# University of Lower Silesia

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### *Negotiating Hegemony and Empowerment: Teaching English as a Foreign Language and Critical Global Engagement*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Even though you are reading this dissertation in English, there is a good chance it may not be your mother tongue. At present, there are more than a billion English-speakers in the world, but only one-third of them consider it their native language (*What Are the Top 200 Most Spoken Languages?*, 2020).
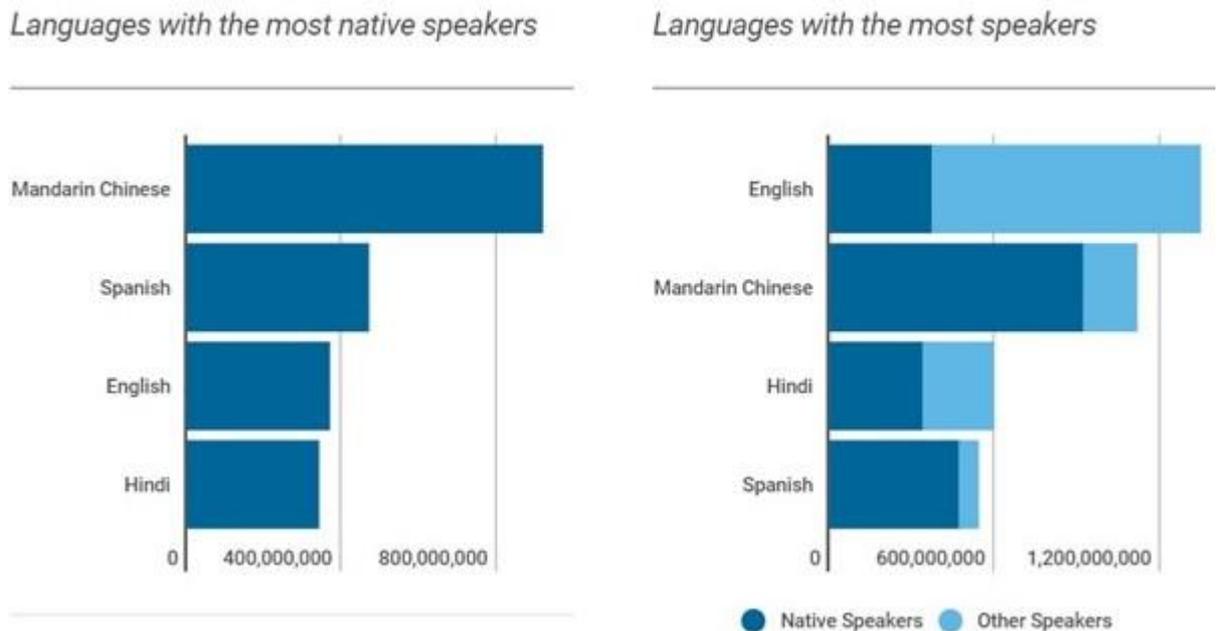
**FIGURE 1: LANGUAGES WITH THE MOST NATIVE SPEAKERS AND LANGUAGES WITH THE MOST SPEAKERS** (Source: Ethnologue; retrieved August 9, 2021)

The significance of English in today's competitive world cannot be underestimated. English is used as a world common language, and when people from various parts of the globe with different mother tongues come together, English is often the one common language they use to communicate. Nowadays, English has become the language of global commerce, international diplomacy, technology, education and science. Transnational corporations favor job applicants proficient in English.

Almost half the world's growing population of international students are enrolled at universities in Anglo-American (English-speaking) countries (Bhandari et al., 2018, p. 4). English is the language of the internet and social media. A 2021 report titled *The Languages in Cyberspace,* by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), highlights that 90% of web pages are published in just 10 languages (English, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Persian, French, German, Japanese, Vietnamese and Mandarin) and more than half (60.5 %) are written in English (Ibrahimova, 2021).
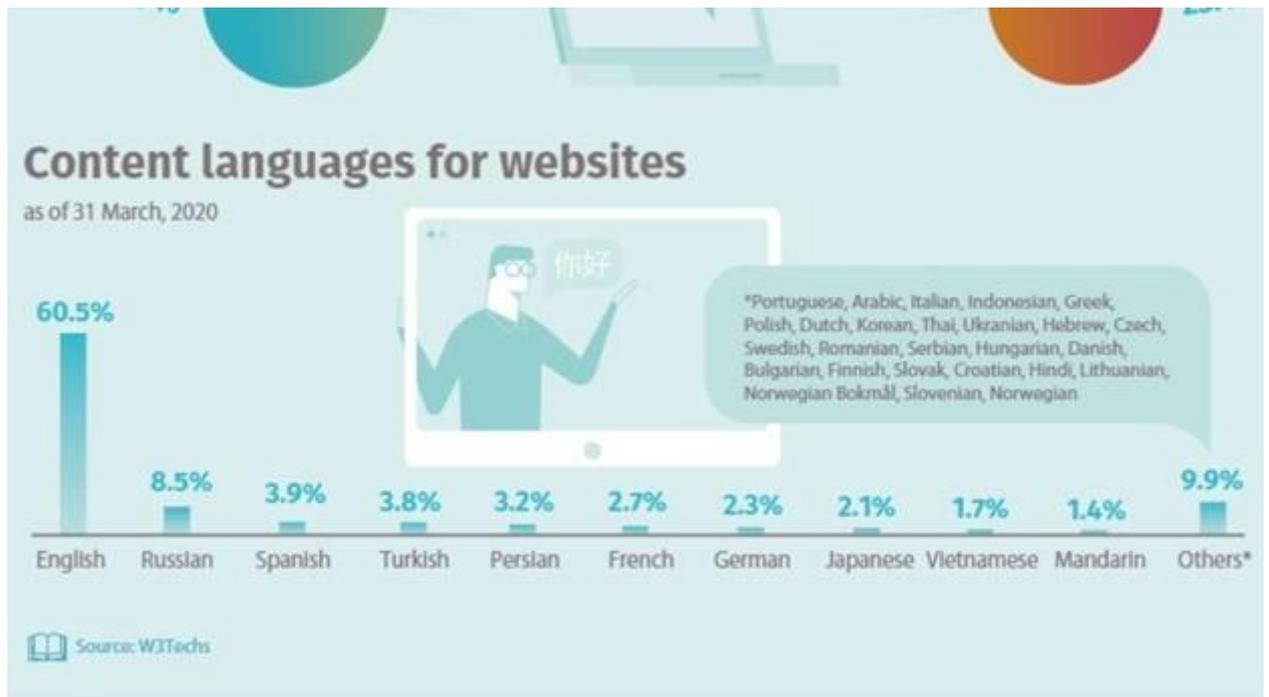
**FIGURE 2: CONTENT LANGUAGES FOR WEBSITES**
(Source: Ibrahimova, M. (2021). The languages in cyberspace (2021 (2); The UNESCO Courier, pp. 50-53, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

In the age of globalization, the entire world appears to be a platform with English as its primary medium of communication. With English, people can easily share their ideas and communicate. With English, they can express their views to more people around the globe.

Over the last at least 300 years, English has spread around the world, and it continues to expand and change.[1] English has reached this status primarily for two main reasons. It initial spread was driven by the expansion of the British Empire from the 16th to the 19th century and the resulting colonization of parts of North America, Asia, and Africa (Schneider, 2018). Later, Anglo-American culture and the United States of America emerged as the global economic power in the past century (Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Steger, 2003).

In the 16th century, huge numbers of English-speakers from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales migrated to North America, Australia, and New Zealand. As English expanded into different parts of the world, it came into contact with a variety of indigenous languages,

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[1] "The rising significance of the English language has a long history, reaching back to the birth of British colonialism in the late 16th century. At that time, only approximately 7 million people used English as their mother tongue. By the 1990s, this number had swollen to over 350 million native speakers, with 400 million more using English as a second language" (Steger, 2003, pp. 83-84).

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resulting in the emergence of new varieties of English. The English dialects that moved with people evolved into the mother-tongue variants of English, such as American English and Australian English, with differences in vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. The range of varieties that emerged from this spread have come to be known as *World Englishes.* (See paragraph 2.1.4)

The second phase of the British Empire's expansion took place during the 18th and 19th centuries, when Britain expanded its colonies in Africa and Asia, and after World War I in the Middle East.[2] As a result of colonization, many second-language varieties of English developed, such as Indian English and Singaporean English. At the beginning of the 20th century, the British Empire covered almost one-fourth of the Earth and about one-fifth of the world's population[3] (*British Empire Overview*, The National Archives, retrieved Aug. 25, 2021). Some colonies were populated by English settlers, and these colonies developed into countries where English became the main language, displacing many others. Other colonies were populated only by administrative and military staff, rather than permanent settlers. In those countries, English did not become the sole dominant language, but it did become a prestige language and a useful *lingua franca*[4] that could enable communication across linguistically diverse populations.

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[2] Colonies were not established only by the British. Much of what is today Canada and the United States was once part of New France, a vast area colonized by the French. During the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), France lost control of these territories, which were taken by the British. The Spanish colonized much of what is now the southern and western United States, but after battles with Spain and later Mexico, the United States took control over these territories. The Dutch had also established the colony of New Netherland, (which they lost to the British in the late 17th century). Also, non-British immigration, including German-speaking immigrants, came to the British colonies. For a long time German was the second most widely spoken language in the United States. Because anything affiliated with Germany was stigmatized during and after World War I, the German language declined in use. Although settlers spoke a variety of languages, English eventually became the dominant language in the United States. (Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992).

[3] English, along with Spanish and French, was one of the colonial languages that had a chance to develop into a global language. It is difficult to see any other language becoming the global *lingua franca*. Through the 19th century it French was used as a mean of international communication, but English began to surpass French in the 20th century. By World War I, the United States had grown into a major economic power, and its participation in the war boosted its political influence in Europe. The Treaty of Versailles, written not only in French but also in English after the war, marked the beginning of English as a diplomatic language. As the United States became a world superpower after World War II, English began to emerge as the primary global *lingua franca*. (Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992).

[4] English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is defined as "communication in English between speakers with different first languages" (Seidlhofer, 2005, p. 339). This definition accounts for a variety of circumstances in which people from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds want to communicate. What makes English as a Lingua Franca a novel phenomenon is the extend to which it is used in spoken, written and technology-mediated communication.

These two periods of the British Empire's expansion laid the groundwork for the further spread of the English language, aided by the rise of the United States as a global political and economic power. After World War II, the United States maintained its military presence in Europe to support reconstruction, considerably increasing its worldwide influence.

As the U.S. grew in power, improvements in technology gave push to media and mass communication. The American entertainment sector (Hollywood movies, television series and pop music[5]) spread throughout the world, exposing ordinary people to the English language.[6] It is a main official language of a number of global, international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization and the United Nations. English is also a common language of science.[7] It is estimated that approximately 98% of scientific publications are now written and published in English and the work in other languages continues to be ignored (Gordin, 2015). All these factors, combined with television, the movie industry and streaming services, have contributed to what Alice Henderson calls "an instantly accessible American cultural hegemony" (Henderson et al., 2012, p. 21).

Whether written, spoken, read or heard, language is a form of communication used in daily life that allows the expression of opinion and thoughts on various situation or issues. Language can be a powerful tool in shaping society's perception of social, political and economic issues. The English language has become an asset for socio-economic advancement

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[5] In 2018 Stephen Follows analyzed all movies released in North American cinemas for fifteen years (2003-2017) – 8,798 titles. He found that 31% of the films had more than one language, but 81.4% featured English as one of their primary languages. Other major languages included French (featured in 12% of the movies), Spanish (8.6%), German (5.2%) and Hindi (4.9%). Retrieved Apr. 8, 2022, from www.stephenfollows.com/how-many-non-english-language-films-get-us-theatrical-release.

[6] On a list of the highest-grossing films in the world, the top 50 films are in English (*List of Highest-Grossing Films*, Wikipedia; Retrieved Aug. 25, 2021, from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_highest-grossing_films).

[7] Apart from that, English remains an official language (having a special position in a particular nation, state or other jurisdiction) used by legislatures, courts of law, administration, etc., in more than 60 countries and territories, (in a majority of former British colonies: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia (Australian English), the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Belize (Belizean Kriol), British Indian Ocean Territory, the British Virgin Islands, Canada (Canadian English), the Cayman Islands, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guam, Guernsey (Channel Island English), Guyana, Ireland (Hiberno-English), the Isle of Man (Manx English), Jamaica (Jamaican English), Jersey, Montserrat, Nauru, New Zealand (New Zealand English), Pitcairn Islands, Saint Helena, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Singapore, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United Kingdom, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the United States. French is second with 29 countries, Arabic third with 26 countries, and Spanish fourth with 21 countries. Portuguese is the official language of ten countries and German of six. Out of 195 countries in the world, 178 recognize an official language, and 101 countries recognize more than one official language. The U.N. has only six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Retrieved Mar. 20, 2022, from www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/countries_by_languages.htm.

and promotion; it makes a valuable contribution to the empowerment of individuals and their communities as is the key element in global development. In my research, I add cultural and global perspectives to the empowerment approach. As the world has become increasingly interconnected, it is important that people understand not just how English language education empowers people in their closest environments, but also how the same affects them in a global world and a global context. English language education is a good example of a change that in many ways impacts not just one part of the world, but the entire world. In some areas, the hegemony of English is having devastating impacts on the use of less popular languages, while in others the use of this one language in particular industries is actually very beneficial economically. People are having an unequal experience because of the spread of English, and to empower people around the world, language educators must understand the entire perspective of how these kinds of changes are affecting everyone in a global scenario.

