activities of learning English (Gray 2002). The "prescribed" ones with experts' "signature" imported into local contexts will be (re)negotiated and (re) adjusted in actual settings of practice, because teaching practices are cultural practices embedded in instructional contexts (Pennycook 1994; Sayer 2012). Depending on their agentive capacity and epistemological and ontological standpoints, the local actors' subjective negotiation and adjustment could be challenging or perpetuating global expert discourses of self-other, correct-incorrect, grammatical-ungrammatical, etc., in concert with fluidly local discourses of essentialization. Additionally, even though abstract generalizations in expert discourses of global ELT flow into local contexts, the teaching and learning of English is largely contingent upon not only teachers' and learners' well-entrenched (mis)-conceptions about English and its teaching, but also the national policies regarding the education of their citizens' first language and the additional ones. The complexity in cultural practices of ELT becomes more severe when we consider the social, historical, cultural, political, and ideological dimensions of the local.

The discussion so far in this paper leads us to reconsider the importance of the ways in which ELs and practitioners negotiate and construct their agency, identity, and legitimacy in the complexities and intricacies of the glocalized practices of ELT. Expert discourses generate and disseminate pedagogical approaches and theories relying on the research in linguistics and SLA (Bhatt 2005) and pertinent essentialized and static constructions of "good" English learner and teacher drawn from those approaches and theories (Rudolph 2016). However, the local English teachers' and learners' assertions of agency and understanding of identity and legitimacy guide and shape their individual interpretations and negotiations of those constructions under the influence of their localities. Numerous individual meanings of "good" tend to spring when local experiences and contexts meet those static

constructions. Sayer (2012) exemplifies the outcomes of this "meeting" while he is providing the portraits of EFL teachers in Mexico.

> I take the position here that language teaching is a practice, in that the teachers are striving to make lessons good according to how they interpret criteria within the field of TESOL of what makes a "good" class. That is, they have ideas about why and how they ought to make their classes more "communicative;" they have ideas about how much they should use the "target language" versus the L1; they have ideas about how much they are supposed get the students to talk in order to make a lesson "student-centered." These ideas come from the TESOL training and what are accepted as best practices in EFL teaching. (p. 82)

Sayer is emphatic about the role of English language teachers' agency, identities and contextual demands in making sense of the values and priorities promoted by global ELT discourses. Teachers hold a personal/professional "interpretive frame" (Olsen 2010), through which they negotiate and construct their own instructional values and priorities guiding their teaching. Although they are provided some set of criteria (models, approaches, and methodologies) flowing from global ELT about communicative language teaching, use of target language, and student-centered language instruction, English language teachers are "learners of teaching in their own right" (Johnson 2000, p. 6). Therefore, their pedagogical reasoning and decision-making draw upon "complex, practically-oriented, personalized, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs" (Borg 2006, p. 272). Global ELT discourses provide teachers a codified list of qualities a "good" English language classroom should have, which delimits the possibilities of being, becoming, knowing, and meaning. However, those possibilities are further negotiated by ELT practitioners in their respective contexts.

Locating ELT practices as well as learners and practitioners in their local contexts is not to dwindle the telling influence of the "established orthodoxies" of ELT (Canagarajah 2005, p. 25) upon actual teaching and learning. As for the processes and possibilities of meaning making under the influence of sociocultural and sociopolitical discourses, Clarke (2008) discusses the necessity of discursive frames for teacher candidates' identity formation. He maintains that developing a teacher identity is reliant upon

> relation to meanings of teacher and teaching in the wider social and historical context – in existing "figured worlds" and social discourses. Rather, they have to draw on pre-existing, [global and local] discursive practices and meanings relating these to their own "local" experiences and context. (p. 28)

Teacher identity development in a local instructional context is an amalgamation of (re)authored biographical trajectories and future imaginations and aspirations, both of which are embodied in their current conception of the self as teacher. As teachers are subjectively creating and adopting their own agentive "voices" as teachers, they are informed by the prefabricated and "generalized" teacher "voices" (Akkerman and Meijer 2011) which are made glocally available to them through expert ELT discourses. They are in an ongoing process of "fashioning and refashioning [their] identities by patching together fragments of the discourses to which [they] are exposed" (Miller Marsh 2003, p. 8). Although he does not

underscore the constraining aspects of the "framework" supplied by expert discourses, Block (2005) attends to the power and impact of individual agency in this process:

> From this point of view, individuals may be seen to have at their disposal a template, a worldview or a framework to think, act, and understand people and events around them. It is a structure within which they must make their way as individuals living a particular time in a particular place; but it is elastic and movable that their individual agency alters it while drawing on it. (p. 185)

Although expert ELT discourses strongly promote universalized, standardized, and idealized "templates," English language practitioners, learners, and users can bend those templates in the interests of their own conceptions about the English language and its learning and teaching within the boundaries of their own localities.