To feel the sense of self-efficacy for which empowerment strives, English language teachers build tools and strategies, show resources that make their students more capable of effecting change. To empower means to give a person or a group of people more confidence, more strength to act which often increases their control over their own lives. By improving English language skills people are empowered not only by having access to better jobs, pursuing a higher level of education or facilitating international travels to other countries. People can also have a better understanding of one's own identity, language or culture, it helps them to foster more social interactions, they are able to exercise their rights. By empowering their students, English to Speakers of Other Language (ESOL) teachers give them greater independence, more possibility to decide what they want. They do not control them but rather authorize to act in their own interest and make their own choices. Ultimately, empowerment is about challenging oppression and building capabilities.

With the global expansion of English as the language of international communication, my doctoral research explores the complexity behind the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) or English as a Foreign/Second Language.[8] As I think about challenges that ESOL teachers face in their work every day, one stands out: how they can effectively help their students whose first language is not English, and whose first culture is

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[8] At this point, I should explain a difference between English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The main difference is the context in which the learning is taking place. A clear definition comes from Peng (2019), Nayar (1997) and Marckwardt (1963): ESL usually refers to English taught in an English-speaking country, whereas EFL refers to English taught in a non-English-speaking country.

not the culture of the English-speaking countries, become international communicators, and how, at the same time, they can navigate the ethics of the changing global landscape of English language-teaching. It entails an understanding of how languages are culturally located. I use the term TESOL as defined by Alistair Pennycook: "Some of the central ideologies of current English Language Teaching have their origins in the cultural construction of colonialism. The colonial constructions of Self and Other, of the 'TE' and the 'SOL' of ESOL remain in many domains of ELT" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 2).

This dissertation is essentially a story of five people: teachers, representatives of ESOL teachers' community. I have chosen them to explore their biographies and career choices, and to have them reflect on their personal experiences in TESOL. The research intertwines numerous stories, many of which turned out unexpectedly.

How did I come to this doctoral project? I had multiple entry points into the research, crossing over one another. First came my own experience of learning the language as a student, starting in primary school, later in high school, during five years at a university and a number of private tutoring lessons. Second, by learning in different countries and in my travels abroad, I have had opportunities to understand the importance of English. This understanding puts me in a complicated relationship with the language, as I am aware of its significance and value the skill of knowing English that has helped me in my own life but need to approach my research related to it with an open and critical mind-set. Another entry point was my work in international settings and with native English-speakers: teachers entering the TESOL profession as a neutral enterprise. Working with future ESOL teachers who were preparing to teach in variety of contexts – to adults, to children, in the U.S. but also internationally – allowed me to see how English, associated as it is with wealth, power, cosmopolitanism, modernity, trendiness and whiteness, does indeed carry benevolent effects. It promotes access and opportunity, equips learners with skills that allow them to escape poverty and move ahead socially in the U.S., and also in much broader, global context. Simultaneously, I began to realize that it has other effects as well. As English is commodified, rationalized and globalized, it becomes implicated in heritage languages lost and in the extinction of less commonly spoken languages. It differentiates prestige according to accent or nativeness whether one is coded as a native speaker or not, in exploitation of those seeking social mobility through English and in the unequal distribution of resources and wealth globally. These understandings started to become apparent to me when I began my research. I started to feel a little squeamish about the enterprise and tried to come to terms with the

noninnocence of ESOL teachers' work – work that most of them first took up because they wanted to make the world a better place before they found themselves wondering about the degree to which they, as English language teachers, help create a market for English and feeding desire for it. This dissertation partially documents that struggle.

At the heart of this dissertation is my work with five teachers: Alex, Diane, Kate, Rachel and Sean. They are all ESOL teachers coming from different backgrounds but with an extensive teaching practice in the field. They have worked with very diverse groups of learners, many with limited formal schooling and limited first-language literacy, adults who were transitioning to new opportunities in their lives, whether better jobs or greater involvement and influence in their children's education. This is not the dissertation I set out to write. I realized that not only is the entire disciplinary base of the English teaching profession embedded in hegemonic ideologies and practices enabled by and taking place in the context of globalization, but the profession is also predicated on them; it actually depends on them for its existence.

I use the terms *globalization* and *hegemony* to describe varied and complicated practices by which some states end up acquiring and maintaining power and control over others. The growth of the English language around the world has long been linked to the international political influence of those who speak it. Graves writes: "The purpose of learning a language (…) varied, but the thrust is to learn language to communicate to improve one's economic prospects, and expand one's horizons both literally and/or figuratively to be a global citizen" (Graves, 2008, p. 156). Communicating in English is really an important goal for many learners.

This dissertation draws on many testimonies and experiences gathered in the course of my research, but focuses primarily on those of five teachers - Alex, Diane, Kate, Rachel and Sean. I chose to write about them because they helped me understand the interconnectedness of globalization and hegemony within the TESOL profession. You will notice that their stories and the moments described in the dissertation are notable for their universality; they could have taken place in any country.

During their TESOL, DELTA[9] or CELTA[10] certificate study, Diane, Rachel, Alex, Kate and Sean were exposed to work that supported their thinking about social justice across

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[9] DELTA, the Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, is a higher level of qualification. It can be taken only by already practicing English teachers with a few years of teaching experience who want to

borders. But when they entered the classroom, the teachers found themselves called upon to engage with all sorts of questions they had not had a chance to consider before: how to negotiate students' access to privileged forms of English while still maintaining a critical eye toward accent hierarchies or to silence their own identities in their practice. They testify how upon encountering these challenges, they started thinking about teaching English through the critical lenses of race, nationhood and culture.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first sets the work theoretically at the nexus of *globalization* (Appadurai, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Schuerkens, 2003; Tomlinson, 1991), *hegemony* (Gramsci et al., 1971; Ives, 2010; Manojan, 2019; Mayo, 2010, 2015) *empowerment* (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2020, Rappaport, 1987, 1995, Shor, 1992) and *language ideologies* (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011; González, 2010; McCarty & Warhol, 2011; Wortham & Reyes, 2011). In that chapter my primary argument is that the English language industry is an example of, and instrument in, the persistence of global inequalities.

In the second chapter, I outline my research methodology, context and participants in the study, as well as the process of collecting and analyzing data. I give contextual background about Diane, Alex, Rachel, Kate and Sean and the yearlong study I conducted with them, drawn from the tradition of biographical interviewing and the concept of *biographicity* (Alheit, 2018; Alheit et al., 1995; West et al., 2007).

The next chapter introduces participants in more detail. I summarize their biographies with a focus on their motivations and the paths they had to take to enter the teaching profession. They are all ESOL teachers from four countries. Diane and Rachel were born in the U.S., Alex in Brazil, Sean in New Zealand and Kate in Great Britain. They were between 30 and 65 years old at the time of our interviews; they all are speakers of what is called mainstream English and have had extensive teaching experience internationally.

The three chapters that follow outline the conceptual framework for my research. They focus on inequalities within the TESOL industry and illustrate the unevenness of the

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upgrade their credentials. This is a qualification offered by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES). (Retrieved Jun. 7, 2021 from: www.tefl.org/blog/tefl-tesol-or-celta).

[10] CELTA is an acronym for Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. Like DELTA, this qualification is offered by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES). (Retrieved Jun. 7, 2021 from: www.tefl.org/blog/tefl-tesol-or-celta).

globalization process and the hegemonic aspect of EFL teaching. They position teachers as organic intellectuals in a global context.

In the first of these three chapters, I talk about social and institutional arrangements of TESOL. I describe Sean's and Kate's struggles of having to stay in the profession and how their experiences from teaching in several countries on two continents made them aware of inequalities and hegemonies underlying the profession. I follow their stories as they described them, from start to finish when they both decided they did not want to be part of the industry, which they saw as deeply commercialized and unjust. Historically, they came to realize, English has been transmitted in an unbalanced, violent context primarily by people who were coded as white to people considered racial minorities, and that process still continues: ESOL teachers are identified as white, and most students are coded as racial minorities. I note different contexts, and different power dynamics with minority languages spoken by minority communities.

In the sixth chapter I present a range of various strategies that teachers use in their approaches to teaching and their paths to becoming global organic intellectuals by teaching not only English as a skill but focusing also on other capacities represented in and enabled by the knowledge of the English language. All the teachers were deeply thoughtful in drawing from their students' experiences and local cultural realities. They illustrated the importance of creating a space for teachers to be transformative intellectuals who can adjust locally situated, contextually appropriate solutions to the challenges they find in their individual locations rather than mindlessly deliver a packaged curriculum. One way to do so is to analyze and understand something about larger ideological forces at the play. The close associations between TESOL, whiteness and native English-language speakers are an integral part of the profession. It is important to keep these in mind, identify them and discuss implications for social justice and global inequality.

In the final chapter, borrowing from Ajrun Appadurai and in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic during which I conducted my research, I focus on the *scapes* and *flows* in which teachers find themselves and which play a role in how they perform their profession. Language is no longer territorialized – that is attached to a specific place. For centuries, we thought of English as associated with England; now we think of English and see Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the U.S., but also India and Jamaica, former colonies with long historical relationships with English and with large numbers of English-speakers. The connection between language and place in the context of deterritorialized

English is complicated. Through colonialization and globalization processes, English is no longer attached to a place but has been detached from its original territory. It has become Creolized – taking on different forms and manifestations in different cultural contexts (Hannerz, 1996, p. 66).

The dissertation rests on vision of teaching as an intellectual practice and seeks to support teachers in making agentive, situated decisions for themselves and for their students. I argue for situated, locally appropriated English teaching practice, a certain reframing of the discipline of ESOL teaching that would acknowledge its rootedness in global hegemonic ideologies and politics. ESOL teachers should be supported in contextualized teaching in view of their learners' situations, building on the awareness of the effects of English colonial and racial history and its persistence in linguistic, political, economic and social practices. They would need to understand history's role in shaping the present, which would mean that no teacher would teach English without an explicit consciousness of the way the language is positioned within global socioeconomic hierarchies.

I do not say, "Do not teach English", I do think English opens all kinds of doors and is necessary. Instead, I am arguing for the naturing of keen, intense awareness in teacher education of how people and their cultures and languages have been shaped by the influences of English. The dissertation is a critical view of the profession and the industry in which we all participate. I am left with one question: Is it possible to participate in English Language Teaching in a way that is responsible and ethical, and supports awareness of the consequences of teachers' practice for themselves and their students?

## 2. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEACHERS AS ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS IN THE GLOBAL ECUMENE

In this chapter, I present the main conceptual components of my study, drawing on four thematic areas – globalization, language, hegemony and empowerment – which provide the basis for my analysis.

## 2.1. CULTURE ON THE MOVE: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO GLOBALIZATION

With the rise and fall of empires and the spread of their trade routes, global interconnection has expanded and collapsed many times throughout history. Before the age of industrial technology, maintaining any type of global relationship was extremely expensive and available to only a few members of a society. A vast majority of people interacted only with their local social and cultural environments; large scale cultural transactions were limited by geography and active resistance. But cultures and people have been intermingling since ancient times, people have traveled great distances, traded, expanded the influence of empires, converted others to their religion, and impacted the politics of foreign nations and powers (Appiah, 2006). John Tomlinson (and also Ajrun Appadurai, 1996, p. 17) traces globalization to the late 15th and early 16th centuries, seeing it as "the continuation of a long historical process of western 'imperialist' expansion – embracing the colonial expansions of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries – and representing an historical pattern of increasing global cultural hegemony" (Tomlinson, 1997, pp. 143-144). As the world has been reshaped in the image of the West, cultural diversity and traditional ways of life started to disappear at increasing speed.

With the development of industrial technologies and early modern inventions such as the steam engine, and later the telephone and broadcasting, people could travel and communicate across vast spaces, significantly expanding their geographic imagination. For the first time in history, people started to have true mobility and ability to connect over a vast geographical area outside their local communities. This shift had implications for nation-states, which had historically served "as a compact and isomorphic organization of territory, ethnos [or people], and governmental apparatus" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 42). Sovereign states, designed to have supreme and independent authority over a geographic area, were challenged

by the ordinary people' horizons expanding beyond the local. Newspapers, radio and television fostered and sustained national cultures but at the same time allowed geographically dispersed populations to share their ideas and experiences. Today, advanced technologies in information, communication and global transportation interconnect people in places and ways that go far beyond the nation state.

A key aspect of globalization concerns the economy. The expanding scale of cross-border trade, commodities and services; the flow of international capital; and the wide and rapid diffusion of technology are all factors that contribute to economic globalization. The introduction of new technologies and computer communication has forever changed the methods and patterns of manufacturing basic goods and services. Local ways of doing tasks that have existed for centuries have become increasingly coordinated through global networks of economic exchange. The deregulation of financial institutions enabled the global financial architecture to move. The world economy has become "an organic system" (Szentes, 2002, p. 69), and countries have become more and more economically interdependent. This shift implies that the world economy is no longer controlled by the nation-states but must be seen in a larger, global context: the reliance and integration of world economies. Deregulation of markets has transformed the financial system and economy, but also resulted in the destruction of ecosystems and brought about the degradation of the natural environment.

Production of commodities has been shifted entirely to the periphery or to the less developed parts of the world. People started to find themselves in a particularly intense moment of time-space compression: "Improved systems of communication and information flow, coupled with rationalizations in techniques of distribution (packaging, inventory control, containerization, market feed-back, etc.), made it possible to circulate commodities through the market system with greater speed. Electronic banking and plastic money were some of the innovations that improved the speed of the inverse flow of money. Financial services and markets (aided by computerized trading) likewise speeded up, so as to make 'twenty-four hours a very long time' in global stock markets" (Harvey, 1989, p. 285). The time-space compression is the distinguishing feature of modern globalization. Economic globalization affects all nations and citizens through the increasing integration of markets. It brings unity of all economic movements but, at the same time, furthers the separation of nation-states around the world.

The economic aspects of globalization cannot be read in isolation from the cultural ones. In the words of Fredric Jameson, "globalization as we understand it today is the

becoming cultural of the economic, and the becoming economic of the cultural" (Jameson, 2010, p. 440). He adds that "the concept of globalization reflects the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as of the horizon of a world market, both of which seem far more tangible and immediate than in earlier stages of modernity" (Jameson, 1998, p. xi). Infrastructure, telecommunications, data exchange, migration, tourism, and financial flows have all expanded globally, making the world more interconnected than ever. For this reason, economic, environmental, social, and political difficulties and problems are no longer limited to a single country. Connectedness is not a new thing; people have been connected in the past. But what is new about the present communicational aspects of globalization is that it connects people who are remote, who are located at long distance from one another. The balance between local and distant has changed. Now more than ever before, people experience ideas, subjects and the others from "the outside" (Appiah, 2006).

Globalization is a term commonly use to describe this increasing flow of capital, circulation of goods, movement of people and images, and exchange of ideas around the world. It is widely understood as a process of intensification of world's social relations that links distanced locations and cultures (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996; Sassen & Appiah, 1998); a process that compresses time and space; and, in other words, a process that shrinks the world (Barker, 2016; Bauman, 2009; Burszta, 2004; Fukuyama, 2006).

Anthony Giddens calls globalization "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). Roland Robertson describes it as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). Ulf Hannerz calls it "a matter of increasing long distance interconnectedness, at least across national boundaries, preferably between continents as well" (Hannerz, 1996, p. 17), John Tomlinson adds that the process is characterized by "complex connectivity and stretching of social relations across distance leading to interdependence" (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 2). Manfred Steger offers the following definition: "Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant" (Steger, 2003, p. 13). David Held thinks of globalization "as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact

– generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (Held et al., 2002, p. 16).

In my doctoral work, I pay attention to these extreme dimensions of globalization and treat them as inseparable. I emphasize the key words in these definitions of globalization, which focus on its communicational aspects: intensification of worldwide social relations, compression of the world through time and space, long-distance interconnectedness, complex connectivity.

Increasing diversity opens possibilities for deeper understanding, and for greater misunderstanding. Globalization is a contradictory process (Eriksen, 2016b). It is a process of intensification of global interconnectedness that allows people to travel, meet, link and exchange with other cultures that are no longer as homogenous as they used to be. It interconnects people and transnational institutions that enable the movement across porous borders and boundaries. But it is also a process in which there are people for whom time and space do not compress at the same speed and with the same rights. Globalization also involves limits to global mobility. Not all people and places participate in globalization in the same way (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008). For my research purposes, I look at globalization as a process of complex mobilities and uneven interconnections (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008).

The literature on globalization is vast and contains different definitions. Welsch and Vivanco point to disciplinary traditions as one of the sources of these differentiations: "Different academic disciplines define globalization differently because they study different things. Economists focus on investment and the activity of markets, political scientists on international policies and interactions of nation-states, and sociologists on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other international social institutions" (Welsch & Vivanco, 2016, p. 82). But the effort to define "globalization" also raises other questions, such as: "Is globalization a general *process* or a trend of growing worldwide interconnectedness? Is it a *system* of investment and trade? Or is it the *explicit goal* of particular governments or international trade bodies that promote free trade? Or is it, as some say, 'globaloney,' something that does not actually exist at all?" (Welsch & Vivanco, 2016, p. 82).

Each aspect of globalization – the communicational, the political, the economic and the cultural – is interwoven with the others – according to some, making the world a single social and cultural setting, *a global unicity* (Robertson, 1992). In my approach, I draw primarily on anthropological research on globalization, which treats the process holistically

and glocally. Anthropologists research globalization as a contextualized and situated process and focus on how globalization processes exist in the cultural and historical conditions of specific peoples and societies and their ways of life (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1991):

"Anthropology (…) is most concerned with the articulation of the global and the local, that is, with how globalization processes exist in the context of, and must come to terms with, the realities of particular societies, with their accumulated – that is to say, historical – cultures and ways of life. The anthropology of globalization, in other words, is concerned with the situated and conjunctural nature of globalization. It is preoccupied not just with mapping the shape taken by the particular flows of capital, people, goods, images, and ideologies that crisscross the globe, but also with the experiences of people living in specific localities when more and more of their everyday lives are contingent on globally extensive social processes" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002, p. 5).

Anthropologists tend to interpret political, social and economic dimensions of globalization through the prism of the cultural (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008). They treat globalization as a complicated, multilayered process that operates in many spheres – cultural, economic, political, environmental – but most attention is given to the cultural dimensions of globalization and the intensification of cultural flows across the globe. My research is situated in, and draws inspiration from, anthropological approaches to globalization that stress these cultural aspects of the process and focus on individuals, specifically how individual people respond to large-scale processes in their culturally specific ways (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008). I am particularly concerned with the language that constitutes special significance in the sphere of culture – language that often escapes fixed national localities and acquires new meanings in different global locations.

In my understanding of globalization, I am particularly influenced by the work of Ajrun Appadurai, who identifies ways of studying and understanding the world of flows, disjunctures, frictions, interconnections, unevenness, inequalities and movements. His theory of globalization is a theory of rupture (Appadurai, 1996, p. 3). He suggests that world is experiencing a moment that is very different from the times of modernity. In his view, people are experiencing a moment that is facilitated by technology and international mobilization, which "have broken the monopoly of autonomous nation-states over the project of modernization. The transformation of everyday subjectivities through electronic mediation and the work of the imagination is not only a cultural fact. It is deeply connected to politics,

through the new ways in which individual attachments, interests, and aspirations increasingly crosscut those of the nation-state" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 10). His main concern is the fate of nations and states in this particular moment in the development of global landscapes of flows and movements – of people and technologies, money, information and ideas.

Appadurai suggests "that there has been a shift in recent decades, building on technological changes over the past century, in which the imagination has become a collective, social fact. This development, in turn, is the basis of the plurality of imagined worlds" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 5). In making imagination central to his theory of globalization, Appadurai builds on Benedict Anderson's concept of nations as imagined communities. Anderson argues that a nation is a relatively recent phenomenon that came into being thanks to the development of print capitalism. Before the era of mass printing, people constructed their imagined worlds based on who they really knew. Any community larger than a face-to-face village was essentially imagined. With advanced technologies of mass printing, people started to imagine themselves through language, reading news and literature, and could see themselves as members of a community that was receiving the same information in the same language. This phenomenon enabled the process of nation-building, in which nations are not something natural but rather something one has to imagine. Nation "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

Building on Anderson's work, Appadurai says that this process is now changing. It is not just the nation-state that holds sway over people's imagination. People are starting to imagine their belonging and who they are through worlds they visit, either physically or in their imagination, thanks to electronic media and mobilities. The state-centric division of space that was seen as natural in the past no longer seems to be the norm in view of the frequency of border crossings. That becomes a threat to the power of the nation-state because people cross borders both physically and in their imagination. The nation-state seems to be threatened from both inside and outside. From outside, it is threatened because of the rising power of the transnational corporations and institutions and from inside by the birth of micronational movements.
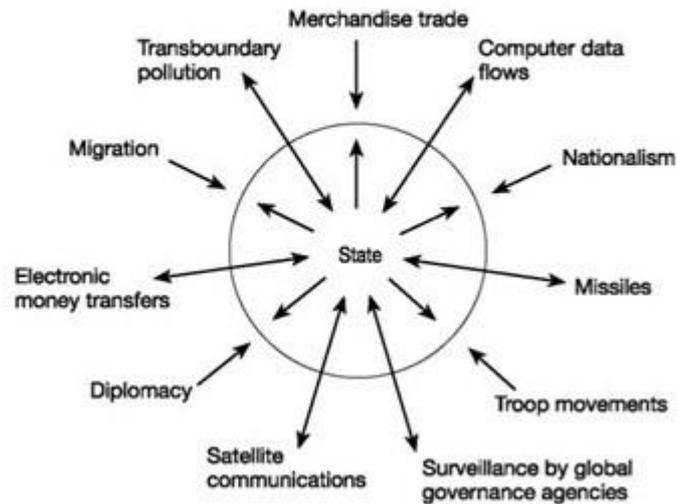
**FIGURE 3: THE NATION-STATE IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD**
(Source: Baylis & Smith, 2001, p. 22)

An important part of Appadurai's work, and particularly inspirational to my research, are his explanations of *scapes*. He analyzes contemporary global flows in terms of five specific categories: *ethnicity*, *technology*, *finance*, *media,* and *ideology* (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). He treats the five dimensions of globalization as *scapes* – "fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles. These terms with the common suffix *-scape* also indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (whether religious, political, or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods, and families. (…) These landscapes thus are the building blocks of what (extending Benedict Anderson) I would like to call *imagined worlds*, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33).

*Scapes*, for Appadurai, involve movement of certain elements of global reality. By *ethnoscapes* Appadurai means global movement of people and groups, such as leisure travelers, immigrants, refugees, exiles and guest workers who move around the world, across boundaries, in much farther distances than ever before: "As international capital shifts its needs, as production and technology generate different needs, as nation-states shift their

policies on refugee populations, these moving groups can never afford to let their imaginations rest too long, even if they wish to" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 34). While refugees or labor migrants travel out of necessity, in search of better lives, tourists traveling for relaxation also belong to this scape.

Second, he writes about *technoscapes,* flows of technology. *Technoscapes* refer to the circulation and exchange of mechanical goods and software. Nowadays, technology advances far faster and across national borders than ever before: "A huge steel complex in Libya may involve interests from India, China, Russia, and Japan, providing different components of new technological configurations" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 34).

Another *scape* that Appadurai discusses is the *financescape,* understood as the global circulation of money. Currency markets, stock exchanges and commodities speculation are all ways for global capital and finance to travel throughout the world. Transactions in stock exchanges from New York, Tokyo and Paris have immediate effects on economies around the world. The global capital landscape is defined by the rapid movement of *megamonies* between national markets and across political borders, and by unpredictability because of the disjunctive relationship between *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes* and *financescapes* as "each of these landscapes is subject to its own constraints and incentives (some political, some informational, and some techno-environmental), at the same time as each acts as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the others" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35).

The fourth scape for Appadurai is the *mediascape*, the flow of culture through production and dissemination of information and media images around the world. Before through the telegraph, telephone and now the internet, it takes seconds for entertainment, information or educational content to travel from one location to another. *Mediascapes* are "image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots, and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35). Appadurai stresses *ethnoscapes* and mediascapes are fundamental to the global shifts we are observing – it is thanks to electronic media and mobilities that people imagine who they are across great distances.

Finally, he lists *ideoscape* as a landscape of ideologies of states, political ideas or movements: "*Ideoscapes* are also concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of

movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it. These *ideoscapes* are composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of a chain of ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term democracy" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 36). *Ideoscapes* are narratives that travel around the world and help organize the way the politics is run.

Globalization, according to Appadurai, is not simply one movement, but a combination of multiple movements – *scapes* – that come into conflict with each other. Globalization is a growing disjuncture of the five flows.[11] The current global flows "occur in and through the growing disjunctures among *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, *mediascapes*, and *ideoscapes*" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 37). Among the examples given by Appadurai is the disjuncture between the *financescapes* and *ideoscapes,* where ideologies of national sovereignty conflict with traditional control over finances and industry. Another possible disjuncture occurs between *ideoscapes* and *ethnoscapes* when the overseas diaspora of ethnic groups clashes with the ideologies of religious and nationalist movements.

For Appadurai, transnational migration and electronic mass mediation are the key forces driving globalization. There are no more borders or nation-states; instead, there is free movement of people and information: "electronic mediation and mass migration is necessarily a theory of the recent past (or the extended present) because it is only in the past two decades or so that media and migration have become so massively globalized, that is to say, active across large and irregular transnational terrains" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 9).

Ulf Hannerz supports this view, saying: "The technologies of mobility have changed, and a growing range of media reach across borders to make claims on our senses. Our imagination has no difficulty with what happens to be far away. On the contrary, it can often feed on distances, and on the many ways in which the distant can suddenly be close" (Hannerz, 1996, p. 4).