Regarding the enterprise of ELT as a glocalized practice also needs to address the interaction amongst various localities exceedingly increased by the processes of globalization. Thanks to the advent of various information technologies and the increased traveling and migration across the world, there is a rapid and intensified interaction and flow of information, ideas, and discourses around the world (Blommaert 2010). Thus, more often than before, we see examples of English language professionals who are educated in one locality migrate to another context in order to engage in the practices of ELT as a teacher, teacher educator and/or researcher. Those professionals bring in their globally supplied, locally calibrated frameworks to their new local contexts and subjectively readjust and renegotiate their professional identities and practices in new localities. This readjustment and renegotiation is an essential part of learning to cater to the demands in their new instructional context and become active participants in the local professional communities (Wenger 1998). Their teaching practices and identities reflect the glocalization having the watermarks of multiple localities. Thus, the negotiation of glocal practices and identities are situated at the nexus of expert discourses of global ELT and one or compound localities.

Moreover, the glocalization perspective directs focus on how ELT discourses generate knowledge about the local culture of learning and teaching. Acknowledging and discussing the variety of learners and learning styles, expert discourses in ELT provide some generalized assumptions for practitioners serving ELs in various cultural contexts. Those assumptions are "devised" ways of "addressing" the local in the discourses of ELT and mostly rely on the essentialized view of culture as a static phenomenon. As Clarke (2008) notes, "Such a conceptualization of culture lends itself to a compartmentalized worldview where different cultures are each self-contained and separate" (p. 21). This worldview is an evident outcome of modernist knowledge construction (Canagarajah 2002, 2005) which produces reductionist and standardized assumptions particular to a local context. On the surface, those assumptions are intended to address the local dynamics, but they are no more than "formulaic stereotyping and overgeneralizing" statements (Clarke 2008, p. 22) which supply ELT professionals with some "ready-made narratives" describing their contexts (sometimes even before they are

in them) (Lin et al. 2005). When reaching the level of abstraction, those statements flow or travel to various local contexts. Examples of such statements include the lists of generalized qualities that ELs from various cultures are believed to possess. To illustrate, "South American learners tend to like *such* instruction, Middle Eastern learners usually do well in *such* situations, and Asian learners do not tend to have difficulties in *such* matters" is a statement of "cultural fixity" "endemic to a great deal of TESOL theory" (Pennycook 1998, p. 188). Such statements do nothing but neglect the complexity of English language learning, teaching, and contextual/cultural dynamics. They mislead English teachers into assuming some prescribed portrait for their students, culture, and context, which misses the role of teacher and student identities and agency.

This point is a nice segue to discuss what postmodern globalization has brought to the table concerning the learning, teaching, and use of English language in the local. There has been resistance to the homogenizing, universalizing, and hegemonic processes of globalization which have depreciated the local knowledge and cultures. Canagarajah (2005) asks whether the postmodernist and postcolonial movement has created a space for the local knowledge by reversing "the dialectic unleashed by modernism" (p. 7) and his answer represents a rather cautionary approach to postmodern globalization. Although the fact that current ideas of hybridity, pluralism, multilingualism, and multiculturalism are embraced is an indication of a space for the local, Canagarajah (2005) maintains that "the contemporary postmodernist movement simply adopts a different strategy to carry out the interests of the status quo" (p. 8). The goal of modernist globalization was the obliteration of local knowledge, and postmodern globalization refashions or repackages local knowledge in its own parameters. Canagarajah (2005) further explicates

> If modernism suppressed difference, postmodern globalization works through localities by appropriating difference. This strategy of accommodating local knowledge is necessitated partly because of the consequences of modernity—which, as we saw earlier, did create a space for the local. In addition, the resistance generated against modernism by different localities has to be managed strategically with a different modus operandi if the status quo is to be maintained. (p. 8)