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[11] The five scapes described by Appadurai are useful tools for understanding the different forms of circulation. Very often, one can notice phenomena that involve more than one scape. An American journalist and writer, Kelsey Timmerman, in his book *Where Am I Wearing?: A Global Tour to the Countries, Factories, and People That Make Our Clothes*, takes clothing as an example. He describes a story in which all five scapes met: he travels from Honduras to Bangladesh to Cambodia, to China in pursuit of the origins of a simple T-shirt. In his story, *the ideoscape* is represented by capitalism – an idea promoted by transnational corporations, producers of the t-shirts. *The financescape* is triggered by an American company contracting with a production facility in a country where labor is cheaper. The equipment needed to make the T-shirt is purchased and delivered to the clothing factory, thus involving *the technoscape*. Workers who migrate from villages to find jobs in the factory embodies *the ethnoscape*. And *the mediascape* is altered in the marketing of these T-shirts (Timmerman, 2012).

At this point it is important to mention that for Appadurai the current moment was before 1996, when his book was published. He wrote at a time when the world experienced the change from the end of the Cold War. Closer to present times is Thomas Eriksen, another very influential anthropologist, who tried to grasp and define the features of the current moment in world history. In his writings from 2016, he tries to understand globalization and defines it as *overheating* (Eriksen, 2016a, 2016b). Erikson's concept of overheating is influenced by the climate crisis, which should become chief consideration for the global community (for Appadurai, it was a concern, but not the most important one), Eriksen takes his concept of overheating from physics. He uses it as a metaphor to refer to "the speed that would eventually lead a car engine to grind to a halt, spewing out black smoke in copious quantities, unless the style of driving changes" (Eriksen, 2016b, p. 470). His theory is a warning: things are getting out of control and can overheat. If so, the machine breaks, and the world could break, too. One specific feature of globalization for Eriksen is that the capitalism becomes universal. He sets 1991 as the particular date from when the high speed of globalization began. As globalization had been happening for many years in different phases, going up and down in terms of the interconnectedness of the world, 1991 is for him, the beginning of overheating and losing control. At that moment Soviet Union collapsed, socialism lost its power. People started to live independently in a world of monetized economy. Traditional land tenure was supplanted by private ownership; subsistence agriculture was phased out in favor of wage labor; and orally told tales were replaced by television and the internet. The overheated viewpoint is an attempt to make sense of these changes in the globally interconnected world.

The five scapes Appadurai described are useful tools for understanding the different forms of circulation. Very often, one can notice phenomena that involve more than one scape. An American journalist and writer, Kelsey Timmerman, in his book *Where Am I Wearing?: A Global Tour to the Countries, Factories, and People That Make Our Clothes*, takes clothing as an example. He describes a story in which all five scapes met: he travels from Honduras to Bangladesh to Cambodia, to China in pursuit of the origins of a simple T-shirt. In his story, *the ideoscape* is represented by capitalism – an idea promoted by transnational corporations, producers of the t-shirts. *The financescape* is triggered by an American company contracting with a production facility in a country where labor is cheaper. The equipment needed to make the T-shirt is purchased and delivered to the clothing factory, thus involving *the technoscape*.

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Inspired by Timmerman and Appadurai, I focus on a specific case of global English language teaching - the English Language Practicum – a program I administered at the University of Lower Silesia in Poland, whose participants are central to the dissertation. From 2007 to 2018, certificate candidates from the New School, a university in New York City, traveled great distance from their home locations to Wrocław, Poland. After three weeks in Poland, a majority of them also spent time traveling in Europe, joining thus in the global landscape characterized by the flow of people that Appadurai refers to as *ethnoscapes*. The entire organization and administration of the program was made possible by modern technology. E-mail was used to communicate with the center in New York City before the practicum teachers arrived in Wrocław. Technology was used to recruit Polish participants and organize classes (at the beginning, *technoscape* was represented by simple printers and copy machines, and over the years also by scanners, the internet and telephone applications used to conduct classes). Americans coming to teach in Wrocław brought authentic materials to use in their teaching – videotapes of American sitcoms, tapes and CDs of hip-hop music, postcards with images of iconic American landmarks, flyers from stores and restaurants, New York City maps with subway tracks, Scrabble sets, etc. *Mediascape* was represented by these original items brought or shipped from New York to Wrocław and used during the intensive language course. In class, teachers were drawing on ideas from the American culture, bringing the U.S. Constitution as a resource as they explained freedom of the expression, the American system of presidential voting or democracy. *Ideoscape* was represented in class content, which was based mainly on the experiences they had gained in their lives. None of this would have been possible without the global flow of money, transferred through bank accounts at great distance –*financescapes* connected to the administering of the program on both sides.

## 2.1.1.  UNEVENNESS OF THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

*"The inequality challenge is global, and intimately connected to other pressing issues of our times: not only rapid technological change, but also the climate crisis, urbanization and migration. In many places, the growing tide of inequality could further swell under the force of these megatrends. (…) the future course of these complex challenges is not irreversible. Technological change, migration, urbanization and even the climate crisis can*

*be harnessed for a more equitable and sustainable world, or they can be left to further divide us.",* António Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations[12]

Increasing global interconnectivity has helped many developing countries and has been also positive for advanced economies. However, anthropologists emphasize that globalization generates not only winners but also losers: the process is uneven across the populations, across and even within countries, across regions within a country, across people with different skills (Eriksen, 2016b; Inda & Rosaldo, 2008). People have opportunities and rights, but they also have duties and constraints that are very unevenly distributed around the world. Globalization does not proceed for everyone at the same speed or with the same opportunities. Then there is the other side of connectivity. Globalization has brought people together; it has shrunk distances and led to unprecedented connectedness. But not everyone in the world is connected to the same degree, depending on where in the world one is located, depending on people's economic situations, technological capabilities, class, gender, ethnicity, and other positionings. From the global perspective, not everybody has the same access to new communication technologies and education (including language education); even electricity and water are luxuries in some part of the world[13] (Massey, 1999).

People experience globalization differently and the process is not equal for all communities (Allen & Hamnett, 1999). "While some people may possess the political and economic resources to trot across the world, many more have little or no access to transport and means of communication: the price of an airplane ticket or a phone call is just too high for them. And more generally, there are large expanses of the planet only tangentially tied into the webs of interconnection that encompass the globe" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 6). There are communities excluded or at the margins of globalization; not everyone has the same

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[12] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020.

[13] A good example in a context of unequal global distribution of goods is access to Covid-19 vaccines. A global database of Covid-19 vaccinations published by *Nature Human Behaviour* shows significant discrepancies in vaccine access around the world "The data reveal large differences in the scale of the vaccine rollout across countries. As of 7 April 2021, the cumulative number of doses administered per 100 people ranges from 118 per 100 in the case of Israel, to less than 0.1 doses per 100 in countries that have just begun their vaccination campaigns, such as Mali, Namibia and Brunei. (…) Most countries that have achieved the fastest vaccine rollouts to date – Israel, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Bahrain and Chile – are high-income countries" (Mathieu et al., 2021). The vaccine rollout impacts people's access to borders and travel (not to mention access to health care). People's ability to travel and visit other countries is affected by a passport that shows a vaccination log. For most Africans, and other people from the Global South, needing to show a passport before accessing the globe has long been a routine. The pandemic is simply highlighting the inequality in access to structural barriers that have long been routine for most of the world. And since Africans and other Global South nations are struggling for access to vaccines, this unequal access to travel will continue.

capacity for mobility, and "not everyone and everyplace participates equally in the circuits of interconnection that traverse the globe" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 6). While globalization has facilitated advantages for some, more and more people are being left behind. Overall, the proportion of flows from the Global North (the wealthier countries of the world) to the Global South (the poorest) far exceeds the proportion of flows from the Global South to the Global North, which has a lot to do with the dominant position of the nations from which they flow and their control of media and technologies.

Taking as an example a level of proficiency in the English language, the map below illustrates the principle of this flow. Scandinavian countries (the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway), marked in navy blue, are on the top of the English Proficiency Index (EPI) ranking. Countries in orange demonstrate very low EPI. (The last five are Kyrgyzstan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iraq and Tajikistan.) Countries in gray, representing states where English is an official language, were not taken into account. Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, India and Pakistan, where English has a particular status because of colonial history, as well as countries with insufficient test-takers, were not included in this research (which is related to internet access, as the tests were administered online).

Authors of the 2020 report note that "worldwide English proficiency has never been higher. This reflects the results of thousands of large and small-scale efforts to teach English around the world. But we are a long way from having a language that the whole world shares. People want to connect, they need to connect, and yet billions are being left behind. Governments, education systems, and companies must do more to ensure that English and the opportunities it affords are open to everyone" (Education First, 2020, p. 40).
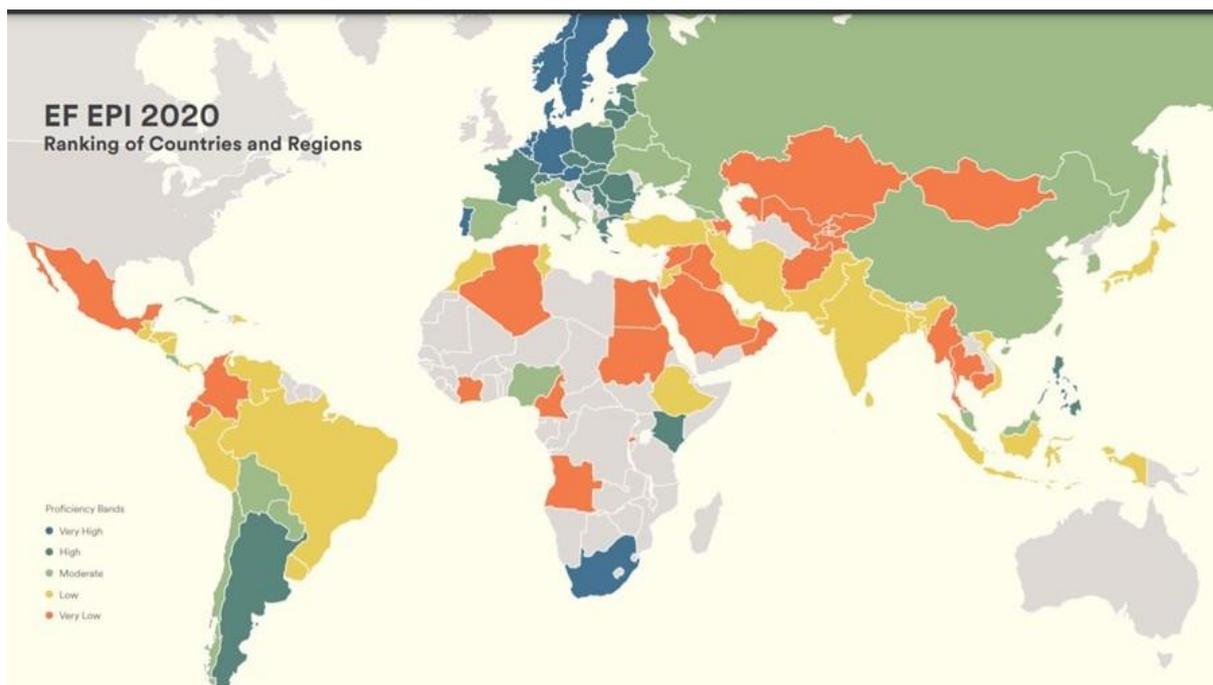
**FIGURE 4: RANKING OF COUNTRIES AND REGIONS BY ENGLISH SKILLS**
(Source: Education First, 2020)

Good proficiency in a language is one of the main factors migrants need to find employment. The Report on the Labor Force Status of Recent Migrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008) also offers evidence demonstrating the importance of English proficiency in finding employment. The unemployment rate for four levels of self-reported English proficiency is listed in Table 1. As may be seen, as English competence declines, the migrants' rate of unemployment rises:

| Self-reported level of proficiency in English | Unemployment rate |
| --- | --- |
| Speaks English very well | 7.0 |
| Speaks English well | 8.7 |
| Does not speak English well | 4.9 |
| Does not speak English | 23.1 |

**TABLE 1: SELF-REPORTED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE**
(Adapted from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008)

Anthropologists point to the paradox globalization creates. The same process that generates movement and connections also creates the opposite: immobility, exclusion and

disconnection (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 6). Flows produce not only dense interconnections but also forms of disconnection; they link the world and set it apart.

The process is highly selective and produces an uneven, differentiated experience of the world. Appadurai elaborates: "globalization is itself a deeply historical, uneven, and even localizing process. Globalization does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenization or Americanization, and to the extent that different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently, there is still ample room for the deep study of specific geographies, histories, and languages" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 17). In other words, globalization has led to increase in fragmentation of the world and increasing recognition of difference. If there is a homogenization of the planet from above, there is also corresponding fragmentation of the world from below. Homogenization does not lead to global monocultural (i.e., American) invasion; instead, it has led to increasing visibility of local cultures.