Although local knowledge has received some visibility, global expert discourses have evolved to create and implement new strategies to ensure the perpetuation of the structures and ideologies that favor those who are holding the power. So far, there have been an increasing number of attempts in ELT literature to give the local practices voice and space, like scholarly articles and books on English language policies and practices in local contexts. However, as long as those attempts avail themselves of the standards, norms, criteria or notions formulated within the expert discourses of global ELT, they can only delineate the local within the possibilities of global terms. The local knowledge is stripped of its particularity and specificity when language teaching, for instance, in Pakistan is explored with the lenses borrowed from communicative language teaching (CLT) or task-based language teaching standards (TBLT), sealed by experts.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

In this article, I desired to provide a conceptual apparatus to be able to capture the intricacies of ELT contexts, by relying on the concept of glocalization in sociology and relevant theoretical work in applied linguistics. The ways in which individuals negotiate the discourses of ELT in their glocal contexts and (re)fashion their identities are of utmost importance (Park 2012; Park and Henderson Lee 2014; Rudolph 2016; Solano-Campos 2014). Even though global ELT has powerful ways of diffusing its dominant ideologies in the instructional contexts across the world, learners, teachers, teacher educators, and researchers in this field are active agents of their identity development (Akkerman and Meijer 2011; Deters 2011; Deters et al. 2014; Duff 2012; Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2016). Whether, when, why, and how they do (not) act and react in the instructional and non-instructional incidents is inseparable from who and what kind of learner, teacher, and user of the language they are and aspire to become (Rudolph 2016; Yazan in press). Therefore, this chapter corroborates the post-structuralist contention that as an unfinished project, identity involves the constant process of negotiating and imagining different (and perhaps contradictory) ways of being and becoming and (re)considering the boundaries that shape the field and one's own conceptualizations of the nature, teaching, learning, and use of languages (Rudolph 2016).

It is not the direct impact of global ELT ideologies that shape the conceptual approaches and instructional practices, because those ideologies are further (dis) appropriated, questioned, and challenged by the individuals in the glocal contexts of ELT. Language learning, teaching, and use involve a complicated interplay between identity, agency, and emotions that inform individuals' responses to the global ELT ideologies. For every experience with the language that individuals encounter, they have varying degrees of emotional and agentive responses which present windows to identity (Yazan and Peercy 2016). Incorporating this perspective into ELT classes and teacher education programs could present novel approaches to teaching, learning, and teacher growth as well as empowering English learners and practitioners (Aneja 2016; Rudolph in press). This perspective can facilitate the shift from standards-oriented teaching and teacher education to more agency-based micro-level teaching and learning endeavors.

Robertson's (1995) notion of glocalization highlights the mutually constitutive relationship between the global and the local. They simultaneously and actively transform each other in temporal and spatial contexts. Individuals' negotiation and construction of agency, identity, and legitimacy are situated at the intersection of bidirectional global and local flows of discourses. Utilizing this perspective, this chapter conceived ELT as a glocal phenomenon whose discourses and practices are in constant negotiation between the local and the global. Global ELT discourses provide a template or frame for the learners, teachers, and users of English which is intended to epistemologically, ontologically, and ideologically shape the notions they have about the nature, learning, and teaching of English.

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Afterword: Meta-Language for New Ways of Interacting: Towards Just and Glocal Forms of Education

James D'Angelo

Abstract This chapter considers the volume herein from the perspective of the metalanguage employed by the editors and contributing authors to convey a new sense of the field of education in a critical manner which calls into question dominant patterns of mainstream entrenched discourse. The Afterword also finds that the chapters in this book are highly consistent, and mutually supportive in their worldview, something which is rare and admirable in such an edited volume. Finally, the chapter outlines a view of English(es) by the contributors, where the language is seen as a flexible-shared glocal resource, which can be effectively managed by multilingual users to overcome cultural and ethnic stereotypes to bring about mutual respect and understanding.