This key characteristic of globalization, from the anthropological point of view, constitutes the basis for my research, in which I have concentrated on actual people and specific locations and how they negotiate the changing conditions of their imagined life worlds affected by globalization. Anthony McGrew explains that globalization and its implications are not uniformly experienced: "some regions of the globe are more deeply implicated in global processes than others, and some are more deeply integrated into the global order than others. Within nation-states, some communities (e.g., financial ones) are tightly enmeshed in global networks, while others (e.g., the urban homeless) are totally excluded (although not entirely unaffected) by them. And, even within the same street, some households are more deeply embedded in global processes than others" (McGrew, 2011, pp. 479-480). While people still live their lives locally, the surrounding neighborhoods and their closest environment have become global. Distant events have consequences on local space, and vice versa; local developments have global impact.

In the dissertation, I argue that globalization is more than just a process of connecting the world. The world is not uniformly connected. It has long been, and still remains, a space of uneven economic, social and political connections (Cooper, 2005, pp. 91-92). Globalization should be also understood as a process of deepening inequalities and

disconnecting marginalized and unprivileged communities from *the global ecumene*.[14] Similarly, English, being a global language, plays an essential role. It benefits individuals or nations as a whole by bridging and increasing opportunities for communication. On the other hand, the acceptance and spread of English as the universal language does not eliminate social, economic and political inequalities, but rather strengthens divisions and excludes specific social groups who lack access to the dominant language. Janina Brutt-Griffler argues that "exclusion from high proficiency in English is a prime determinant of lack of access to wealth in the world they [indicative of poor black South Africans] inhabit" (Brutt-Griffler, 2005, p. 29). Paul Bruthiaux adds that for "deeply poor populations in many countries, education of the most basic type remains a pipe dream, and English language education an outlandish irrelevance. In a world where, it is said, half the population has never made a telephone call, talk of a role for English language education in facilitating poverty reduction and a major allocation of public resources to that end is likely to prove misguided and wasteful" (Bruthiaux, 2002, pp. 292-293).

Jonathan Arac (2002) compares the value of English proficiency to a currency that can be exchanged for access to many worlds and many cultures that have been opened by globalization. English allows these multiple worlds to be discovered as if it were a single medium that grants people to approach the global culture, "just as the U.S. dollar is the single medium of global economic market" (Arac, 2002, p. 35). The entire wealth of human knowledge is based on the exchange of words. The language is considered a monetary asset just like cash or cash equivalents. Neither language nor money has value by itself, but both carry value and gain that value from circulation. Both derive their value from exchange; both have value and a social need, and both are social systems. Just like money, language is a medium of exchange that facilitates human interaction and communication and expands people's scope of action (Coulmas, 1992). Not all languages have equal value and importance. English is a capital that is normally invested much more than are other languages[15] whose status is marginalized. Users of languages other than English are less privileged than users of the global language (Tupas, 2015, p. 7). The economy of English has

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[14] The term *global ecumene* was first coined by Alfred L. Kroeber (1948) and later popularized by anthropologist Ulf Hannerz. Since the 1990s the term has been used on different levels and in different parts of the world to stand for any "region of persistent cultural interaction and exchange" (Hannerz, 1989, p. 66).

[15] For example, investment in bilingual dictionaries connecting the language with other languages, the translation from and into the language, and other electronic resources. Investment in the language by directing capital toward investing in language processing which is expected to be of great benefit for the investors and the language itself.

an impact on income and trade, as well as the costs and benefits of language planning options and preservation of minority languages.[16]

Philippe Van Parijs is very concerned with the spread of English and the injustices it creates. He emphasizes that "if we want all sorts of workers', women's, young people's, old people's, sick people's, poor people's associations to organize on the ever higher scale required for effective action, we must equip them with the means of talking to one another without the need for interpreting boxes and the highly skilled and paid professionals who go in them" (Van Parijs, 2004, p. 118).

Ethnic-minority students perform at lower levels in school. They are more likely to score lower on tests, more likely to drop out and less likely to go on to college. To account for this gap in educational achievement, some old research works contended that it was a function of race and that ethnic minorities were cognitively deficient and culturally deprived (Reyes, 2010; Wortham & Reyes, 2011). Some studies show that the reason is their unequal access to key educational resources – unequal learning opportunities. Some also show that another reason is a "mismatch in speech norms." Ethnic-minority students use social speech norms at home and in their communities that are different from those used in school (Reyes, 2010, p. 410). Mainstream students are privileged in that their speech styles are valued in the classroom, and that their practices, being legitimized, are accepted as "normal" and "proper," while minority students' speech style is negatively evaluated as "improper" and sometimes even "wrong."[17]

### 2.1.2. THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF ENGLISH

An important aspect of English as a dominant language is that – as is the case of the process of globalization – its strength has both positive and negative effects. Its global status facilitates international communication in a globalized world, but as it becomes more present,

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[16] The investment in Welsh by the Culture, Welsh Language and Communications Committee and in Leonese by the Leonese City Council are examples of recent minority language promotions. In contrast of the French government's lack of investment in and even official discouragement of the minority Breton language.

[17] However, the relationship between language and ethnicity is also dynamic because speakers of different ethnicities do not always have to stick to the linguistic norms and attitudes they inherited. They can always cross the linguistic social boundaries. They can always transgress into a language or a variety of their choosing. "Ethnic minorities may claim affiliation to linguistic varieties that are supposed to be part of the natural inheritance of other ethnic groups (…) at the same time a similar tendency is also visible among ethnic majority pupils (…) and there is evidence that some White pupils have a weak affiliation with standard English and use nonstandard forms by choice" (Leung et al., 1997, p. 557).

other languages face a distinct lack of support in the world and even extinction. As a result, local languages and linguistic diversity disappear in favor of English.

In 2016, Kai Chan, a Distinguished Fellow at the INSEAD Innovation and Policy Initiative supported by the World Economic Forum, launched The Power Language Index (PLI) as a tool of measuring the influence and reach of languages (Chan, 2016). Using 20 indicators, PLI measures five basic opportunities provided by language:

- Geography (the ability to travel);

- Economy (the ability to participate in an economy);

- Communication (the ability to engage in dialogue);

- Knowledge and media (the ability to consume knowledge and media);

- Diplomacy (the ability to engage in international relations).

The PLI compares the efficacy of more than one hundred languages in these five domains.

This table shows the results and lists the 10 most powerful languages in the world:

| RANK | SCORE | LANGUAGE | NATIVE | GEOGRAPHY | ECONOMY | COMM. | K&M | DIPLOMACY |
|------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|---------|-------|-----|-----------|
| 1 | 0.889 | English | 446.0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 0.411 | Mandarin* | 960.0 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| 3 | 0.337 | French | 80.0 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | 0.329 | Spanish | 470.0 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 3 |
| 5 | 0.273 | Arabic | 295.0 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 18 | 4 |
| 6 | 0.244 | Russian | 150.0 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 5 |
| 7 | 0.191 | German | 92.5 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 8 |
| 8 | 0.133 | Japanese | 125.0 | 27 | 4 | 22 | 6 | 7 |
| 9 | 0.119 | Portuguese | 215.0 | 7 | 19 | 13 | 12 | 9 |
| 10 | 0.117 | Hindi* | 310.0 | 13 | 16 | 8 | 2 | 10 |

*\* If all Chinese dialects/languages (Mandarin being the largest) are considered as one it would not change the rank ordering. However, if Urdu and Hindi – and all the Hindi dialects – are taken as one it would vault it past Portuguese and Japanese.*

TABLE 2: TEN MOST POWERFUL LANGUAGES
(Chan, 2016, p. 3)

It is not surprising that English ranks at the top among the most powerful languages in the world. It dominates in all measured categories. Looking strictly at the number of native speakers, Mandarin is first on the list (960 million), with Spanish next (470 million), followed by English (446 million) and Hindi (310 million). However, looking at a total number of speakers rather than just native speakers changes the picture significantly. Because English is used as a second or foreign language, its users account for 1.268 billion[18] (Ibrahimova, 2021;

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[18] In terms of the number of speakers, after Crystal it is important to notice that the fact of a large number of speakers does not immediately make a language a global language: "Why a language becomes a global language has little to do with the number of people who speak it. It is much more to do with who those speakers are. Latin became an international language throughout the Roman Empire, but this was not because the Romans were

*What Are the Top 200 Most Spoken Languages?*, 2020). According to the British Council, more conversations are estimated to take place daily between non-native speakers of English than between native speakers. (At the same time, most of the world's English teachers are not native speakers of English; most of them learned English in school and decided they liked teaching it as a career. As I describe in the following chapters, one does not have to be a very advanced speaker of English to be an English teacher (Howson, 2013). While some languages have an advantage as a medium for communication for a majority of the world's population some pay a heavy price and even disappear.

As estimated 6,000 to 7,000 (in only 200 countries) languages are spoken in the world today[19] (Crystal, 2003, 2015; Fleming, 2020; Maurais & Morris, 2003). David Crystal claims that "because of major dialects," this number runs "as high as 10,000" (Crystal, 2015, p. 107). He also estimates that "50 per cent of the world's 6,000 or so living languages will die out within the next century" (Crystal, 2003, p. 20). *The 2021 UNESCO World Report of Languages: Towards a Global Assessment Framework for Linguistic Diversity* confirms that number and predicts that half of the approximately 7,000 existing languages are in danger and may be extinct by the end of the 21st century.[20] The World Economic Forum forecasts that out

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more numerous than the peoples they subjugated. They were simply more powerful. And later, when Roman military power declined, Latin remained for a millennium as the international language of education, thanks to a different sort of power – the ecclesiastical power of Roman Catholicism. (…) Without a strong power-base, of whatever kind, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails" (Crystal, 2003, p. 7). Language dominance lies in a set of various forces that help a language to gain the global reach.

[19] According to Ethnologue, a research center for language intelligence and the largest online resource on world's languages, 7,139 languages are spoken today (as of Feb. 24, 2020) "That number is constantly in flux, because we're learning more about the world's languages every day. And beyond that, the languages themselves are in flux. They're living and dynamic, spoken by communities whose lives are shaped by our rapidly changing world. This is a fragile time: Roughly 40% of languages are now endangered, often with less than 1,000 speakers remaining. Meanwhile, just 23 languages account for more than half the world's population" (*Ethnologue*, 2021). All of the world's language may be searched here: silintl.carto.com/builder/852e178e-e26e-11e5-88b4-0e674067d321/embed.

[20] A language dies when it loses its last native speaker. It is a process in which a community's linguistic competence in its language declines, eventually resulting in no native or proficient speakers. The most common type of language death is "a gradual language death." It occurs when the people speaking a particular language become bilingual and then, the ability of speaking in that language gradually declines with each next generation, until no native speaker remains. Bottom-to-top language death occurs when a language is used solely for religious, literary or ceremonial purposes and not in a casual, daily communication. When a language shift begins at a high level, such as government, but continues to be used in casual contexts, it is known as a top-to-bottom language death. The term "radical language death" refers to a language's demise when all its speakers stop speaking it because of threats, pressure, persecution or colonization. Linguicide (also known as language genocide, physical language death and biological language death) occurs when all or almost all native speakers of a language die as a result of natural disasters, military conflicts or other sudden factors. Language attrition refers to an individual's lack of fluency in a language.

of the 7,000 languages today, 41% are endangered (Fleming, 2020; Ibrahimova, 2021; Steger, 2003). This means only a few languages are favored, officially recognized and supported by the states, or sometimes even respected/valued. As a result, many ethnicities or indigenous peoples have stopped teaching and speaking their ethnic languages to the next generation and have instead adopted the majority language. The number of circumstances in which people use ethnic language is decreasing as a dominant group language spreads into more and more territories. (Holmes, 2013, p. 60).

In *Languages in a Globalising World*, Jacques Maurais explains: "The expansion and retraction of languages is a social phenomenon, which reflects a position of power. The disappearance of a language always has nonlinguistic causes, which are the result of a balance of forces." He argues that while most people are aware of the threat of environmental destruction and animal and plant species extinction, they are not aware that 90% of all languages may vanish or nearly vanish in the twenty-first century (Maurais, 2003, p. 28). Such linguistic disappearance of even a single language "constitutes an irreparable loss of global linguistic treasures" (Hamel, 2003, p. 111). Language plays a very important role in the construction of an ethnic identity. The best way to preserve the identity of an ethnic group is its language. It is the storehouse of ethnicity, containing moral tales, rhymes, poetry, phrases, songs and other components of literary heritage. However, globalization is heading toward uniformity in languages. The number of languages spoken on Earth has sharply declined. Only the powerful languages are likely to survive. Language death has dire consequences for ethnic groups and their culture. Languages do not die alone; they die with their culture, history, tradition, literature, etc., affecting ethnic groups and their social identity, and weakening their social cohesion (Reyes, 2010, pp. 398–426).

Michael Clyne and Farzad Sharifian have noted the danger in the spread of English, but they also see an opportunity. They do acknowledge that the spread of English affects the decline and disappearance of less popular languages, but paradoxically, even countries where English is not the official language have strengthened belief in "the sufficiency of English for inter-national and inter-cultural communication" and are aware of its consequences. On the other hand, they admit "that English as an international language can be empowering in some contexts and countries" (Clyne & Sharifian, 2008, p. 28.5). Depending on the specific context, those two arguments may be compatible and true.