1 Introduction

It is an honor to be invited to write the afterword for this impressive volume of excellent papers assembled by Professors Ali Fuad Selvi and Nathanael Rudolph, as well as a large responsibility, and indeed, a rare opportunity. I first encountered the two early-career scholars when I delivered a paper on a panel they organized for the 21st International Association of World Englishes (IAWE) conference hosted by Yasemin Bayyurt at Boğaziçi University in İstanbul in October 2015. Although we had not yet met face-to-face, they were extremely warm and welcoming. I was also impressed with their interdisciplinary openness, in that they had interest in pluralistic approaches to English, such as the fields of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and World Englishes (WE), but one could see that rather than specializing in a certain paradigm, they were primarily interested in broader and more far-reaching concepts of education and the potential for cross-fertilization among many disciplines and areas of inquiry. I myself have spent most of my academic career in the area of WE and ELF, so while familiar with the humanistic concepts which appear

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in this volume, many of the referenced works are not those I customarily draw upon, so to read the chapters in this book has been an education for me as well, which can allow for a broadening of my own future work.

As mentioned in the first paragraph, it is a challenge to try to tie together the many themes which emerge in this collection of papers since they are each concerned with a quite different context and focus, but by looking at the language which the authors employ to engage with their topics and views on education, some clear patterns and paths of thinking emerge. While the editors mention in their introduction that this volume employs "…the realm of English language education as a discursive point of departure", the volume is about much more than ELT or TESOL. The language used to discuss and make meaning of the various authors' experiences is of great importance, and I try here to explore and give some coherence to it as an expression of a certain worldview.

2 The Inner/Expanding Critical Level

At a fundamental level, all of the chapters problematize a worldview seen in dominant discourses of English, wherein the Native Speaker (NS) teacher, usually a white middle-class male from a Kachruvian "Inner Circle" context, is considered the "owner" and expert of English, and the most desirable teacher regardless of qualifications. While the danger of privileging native varieties, their speakers, or their cultures is something that is clearly outlined in Braj Kachru's famous Six Myths (Kachru 2005; D'Angelo 2012), his main focus was on the Outer Circle varieties, where English plays some form of official role and is widely used in many domains of society, and seeking recognition of the legitimacy of those varieties and the existence of multiple "standard" Englishes. As a result, much of early WE research prioritized documenting the linguistic features of Singapore English, Indian English, Nigerian English, Philippine English, etc. in order to demonstrate that these are not substandard or learner varieties of English, nor are they some form of "interlanguage". They have their own acrolectal/educated varieties, such as Standard Singapore English, and they are endonormative rather than exonormative: establishing their own norms for English from within. This work did much to deny the primacy of the NS and NS varieties, but mainly looked at *intra*-national use of English, code-mixing,[1] etc. and rarely considered interaction among various Englishes in international settings, with the exception of some work done on intelligibility led by Smith and Nelson (Smith and Rafiqzad 1979; Smith and Nelson 1985).

[1]Kramsch and Yin in their chapter mention the more interesting term of 'code-meshing', to further expand the creative terminology used to describe and try to capture the complexity of the phenomenon whereby multilingual speakers invoke a broad panoply of features from their rich linguistic repertoires.

In contrast, it is interesting that in this volume, every paper is either dealing with students in the U.S.A. from a wide variety of origins,[2] or takes place in an Expanding Circle context, including Haiti, France, China, Turkey, Hong Kong, and Japan. The former are contexts in which students from many different parts of the world meet in a highly multilingual/multicultural Inner Circle setting which is often still dominated by NS discourses, while the latter are contexts where educators and students have not yet felt the benefit of being freed from a native-speakerist view of English in terms of models and norms. In both these type of contexts, there is a need for a critical assessment of the priorities of education, and the role of language(s). In both types of contexts, within their educational domains, students are either *already* interacting on a daily basis (USA scenario) with those from very diverse cultural/national/ethnic/socioeconomic/religious/political backgrounds, or need to be *prepared* for such interaction as their future reality (monocultural Expanding Circle scenario). In the latter case, this is one of the fundamental reasons why ELF has become such a dynamic paradigm in the past 10 years (Seidlhofer 2011), since it addresses these types of scenarios much more than does WE. For Japanese, Russian and Turkish graduates (whatever the setting), they are much more likely to interact with NNS professional colleagues from all over the world—using English—than they are to interact with an idealized native speaker.

3 Discourse: Dichotomy or Dialectical Fusion?

All of the chapters in this volume carefully look at the discourses within the field of education, in their particular context. Many dominant discourses in our day and age are still taken for granted and not critically questioned, challenged, problematized, or even "disrupted". In addition, even when attempting to take into account those who are less fortunate, there is a tendency in academic theories to focus on dichotomies and binary oppositions. This can result in an "essentializing" of people into categories which are stereotypical and do not reflect the true complexity of our lived experiences. Such dichotomies as Native/Nonnative, Monolingual/Bi-Lingual, Native English-Speaking Teacher versus Nonnative English-Speaking Teacher (NEST/NNEST), and Learner/User, good and evil, are too simplistic to capture the chaos and nuances of the real world. To compensate for this, writers may signal the reader by putting a term in single quotes, such as with 'native': there are many immigrants or even second-generation individuals in the USA or Britain who may not have native-like proficiency, whereas one may find Singaporeans or Filipinos who have English as their mother tongue and household language. The reality for language, culture, identity often runs on a subtle continuum, rather than in clear-cut oppositions.

The authors represented here make efforts to reflect the complexity of their contexts, and hence different terms are employed to try and better represent what is

[2]With the authors in many cases originally coming from Expanding Circle contexts.

occurring. They speak of a "fusion" (Kramsch and Yin, Tokunaga) of the local and the global whereby opposites come into interaction and impact upon one another, yielding new forms which defy simple categorization. While certain academic constructs are useful to help us understand our environment, the authors remind us that the various agents, forces, and stakeholders in society and education are not static and singular, but dynamic and pluralistic. Understanding that things are not black and white, can help us to avoid a sense of "Othering", and reduce the feeling of being an Outsider rather than an Insider, and avoid simplistic and harmful "Us versus Them" dichotomies.

4 An Appreciation for Tensions and Complexity

This area is quite closely linked with, and follows nicely from the prior section. Tensions are often referred to in this volume. Students and educators, and the institutions they are part of, can experience a great deal of tensions. Many of these may be caused by the challenges of living in a globalizing world where borders and boundaries are melting and being crossed faster and more frequently than even before. Or, where new boundaries are being created through efforts to protect local traditions and values. Tensions can be along economic lines, political lines, cultural lines, linguistic lines (such as with bilingualism vs. the English-Only movement), pedagogic/disciplinary lines (working in a College of Education and then moving to a Department of Language Studies), racial lines, etc.

The authors here embrace these tensions and complexities and attempt to deconstruct and unpack them. A crucial element of this is that the "scholar teachers" represented here undergo a dialog as with the chapter by Porter and Park, or make an "auto-ethnographic exploration" as with the chapter by Tokunaga, or as with several other chapters, structure their classes for small group discussions, and ask students to write reflective diaries for homework. Since our classrooms—mainly in higher education in this case—are becoming more complex, and our students are also much more diverse, teachers need to develop methods whereby they can know their students better through their lived experiences, and the wisdom gleaned from students interacting with one another can then inductively help to inform and even develop theory. Academic study no longer involves passing down of static theories to students who are receptacles of this accepted knowledge. New theories need to be developed, and through increased interaction in a more equitable way, students and teacher/scholars can work together to bridge theory and practice, to help explain or capture our present complexity.

5 Privilege, Hegemony, and Marginalization

The scholars who have contributed to this collection are constantly appraising and re-appraising themselves and their educational practices. While having their own perspectives and interests based on their own background and experiences, they

consider themselves first and foremost to be educators. They examine and interrogate current practices and contexts, and view education as having an obligation to improve society and make our lives better. Again, there is individual variation among the contributors here, but one can see that they have a strong sense of social justice.

The topic of privilege and marginalization appears in many of the chapters, and is an important one for education. Education should be a field whereby those who live on the margins of society are given an opportunity to have more of a say in the way their world is constructed. In addition, those who come from a background of privilege also need to question their own position and contribute to helping to bring about more equality. Scholars themselves, while not corporate moguls, live in a world of some privilege, and need to question their own views on culture and education, as part of interacting with students and colleagues, and coming to gain a glocal understanding. Hegemonic discourses need to be questioned and challenged by teachers and students, so that a more just society can be created. Scholars of education are perhaps more concerned with direct political action and anti-oppressive education, and making efforts to truly bring about changes in society, themselves, and their students, and the seminal work of Kumashiro (2000) on anti-oppressive education is drawn upon in several of the chapters.