A common language has benefits, but so does linguistic diversity. People's well-being is enhanced, according to Grenier and Zhang, when members of a group interact in the same

language. (Grenier & Zhang, 2021). Speaking the same language creates a sense of common identity among its speakers and is an investment in human capital. Members of linguistic minorities who acquire the dominant language benefit financially; those who communicate in their native language do not gain from these advantages in the work market. On the other hand, linguistic diversity preserves cultures, art, folk music, etc. Multilingual communities are multicultural. Creating a balance between preserving native or indigenous languages and having a common language is a way to have the benefits of both.

Languages are being supported – and lost – throughout the world in different ways. They can be supported by multilingual education,[21] for example, and lost mainly through politics and the power of ideology as powerful countries are using their influence and authority to enforce a dominant culture and language (González, 2010). With globalization trending toward fewer languages with more speakers worldwide, thousands of minority languages around the world are in danger. EFL teachers help their students become globally mobile; by acquiring the language skills, learners gain access to the world. And together with their native language, English opens the door even more.

A language's market worth is determined by the symbolic power connected with it, and with its speakers. In the linguistic marketplace, assigning a monetary value to a language entails endowing it with some of the language's privileges and power (Mair, 2005, p. 242). The market value of English is higher than that of any other language. English has expanded so much in the last few decades and its range of action has become so wide that the incentive to study other languages has fallen very low. According to the latest (2021) reports, in 2020 the global market for English language learning was worth $9.6 billion USD and is projected to reach $27 billion USD by 2027 (growing at a compound annual growth rate of 15.8% over the period 2020-2027). "The U.S. market is estimated at $2.8 Billion (…) China, the world`s second largest economy, is forecast to reach a projected market size of $5.4 Billion by the year 2027 trailing a CAGR of 20.7% over the analysis period 2020 to 2027. Among the other noteworthy geographic markets are Japan and Canada, each forecast to grow at 11.5% and 14.1% respectively over the 2020-2027 period. Within Europe, Germany is forecast to grow at approximately 12.6% CAGR. (Global Industry Analysts, 2021). Around 100 000 new ESL or EFL teaching positions open every year. The reports also indicate that "after an early

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[21] A strong advocate in this respect is UNESCO. For more information see: en.unesco.org/themes/gced/languages and en.unesco.org/news/upcoming-decade-indigenous-languages-2022-2032-focus-indigenous-language-users-human-rights.

analysis of the business implications of the pandemic and its induced economic crisis, growth in the segment is readjusted to a revised 12.9% CAGR for the next 7-year period." (Global Industry Analysts, 2021). The scale of the industry that offers English as a commodity in the international market of foreign languages, as well as the demand for English and the shares of gross national product that are spent on the global level to acquire it, proves its economic but also societal value.

The market value of English is associated with the symbolic power of language. English has grown and expanded so much in the last few decades and its range of action has become so wide that the incentive to study other languages has decreased (Crystal, 2003). Furthermore the issue of economic access to learning English uncovers the global imbalances in the modern world. For a migrant who, for example, comes to the United States for work, to afford an English class requires additional resources (money and time). Learning the language is not a priority for someone who has to support her – or himself and support her or his family. However, a range of existing educational programs help migrant communities, especially in the United States to language education. Most of my interviewees (10 out of 12) have volunteer teaching experience. They started as volunteers before receiving their TESOL certificates and continue to teach as certified teachers in community centers, public libraries, international centers or language schools for immigrants across the United States and abroad.

In contrast, there are currently fewer immigrants moving to the United States. As I learned from Rachel, at present there is not a lot of funding for education and English language-teaching for immigrants in the United States. She even worries that

> *In the school system, from the kindergarten through twelfth grade, in the United States, they might eliminate ESL programs. Under the previous president [Donald Trump[22]], the plan was to completely eliminate ESL education for non-native speakers in the United States.[23] And even though we have a new president [Joe Biden], there is still this very anti-immigrant trend in the U.S.[24]*

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[22] Donald Trump, in his presidential campaign often repeated: "In the United States you have to speak English" or "This is a country where we speak English. It's English. You have to speak English!" and made attempts to make English an official language in the U.S. His "English only" policy was directed mainly at the Spanish-language community in the U.S. I will refer to the issue in the following paragraphs.

[23] Michelle D. Buell, academic director at Language Systems International, in the article "How the Trump Administration Is Quietly Destroying the ESL Industry," fears for the future of the ESL industry in the United States (Buell, 2017).

[24] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Rachel on April 27, 2021.

Rachel adds that in certificate programs like MATESOL at the New School, because of high prices, the enrollments are down:

> *They are very expensive –$55,000. That is a lot of money for a teaching degree in ESL. It is not like you are getting a law degree or an MBA.*

> *The program I am in now* [at Hunter College]*, they are also struggling because they have maybe five new students every year. For some classes they cannot get a minimum number of five students registered to open a class. Now some of the classes are only offered once a year, and they told us they guarantee you will graduate, but I do not know what the future of the program will be at Hunter College.*

It has become highly desirable for international students to go to the United States and learn American English. For many, it was prestigious to learn American English and sound like an American. Rachel sees it as a trap American Universities created for themselves.

> *International students were willing to pay to come to the United States, but the universities started letting international students and charging them two or three times more than American students were paying to go to these universities. At the same time, for example, Korea or Japan or China started investing and developing their own English programs so they would not continue to lose these students. After five or ten years, students in Asia or Europe – they have more options. It is not just 'I have to go to America to learn American English. I can go to a university in Cairo and they have American professors teaching English, and I can save a lot of money and not leave my family.' So, it is not a good investment for international students the way it was 10, 15 years ago. It is the universities' fault. They just got greedy. And now there is a major crisis in the United States because the international students are not coming. It is a combination of a down, like, 30 or 40 percent, and a lot of smaller universities are closing, or they are about to collapse because they expanded – they built new buildings, they built new facilities – and now they cannot afford to pay for it because they do not have international students coming.*

To help visualize the issue, Rachel provided me with several articles and reports on the declining numbers of international students coming to the United States. The graph below presents "the number of international students enrolled at graduate and undergraduate level at U.S. universities since 2012. Enrollment stood at 633,000 in 2012 and that increased every year, hitting 840,160 by 2016. The decline in 2017 resulted in the U.S. having 808,640

international students in total, of which 367,920 were at graduate level and 440,720 were at undergraduate level":
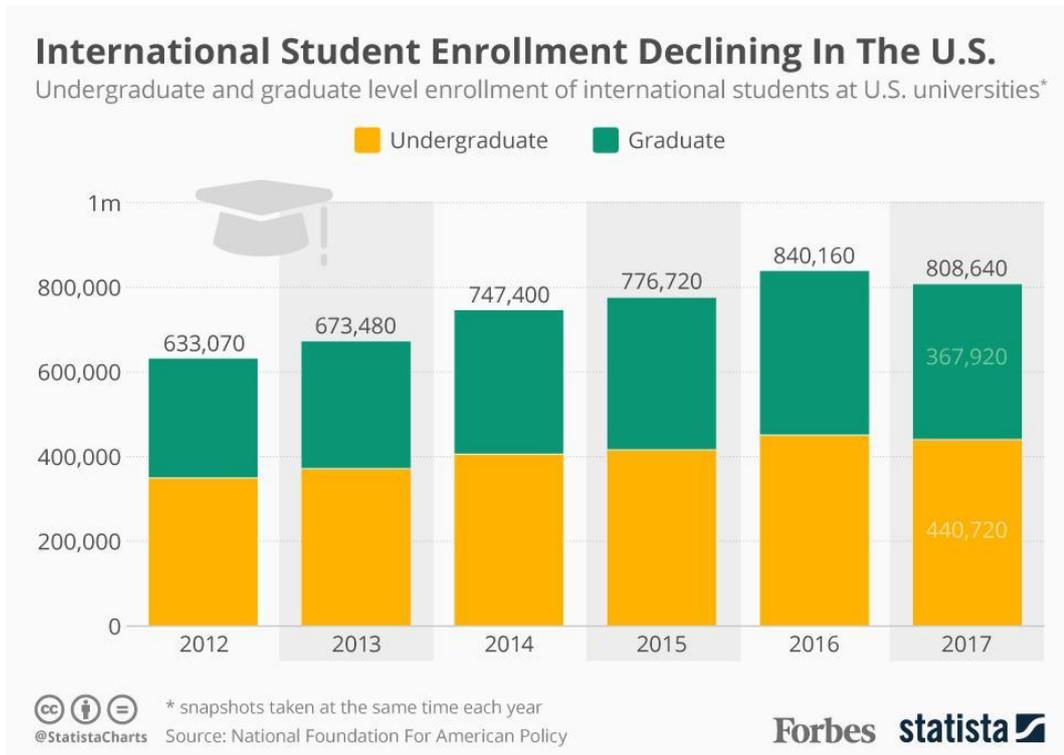


**FIGURE 5: INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ENROLLMENT DECLINING IN THE U.S.**
(Source: McCarthy, 2018)

The report warned that the trend of declining numbers of international students in the United States "is worrying and that it could have a profoundly negative impact on U.S. universities as well as U.S. companies and the economy. International students provide the U.S. economy with billions of dollars every year and graduates have provided crucial contributions to some of the nation's most successful companies. The negative trend could also be accelerated by the Trump administration's plans to restrict the ability of international students to work after graduation" (McCarthy, 2018).

A more recent report (March 2020) by National Association of Foreign Student Advisers also presents the trend. The report noted that "according to Project Atlas data, since 2001, the number of students pursuing education outside of their home country has more than doubled, from 2.1 million to 5.3 million, while the U.S. share of this globally-mobile student population dropped, from 28% in 2001 to 21% in 2019. NAFSA estimates the continued decline in new international student enrollment since fall 2016 has cost the U.S. economy $11.8 billion and more than 65,000 jobs" (NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 2020).

## New International Student Enrollment in the United States
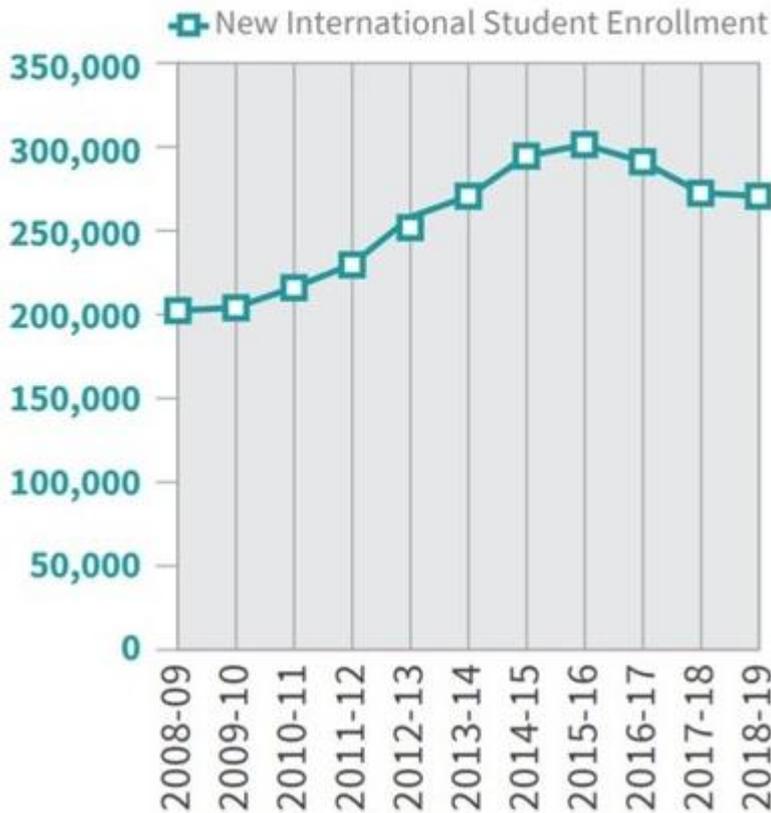


**FIGURE 6: NEW INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE U.S.**
(Source: NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 2020, p. 5)

International students and academics in the United States feel less safe and welcome than in previous years studied, according to data, and university and industry officials agree that anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies inhibit international students in the United States. "87% of international respondents indicated the main reason for their decreased desire to study in the United States is that they perceive the United States to be less welcoming toward international students. Students are still studying outside their home country. They're just studying in other places. A Study Portals survey of 1,300+ international and American students gauged students' thoughts after the 2016 U.S. presidential election" (NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 2020, p. 2).

I bring this reflections from Rachel, who critically signals that the uncontrolled desire to learn and teach English has started to create issues for TESOL. She has personally been told to associate fluency in English, and particularly native-like English, with success, and therefore to develop deep-seated desire for the language and all that it represents. There is much evidence that English does not always deliver on its promises because the target keeps

shifting and some forms of English are unacceptable, particularly in the international context. The more the English-teaching industry holds up English as a golden key spoken by shiny, happy people, the more desirable it becomes, further fueling the market.