6 Awareness of Context, Space, Place, Person & Position

A certain debate raged in academia 20–30 years ago regarding relativism versus absolutism, such as in the attacks of Alan Bloom of the University of Chicago in his book *The Closing of the American Mind,* where he defends teaching of the classics and the value of works by the vilified "Dead white male" on their own merit. His work was a reaction against the growing dominance in academia of the more relativistic views promoted by French academics such as Derrida, Foucault, and Lacan, which claimed that all works needed to be deconstructed and the context of their location, time period, and position of the author taken into account.

While I can appreciate merits in both viewpoints, in the field of English education (or education in English) in today's glocal world, relativism and context are extremely important, and the chapters in this volume clearly—and necessarily—lean towards the relativistic school. In a situation, such as that in the USA, in the chapters of Yazan and Porter and Park, but also in the situation of Tokunaga teaching at a top university in Tokyo where her students are mixed in with international students from different parts of the world, a new safe third space needs to be carved out, where students are encouraged to engage in dialog, and present their unique perspectives based in the place, the position, and the lived experiences from which they are situated. They can apply insights from their own (even "classical") cultural tradition and apply these to modern day issues to lend a richness of fresh viewpoints. Tokunaga was impressed with how her own international students were able to contribute, and how American students who at first did not contextualize

their comments for the benefit of the Japanese and others, later learned to do this. In a way, they are learning to "do" EIL, or to "translanguage" as a way to negotiate meaning across and among cultures, as outlined by Sharifian (2011).

Since the contributing teacher scholars to this volume recognize that they are in a relatively privileged position of power, they make conscious and admirable efforts to level the playing field, so that their students may enter into dialog in an unthreatening environment so that all voices may be heard. They view themselves more as facilitators and equal participants in the discussion, who can help students to makes sense of things based on their longer work in academic fields and broader research experiences. An important linguistic ramification of this is that in their writing, many of the contributors employ the first person singular or plural pronoun and possessives. In many of the chapters you can find the author's frequent use of "I", "my", "we", "our", and use of given names as well, "Gloria" and "Curt". This consistently reminds us that the authors are coming from their own situated contexts/places, they are positioned and position themselves in certain ways, and they acknowledge that these positionings can and do have an effect on how they see the world. But gladly, this gives them greater opportunity to see shifts in theory and take advantage of our rapidly changing classrooms.

7 Issues of Changing Identities: Being and Becoming

I have to admit freely, I am not a great student on H.K. Bhabha or Edward Said, and coming from the field of WE and ELF, I have only over time begun to realize that culture and identity, which are so fundamental in the study of literature, sociology, and cultural anthropology, are also fundamental to doing good work in applied linguistics and WE. Within WE, culture is not a prime consideration, although for example, within Singapore or India, the effective use of English does require a cultural sensitivity and ability to—in the case of Singapore—deftly bridge differences between Chinese, Indian and Malay cultures. Singaporeans are very aware that the Malays are in a sense the original inhabitants of Singapore, and while the smallest percentage in the population of the three main ethnic groups, having Malaysia and Indonesia so close by, with very large Muslim populations (and military resources in the case of Indonesia!), keeps Singapore very careful and astute in respecting the traditions of the Malays. From a WE perspective, culture is indeed inextricably tied-up with language, but in the case of English, it is the local culture which is integral to each variety.

In terms of identity also, WE is concerned with it mainly in the sense that by legitimizing Outer Circle varieties of English, we also legitimize and affirm the identities of speakers of those varieties. Their identities as bi- or multilingual users of English are respected. Still, it was not until becoming more interested in the growth of the ELF paradigm—mainly because I have now been based in Expanding Circle Japan for 22 years—that the importance of what Sharifian (2009) calls "meta-cultural awareness/competence" demonstrated the need to be more aware of

culture. Sharifian himself, while working in Australia for many years, came there from Persia, which is why he has the sensibilities of those scholars who come from the Expanding Circle, and created a department of EIL at Monash University.[3] If one attends the annual ELF conference, where Jennifer Jenkins herself has admitted that to her, there is no difference between EIL and ELF, one can see that issues of culture and identity, and indeed ELT pedagogy as well, are much more prevalent than at the IAWE conference. This is due to the fact that English is the medium of instruction from primary school for elites and the upper middle class in the Outer Circle,[4] so ELT *per se* is not often addressed in WE scholarship. In a sense, the speakers of English in the Outer Circle contexts are not "learners", but "users" of English. But for those of us living and working in Expanding Circle contexts, where English may no longer be "foreign" in the strict sense of the word (why I tend to avoid the term EFL), cross-cultural awareness and communication are vital skills in building our students' proficiency, rather than accuracy or fluency as defined by NS terms.