### 2.1.3. CULTURE TALKS BACK

The complex relation between the global and the local is at the center of questions asked by anthropologists: To what extent and how are translocal cultural patterns rooted in places and various cultures scattered around the globe? How do these global patterns affect, and how are they presented in individuals' actions and local communities? Is it correct to judge that particular social, regional and ethnic groups are only parts of a global territory? Such glocal perspective allows for globalization to be seen as an interactive complex process in which global processes are analyzed through the lived experiences of people in concrete locations (Eriksen, 2016a).[25]

The anthropological lens in studying globalization is on concrete places, cultures and societies as they deal with the global changes that come their way. In my dissertation, I focus primarily on the strategies developed by EFL teachers toward teaching the global language and how they negotiate between its complex hegemonic and enabling positioning. In my approach I reflect more generally on the cultural dimensions of globalization and on the ways language functions as a cultural tool of the increasing global interconnectedness. I pay attention to the mechanisms by which culture travels through global *scapes* and how local cultures adapt, and redefine as a result of this process. Globalization is also not just a flow from the West to the rest; circuits of culture circumvent the West and link the countries of the periphery with one another.

### 2.1.4. WORLD ENGLISHES

The traffic of cultures has implications for the speaking of English all over the world, by many cultures and populations. The language is vigorous and creative; its vibrancy is also due to the fact that so many people are speaking it, in many different situations. On the other

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[25] Ulf Hannerz writes in his 1996 book, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*: "Globalization, all this goes to say, is not brand new, it can move back and forth, it comes in many kinds, it is segmented, and it is notoriously uneven; different worlds, different globalizations. For an anthropologist, it is surely often tempting to take on the old responsibility of the slave, whispering in the ear of the grand theorist that 'things are different in the south.' To put it differently again, once in a while at least, globalization has to be brought down to earth" (Hannerz, 1996, p. 18).

hand, when many people are speaking a language, many forces of change act on that language. When speakers of various languages communicate frequently, their languages are likely to influence one another.

In the case of English, there are actually more second-, third- and fourth-language speakers (non-native) than native speakers (*What Are the Top 200 Most Spoken Languages?* 2020). More people have learned English on top of their first language than have learned it as their first language, raising an issue of who controls the language and who decides the standard for the language. Is it the native speakers because it is "their" language, or is it the second-, third- and fourth-language speakers who have learned it and have made it "their" language as well? The question of ownership of a global language becomes interesting: is it owned by the native speakers and do they set the standard, or do the other speakers own it as well?[26] Sex, age, ethnic group, educational background, and other factors influence how a person uses a language. All these elements are affecting English more and more as its function as a world language expands, bringing it into contact with new cultures and social systems. English has contributed hundreds of words to other languages.

Because English has so many different speakers and each group of speakers uses, English in a slightly different and unique way, another interesting implication is the different forces acting on the language in different regions of the world. Over time, the different Englishes may become mutually incomprehensible. A good example here is Latin, which started as a single language but then spread and over time, in each region where it was used, developed into a distinct language. These languages eventually became mutually largely incomprehensible. Such is the case of Latin which gave rise to distinct Romance languages, including Italian, Spanish or French.

With English such variations are noticeable in different parts of the world where different dialects of English are used and function as a new medium of communication. The notion of *World Englishes* (Maurais & Morris, 2003, p. 217) or *New Englishes* (Crystal, 2003, pp. 140-147), implies that there is not only one English but multiple *Englishes* as "speakers of different World *Englishes* employ features of English to express their cultural conceptualizations and worldviews" (Clyne & Sharifian, 2008, p. 288). *World Englishes* recognize and give space to the socio-cultural and linguistic diversity globally. They imply

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[26] English as a *lingua franca* in a globalized world raises concerns about English-language proficiency: what is it? How to measure it? Who should have to demonstrate it?

that people learn languages in their own contexts. Ryuko Kubota notes that when people from diverse countries of origin interact, they communicate in English with a wide range of fluency that frequently differs from "standard English" in pronunciation, lexis, expression and grammar (Kubota, 2001).

Braj Kachru emphasizes that because of its world spread, "formally and functionally, English now has multicultural identities. The term 'English' does not capture this sociolinguistic reality; the term *Englishes* does" (Kachru, 1992, p. 357). The term *World Englishes* is now used to describe the nativized and distinct varieties of English spoken in non-native-speaking countries. David Crystal articulates a summary of the emergence of *New Englishes* when he writes, "when a country becomes independent, there is a natural reaction to leave behind the linguistic character imposed by its colonial past, and to look for indigenous languages to provide a symbol of new nationhood" (Crystal, 2003, p. 145). Speakers can identify one other by accent, choice of vocabulary and way of speaking, and the adapted English reflects their personalities and respective cultural settings.

In 1985 Kachru developed a "Three-Circle Model of World Englishes." Using three concentric circles, he represented the expansion of English in terms of:

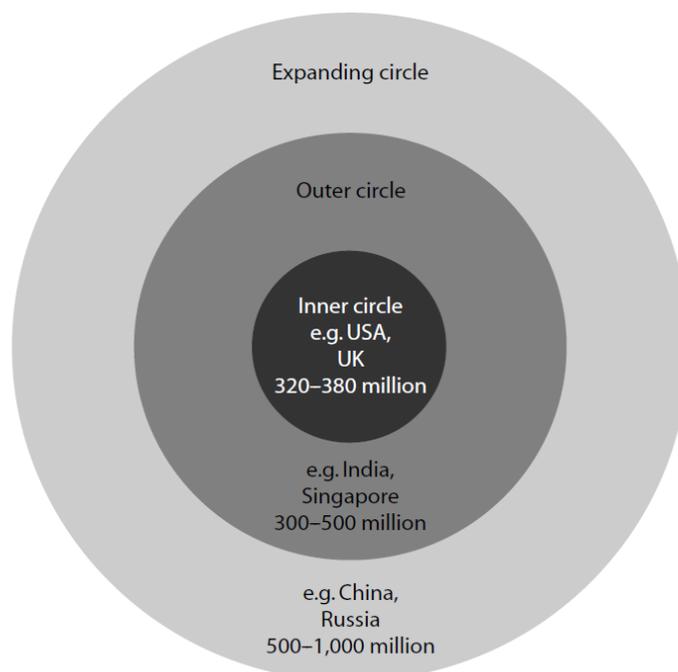- The inner circle;
- The outer circle;
- The expanding circle.



**FIGURE 7: THREE-CIRCLE MODEL OF WORLD ENGLISHES**
(Adapted from Crystal, 2003, p. 61)

In the inner circle (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), English is the native language. People have its native accent; it comes free and naturally in child's environment in which they grow up. These are the countries where English functions as the dominant language. It is important to note here that native English-speakers have little enthusiasm to learn other languages because their native language is in power and is a functional language in today's world. Most native speakers of English are monolinguals (Sigsbee, 2002).

The outer circle (Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia) includes countries that were previously colonized by Great Britain or later by the United States (for example, the Philippines). Some, but not all, of the people in these countries speak English. For some, it may be their mother tongue, while for others it is their second language. It is taught as a second language (ESL) or is the second language mainly because of its legacy from colonial times, when English was a language of communication. People learn it because it is still the language of, for example, education, media, legislation and administration. As in India, it becomes the associate official language.[27] Many countries in the outer circle had formed or were in the process of adopting localized rules of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation around the time Kachru was writing — the 1980s and 1990s.

Finally, there is the expanding circle, and in these countries – China, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Russia, Zimbabwe, and most European countries – English is typically learned in school as a foreign language. Speakers in these

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[27] Colonization by the British and subsequent use of English language by locals as well as diaspora led to the rise of Indian register English. From being the language of the colonial masters and hegemonic control in the field of education, it is now increasingly referred to as 'one of many Indian languages'. Today, it is taught as a second language in India and is the associated official language. English language is firmly part of the cultural imagery across the country. The emergence of various *Englishes* also has implications at the school level in terms of curriculum design, materials development, and pedagogical decisions. Indian English is abundantly used by students of English language to express, write, and inform themselves about various subjects. Most notable is the departure from colonial texts to adoption of translated texts, indigenous examples, as well as writing by Indian diaspora. With increased focus on meaning over structure and form, various forms of spoken Indian English are flourishing. Multilingualism is both a resource and a strategy in a classroom that allows space for various *Englishes*. The communicative approach to teach English looks at non-literary genres and use of English therein besides literary canons. It accounts for the socio-cultural ecologies of learners and regards multi-lingual influences on the language as sources of authentic inputs to be used in the classroom. It enables a rethinking of the purpose, function, and methodology of teaching languages in dynamic and ever-expanding contexts. Using references from Indian English is in many ways synonymous with the technique of relating the home language to the school language because the learners' linguistic environment may comprise of Indian English(es). In this manner, there is movement towards the target English norm without intimidating or alienating the Indian English speaker. (Prof. Kirti Kapur, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, India, at B-MEIS Webinar: World Englishes: Diversity, Contexts and Cultures, 2021).

countries frequently use English for a variety of purposes, including international business, media consumption and diplomatic communication. This circle is expanding as English becomes more and more a global language. Since it is easier to interact in English for business purposes, effective communication and tourism, people from countries like China or Russia are also learning it. With the expanding outer circle, the number of English-speakers has surpassed 1 billion.

The model helps document and understand the spread of English from a core set of countries. It helps conceptualize different contexts for mapping the historical patterns of English's spread, whether through colonialism or later trade.

Unique versions of the language already exist – for example, in forms like *Singlish* (Singapore English) or *Taglish* (a mixture of Tagalog and English), Nigerian English, Jamaican English and Malaysian English (Maurais & Morris, 2003, p. 221; McKay, 2018, p. 10).[28]

*World Englishes* express the concept of the English language as a global means of communication in a variety of dialects. *World Englishes* or *New Englishes* can be fascinating to study because each of the different Englishes, demonstrates its own unique characteristics. These may be seen at the level of vocabulary as well as grammar and phonology (accent and pronunciation).[29] Speech varieties of marginalized groups are often stigmatized, while those spoken by the dominant groups are approved. However, nonstandard varieties are actually as grammatical and consistent as the standard ones. For example, attitudes toward African-American English have not been positive; it is often evaluated as illegitimate, ignorant, improper, wrong or bad. But it is not bad; it is just different. It has its own rules and features that are systematic as well.[30] In the United States, for example, the negative effects of

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[28] For more information, see International Association for World Englishes Inc., www.iaweworks.org.

[29] In Australian English, for example, a characteristic lexical feature is the addition of an "o" to an abbreviated world. In Australian, particularly spoken register, we hear the word "journo," "arvo," "muso," and "ambo," meaning "journalist," "afternoon," "musician" and "ambulance driver" (Burridge, 2010). In Sri Lankan English there are ellipses of certain words that would ordinarily be expected, as in these examples: "They hardly know that there's a community called Eurasians. Most of them have migrated. [There is] Just a handful here." Or "Where dressing is concerned also [there is] no place at all now" (Mendis & Rambukwella, 2010). Phonological features of Hong Kong English shows minimal distinction between long and short vowels (e.g., *heat-hit,* both realized as /i/) (Hung, 2000).

[30] For example, in 1996, the school board in Oakland, Calif., proposed that the poor educational performance of its African-American students be remedied by application of a program "to move students from the language patterns they bring to school to English proficiency"(Reyes, 2010, p. 407).

linguistic profiling may be seen in the practice of denying housing or employment to people based on stereotypes associated with their dialect and/or accent.

Codification is increasingly being used to indigenize and legitimate the outer-circle variants (creation of dictionaries, acceptance in educational settings). Similar patterns are emerging in the expanding circle (e.g., Chinese English, Korean English). However, in the specific contexts in which speakers communicate, they build up their own rules and norms. As Suresh Canagarajah puts it, English is "intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction (…) negotiated by each set of speakers for their purposes" (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 926).