Thus, as can be seen by many of the chapters in this volume, the students come into their classrooms, whether they be in an Inner or Expanding Circle context, with a certain identity of their "being": which can in many cases be fragile and suffer from the stereotypes reinforced by dominant mainstream discourses. As with all young people, and even their professors, we are also in a state of "becoming" and having our identities molded by others, as well as shaping them ourselves. Through support of the teachers, and interaction with classmates from diverse backgrounds, the students and professors have a chance to "become" confident, educated individuals and global citizens. As Porter and Park explain in their chapter, we: "…have an opportunity to explore the local, with our attention focused outwards." This kind of dialectic form of education can help build a feeling of respect and equality, and show the importance of allowing the local and the global to co-exist and develop synergies from their interplay, via which 1 plus 1 equals 3! Students develop complex, hybrid identities and continue to "become" and grow new throughout their lives.

8 The Power of Prefixes in the Post-, Multi-, Trans-, Re-, de-, and Co- World

A teacher colleague on our staff in Japan, who was a very practical researcher, once commented to me that an article I had written was "Too full of jargon." I explained to him that these terms, such as mesolectal, basilectal, suprasegmental,

[3]Australia also is commonly cited in the media as having the highest percentage of international students in the world, with Austria being second.

[4]Varying by context. The Philippines for example, would show greater societal penetration of English, and Singapore would be even higher.

syllable-timed, and endonormative were fundamental to the field of WE and useful in describing the situation of English in various contexts. Yet this demonstrates also the relativity and positioning needed for taking our audience into account. While this volume may be mainly read by fellow teacher scholars who are PhD holders, at a later point, when each of us may be communicating with in-service or pre-service teachers, it will be necessary to speak in terms which can communicate to the average ELT practitioner so that they may develop concrete methods and lesson ideas which reflect the sophistication of the latest research, while still being highly accessible and comprehensible. In addition, the benefits of these newer ideas need to be made clear to the practitioner. But for our current purposes, let us look at the value of "jargon"!

As we know, language is a set of symbols which attempts to describe reality, but which is not the reality itself. Hence, in newer fields of inquiry which attempt to challenge and problematize entrenched mainstream discourses which no longer fit with our reality, a new vocabulary is needed if our work is to help bring about social change. It seems evident from the chapters in this volume, that applying prefixes to conventional terms has been, and continues to be an effective way to get people to take a critical stance towards dominant discourses.

"Post-" is one of the most important of these prefixes. We can see from the introduction to this collection as well as many of the chapters, that postmodern, postcolonial and post-structural describe the world we live in today. Modernism, colonialism, and structuralism all imply some sense that dominant entities know best, and are able to improve the lot of all, but we do indeed live in a "Post" world, where all humanity needs to learn to work together to resolve the problems we face. It is no longer "the white man's burden" as the colonial British believed, to "civilize" the world and promote progress. Reflecting this inclusivity which we strive for, the prefix of "Multi-" also has great value in showing the mixing and alchemy of the world, of which English is a microcosm. We live in a multinational, multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual age, and through works such as this volume, there is growing recognition of this fact by the wider society. Similarly, the prefix "Trans-" helps to communicate the idea of crossing and recrossing borders, in a more permeable world. We live in a transcultural, translingual world, where translanguaging individuals (Canagarajah 2013) can help bring about better mutual understanding.

The prefix "Re-" is also of importance for the book's contributors, so that we are reminded to question accepted/dominant theories. Thus, we find in these pages the recurrent mention of reconceptualizing, reconsidering, rearticulating, and reprioritizing. In addition, the prefix "Co-" is important to stress that we as educators are not the "providers of knowledge" and the students "the receivers of that knowledge", but are co-equal partners in the production of knowledge. Almost every chapter has some repeated reference to co-constructing, co-learning, co-producing, co-creating and the overall value of a "co-llaborative" approach to education, in which professors also collaborate to overcome differences in the overly segmented academic disciplines in the academy. This can help us in our efforts to deconstruct and demystify educational practices.

9 The Meaning of Glocal and the Role of English

We have looked closely at the meta-language to describe more equitable and just ways for students' and educators to interact: contributing their local viewpoints in a global context, or assimilating and modifying global concepts to fit local patterns. This can be seen in the examples provided by Peng Yin in China, where concepts that involve questioning authority or promoting an appreciation of multiculturalism might not at first seem welcome or appreciated, but in the process, the Chinese characters selected for their translation still allow for the incorporation of unified patriotic concepts to be incorporated. Another example would be from the chapter by Elyas and Sulaimani, where we can see gender equality as a force which globalization might be viewed as promoting—being addressed within ELT materials in Saudi Arabia. Women's faces may not be shown directly, but they are seen as holding important positions in business and society in the texts proposed. Through examples such as these, this volume helps us gain a clearer, and more nuanced sense of what "Glocal" can mean, beyond a simplistic concept or overused buzzword in management circles—where they promote the concept: "Think Globally, Act Locally."

A final point I would like to make here, is that if one is looking at the glocal use of English, is the usefulness of Mahboob's 3-dimensional Dynamic Model of Language Variation presented in the chapter by Mahboob and Lin. While a traditional world Englishes perspective might place too much emphasis on analyzing spoken language, and place too much value on recognizing local variation, Mahboob's model contains three continuums, which show the range between Local and Global language, Oral-like and Written-like language, and Everyday/Casual discourses and Specialized/Technical discourses. Through this model, Mahboob captures the various needs for different *genres* of English better than the WE paradigm. He demonstrates that variation occurs not only along geographical and ethno-cultural lines, but also according to the purpose of the language use. This helps us reconcile the dilemma caused by those who say, "What about for academic journals and theses? Do we need to accept anything, because that is Indian or Bahamian English?" We can then respond that for global, technical discourses, it is the unique genre which we must teach, regardless of whether the writer is from Nigeria, Hong Kong, or the USA. By preparing students of all nationalities to use English in this way, if they are specialized professionals, can give them access to discourses that will help them succeed. This concept dovetails with the idea expressed by Park in her co-authored chapter, that creating an equitable and just environment for her multicultural students does not mean that she is easy on them, but hold them to very high standards. Similarly, for those who misinterpret EIL or ELF as representing a kind of "reduced" or simplified code of English, they must realize that effective ELF users are actually those who have very educated lexicons in their field of work, and while not adhering to Native usage of articles/prepositions, etc. can handle the most sophisticated interaction in their own variety of English.

10 Are Even These Theories Too West-Based?

Several of the contributors (e.g. Tokunaga) to this volume do express the concern that the humanistic, liberal, post-structural theories of education which they introduce and try to employ with their students may, in fact, be too Western. This is also true of TESOL theories. Mahboob and Lin (p. xx) mention that dominant TESOL theories are a result of the context in which those theories were developed, and that, "…much of dominant theory-building was done by NSs" and this contributes to hegemonic practices. For the post-structuralist theories, this may be true, and for the TESOL theories, it is quite likely to be true. The strength, however, of this volume is that the contributors recognize this possibility, and through the kind of contextualized glocal interactions which they facilitate, they question even the theories which they may find most useful in their own research. As Widdowson (2012) shrewdly observes in his reasoning for why ELF may now be a more useful construct than WE, models and theories are only "convenient abstractions", and are only convenient to the extent they do capture something close to reality. Once they no longer do this, they become "inconvenient", need to be modified or moved beyond. Perhaps more than most scholars, the contributors to this volume, in their use of a meta-language to describe the role of language in education, understand this very well.

11 Final Reflections: Ongoing Dynamic Change and Bringing Together the Academy

I have found a consistency to the chapters in this volume which exceed that of many such edited collections. Selvi and Rudolph have done an excellent job of bringing together a disparate group of scholars, who still have enough in common in their appreciation for a pluralistic view of English and its role in education, that common threads emerge, and help to support one another towards gaining a clearer understanding of the challenges and opportunities found in our glocal world.

In my section headings, I tried to organize and categorize, to put some "structure" on the terminology which is so crucial in trying to help contextualize education for glocal interaction, but it became obvious to me as I wrote this Afterword, that all of these subsections have a great deal of overlap, and are in essence (but not "essentially"), talking about the same thing. Perhaps this is the best evidence that education today needs to think about creating less specialization, and moving the pendulum back in the direction of a more holistic approach to studying and making meaning from our existence, with a practical goal in mind, to help to bring about a better, more socially just world. Whatever the context, this kind of openness and collaboration, can be of great value.

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