The era of globalization, according to Canagarajah, is characterized by multilateral interaction between communities and "porous" national borders. Languages, cultures and societies have become hybridized (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 231) as a result of greater mobility around the world and essentially a lot of movement among all these different circles in Kachru's model. These conditions have resulted in new complexities of language use.
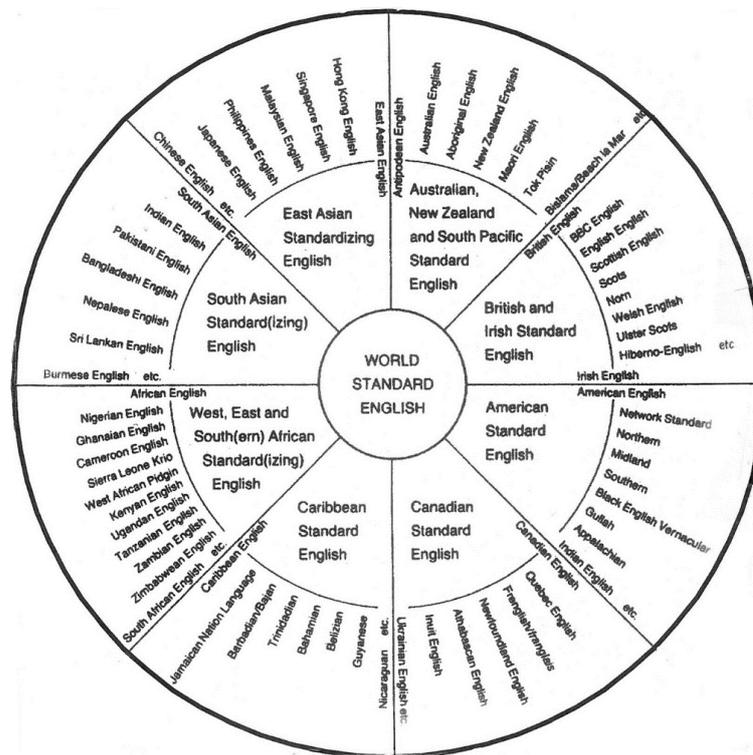


**FIGURE 8: TOM MCARTHUR'S MODEL OF WORLD ENGLISHES, 1998**
(Adapted from Tam, 2019, p. 139)

Given the increasing number of English-speakers, the likelihood of the language's users around the world meeting and conversing is higher than that of meeting and conversing with native speakers who represent the standardized model of English. A person's financial,

educational or social status may be instinctively judged based on an accent or dialect, thus leading to discrimination. Linguistic discrimination is based on a cultural and societal preference of one type of language over another. Linguistic discrimination fosters the notion that one (dominant) linguistic form is more prestigious than another. These notions are accepted as being normal. But they are not normal; they are hegemonic. Linguistic discrimination may be seen and practiced in culture, education, the media and politics, and it leads to inequity and inequality between those who speak the prevailing language and those who do not. The dominant language is usually learned at the expense of others (Phillipson, 2012). Speakers with certain accents may face discrimination.[31] Depending on the cultural setting, some accents are more prestigious than others. General American (a variant linked with the privileged white middle class) is frequently preferred in the United States (for example. in journalism). In the United Kingdom, a standard form of British English is associated with high social class and thus more desirable. Having an American or British accent creates many job opportunities for those who can teach it while at the same time allowing others to consume it as learners.

But language can also unite ethnic minorities. Latinos in the U.S., for instance, are united by their common linguistic heritage, Spanish. Latino English variations play a significant role in the formation of Latino ethnic identity. Chicano English is an ethnolect (Latino English) variety spoken primarily by Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. It arose from language contact between Spanish and English variations, but it is currently considered an ethnic dialect of English because it is taught as a first language — Creole. (Reyes, 2010, pp. 407-408).

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[31] Heather Kugelmass studied whether the way spoke determined their access to mental health care. She conducted an experiment in which actors across New York City called different therapists and left voicemails requesting appointments. The actors had identical symptoms and the same insurance coverage, and they requested appointments in the same timeslot. They differed in vocabulary, grammar, accent and their names. Each speaker sounded like a middle-class or working-class caller. Three hundred psychotherapists each received two voice messages. It was found that the middle-class voice was offered appointments at a rate almost three times higher than the working-class voice. Within those middle-class voices, those with white-sounding names were more likely to get appointments than callers with black-sounding names (Kugelmass, 2016).

In a Canadian study, Tracey Derwing asked hundred immigrants, ESL students in a community college in Edmonton: What do you think of your accent? How do you feel about your accent? Some students showed *lingua franca* ideology by saying: "They do not pay attention to you if your English is not good." "They do not listen as carefully to people who have an accent." "When I work for a company, my colleagues do not understand. They joke. I feel very bad very often. Accent is more important than race." "Sometimes people choose not to understand." Discrimination against accents seems to be even bigger than discrimination against race (Derwing, 2003).

There is no ethnically unique form of English spoken by Asian-Americans. They can, however, employ English to build complicated ethnic identities, including nonstandard variants such as African-American English. (Chun, 2001).

According to research, sociolinguists are more interested in how whiteness is ideologically formed than in whether European-Americans have a distinct dialect (Reyes, 2010, p. 411). Scholars argue that standard English or whiteness alone maintains its power through its absence. Whiteness has also been connected to linguistic variables, such as speaking standard English, and social factors, such as being middle-class and educated. Whiteness is defined in terms of racial ideologies that link whites to standard English and nonwhites to nonstandard English. (Reyes, 2010, p. 412).

Language is an example of what Ulf Hannerz refers to as creolization as a feature of globalization (Hannerz, 1996, pp. 65–78). Creolization is a process by which Creole cultures evolve as a result of colonialism in the New World. The term is traditionally, though not exclusively, used to refer to the Caribbean, and it may be further extended to the representatives of other diasporas. Creolization happens when people intentionally choose cultural elements to incorporate into their own culture. According to Robin Cohen, it is a process in which new identities and inherited culture evolve to become distinct from those of the original cultures, and then are creatively blended to produce new kinds that replace the previous forms. (Cohen, 2007). Globalization has resulted in the emergence of entirely new cultural forms in the transnational space remapping of the world's regions.

### 2.1.5. TIME AND SPACE COMPRESSION

Societies (and cultures) are bound by economy, symbols, products, ideas and information that circulate around the world. David Harvey refers to *time space compression* to describe the global process (Harvey, 1989). Globalization has changed people's sense of time and space and compresses those aspects of social relations (Mittelman, 2000). Distances between nation-states and continents are shrinking, and spatial distance is becoming less and less important. In the words of Paulo Virilio, "continents have lost their geographical foundations and been supplanted by the telecontinents of a global communication system which has become quasi-instantaneous" (Schirato & Webb, 2003, p. 68), Because of communication technology's rapidity, "we are seeing an end of geography" (Schirato & Webb, 2003, p. 45) and "here no longer exists; everything is now" (Schirato & Webb, 2003, p. 68). Zygmunt Bauman stresses that what has been called distance is no longer an objective

given by its physical nature. Distance has become a social product: "its length varies depending on the speed with which it may be overcome (and, in a monetary economy, on the cost involved in the attainment of that speed). All other socially produced factors of constitution, separation and the maintenance of collective identities – like state borders or cultural barriers – seem in retrospect merely secondary effects of that speed" (Bauman, 2009, p. 12).

The boundaries between frontiers and nations and continents have restructured space. The world has become interconnected by transnational processes and flows. Arjun Appadurai called this global condition "modernity at large" (Appadurai, 1996) emphasizing the cultural dynamics of the process in which culture has become deterritorialized – unhinged from its original location and reterritorialized in places to which it travelled (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, pp. 14-15). Globalization has forced anthropologists to critically deconstruct their traditional definition of culture as no longer tied to particular places. Akhil Gupta and James Fergusson, for example, criticize anthropological conceptions of culture for this tendency to conflate culture with space and identity and to ignore the fact that cultures and identities are not bound to specific territory and internal variation as well as hybridity are predominant: "In the pulverized space of postmodernity, space has not become irrelevant: it has been reterritorialized in a way that does not conform to the experience of space that characterized the era of high modernity. It is this reterritorialization of space that forces us to reconceptualize fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity, and cultural difference" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, p. 37). Deterritorialization thus expresses this category of instability and incongruence between space, territory, place, culture and identity. Flows of people, money, images and ideas follow paths of less and less isomorphic character. These flows seem to be increasing in their intensity and they are multidirectional. The same media and technologies that lead to flows of culture from the Global North to the Global South have also been used to disseminate local cultures worldwide.

Inda and Rosaldo capture this movement with the neologism *de/territorialization*. The term defines at once "the lifting of cultural subjects and objects from fixed spatial locations and their relocalization in new cultural settings. It refers to processes that simultaneously transcend territorial boundaries and have territorial significance" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 14). Culture becomes mobile and reinscribed in specific cultural environments. Culture no longer necessarily belongs in a specific place, but "continues to have territorialized existence, albeit a rather unstable one" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 14).

James Clifford refers to "travelling cultures" (Clifford, 1992). He notes that globalization, now more than ever, promotes people's physical mobility. The "exotic," Clifford says, "is uncannily close." On the other hand, modern forms of media and products of technology are present everywhere. Even in the most remote locations, their existence can be seen and felt. Global events have reached the most distant locations.[32] People are extensively experiencing travel, physically or in their imagination, through the internet. They encounter the "exotic" but also find familiar items in their exploration of the ends of the earth. (Clifford, 1988, pp. 13-14).

The mobility of social groups changes local cultures and makes the idea of deterritorialization real. The modern world is full of communities on the move.

### 2.1.6. GLOBAL VERSUS LOCAL

Globalization inherently affects local cultures and societies; it deterritorializes and reterritorializes them (Appadurai, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Schuerkens, 2003; Tomlinson, 1991). In my research, I pay attention to the local contexts of globalization. Local conditions are becoming part of a wider global plane, and global trends are transforming individual lives. The world is shrinking or we may be witnessing the "end of geography" (O'Brien, 1992). The global dimension becomes important in relation to local conditions, and vice versa. Local cultures interact with global influences. In reaction to global interactions and increasing value of international ties, local traditions intensify. A turn to traditional symbols and behaviors and integration of cultures proceeds simultaneously with the spread of differences (Schuerkens, 2004, pp. 21–22). Global diversity can actually strengthen local identities and traditions (Hannerz, 1996, p. 57). The emergence of these tendencies may be explained by a number of variables. Local groups may perceive global influences or relationships as a threat to their own cultures. The speed and size of change and the complexity of the global systems can intensify and strengthen the desire for stability. Appealing to local values in seeking stability is a way of standing up to globalization and homogenization. However, as Schuerkens notes, another tendency needs to be considered: "the worldwide development of a new cultural self-confidence." This cultural self-confidence is developing, Schuerkens argues, because the global recognition of culture and its elements,

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[32] As of March 15, 2022, WHO reports indicated that only eight areas of the world remain free of Covid-19: six small islands in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and North Korea and Turkmenistan, which have not officially acknowledged any cases of the infection. Retrieved Mar. 15, 2022, from: covid19.who.int/table.

along with the global spread of values and ideas, makes them a general trend. The spread of universal values accompanies the process of worldwide recognition of the right to one's own culture and cultural self-determination. Schuerkens acknowledges that the *ideoscapes* analyzed by Appadurai prove that the current process of globalization strengthens the flows of ideas and values (Schuerkens, 2004, p. 22).

Thanks to globalization, it is easy to hear and learn about differences, intercultural connections and cultures from the most distant parts of the world. More than cultural homogeneity, the world system today creates – on a global scale – a diversity based on interrelationships and interconnectedness. This diversity is experienced today on a mass scale, fostering a constant clash between global and local trends. In this context, the coexistence and intertwining of different forms of life and cultures becomes the essence of globalization and is the *sine qua non* of this process.

According to Roland Robertson, globalization ties together several spheres of human activity: individual, local, national and worldwide. His general argument is that globalization increasingly involves these four elements of the global-human condition or field, rather than the world-system, with any one of these constrained by the other three. For example, he writes that individuals are constrained as members of societies, and of "an increasingly thematized and endangered human species." Thus globalization consists of "interpenetrating processes of socialization, individualization, the consolidation of the international system of societies, and the concretization of the sense of humankind" (Robertson, 1992, p. 104).

To describe this argument, Robertson compounds two terms – *globalization* and *localization* – and creates a neologism *glocalization* (Robertson, 1992, pp. 173-174) to stress the paradox of globalization, which happens and acts locally and affects local cultures just as these local cultures leave a footprint on it. The term describes the adaptation of global ideas into locally palatable forms (Sharma, 2009). Globalization universalizes forces of global modernity and at the same time promotes desire for local autonomy. It is a process of standardization and simplification of things, but it clashes with people defending local values, practices and relationships, including local languages and ways of life that are different from the universal vision. As Eriksen reminds us: "Globalization does not lead to global homogeneity, but highlights a tension, typical of modernity, between the system world and the life world, between the standardized and the unique, the universal and the particular" (Eriksen, 2016b, p. 2).

Inspired by these scholars, in my dissertation I trace forces of globalization framed as they are in lives of specific people in specific places. Local recipients of global culture often interpret and ascribe their own meanings to the global forms and find ways to adopt foreign ideas to the local conditions. For example, the same TV series broadcast in different countries may be received in different ways and evoke extremely different attitudes among its recipients (Tomlinson, 1991, pp. 45-50; Barker, 2016, pp. 431-32). Around the world, culture becomes unified only in its superficial manifestations, while diversity flourishes in its deeper layers. Even the same characters in popular culture can carry a variety of different symbolic meanings for different audiences (Tomlinson, 1991, pp. 41-45, 50-57; Barker, 2016, pp. 437-438).

Globalization triggers interdependence among different cultures, thus creating a space in which the experience of diversity and otherness in the world becomes more common and transparent. It creates a world of movement and mobility, whereby "all of us are, willy-nilly, by design or by default, on the move. We are on the move even if, physically, we stay put: immobility is not a realistic option in a world of permanent change" (Bauman, 2009, p. 2).

In this dissertation I focus on four overarching themes that I see as informative of globalization:

- How culture travels through global scapes;
- How culture becomes de/territorialized;
- How language functions as a cultural tool of increasing global interconnectedness;
- How concrete people in concrete locations negotiate the changing conditions of their life worlds as they are affected by globalization.

The anthropological perspective on globalization allows the study of local manifestations of global processes. Focusing on the local, I aim to show the contradictions of the global.

## 2.2. ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

Some theories describe language as a vehicle of culture and assume that language has an impact on people's perception of the world. The relationship between language and

thought has received attention in various academic fields, from philosophy to psychology to anthropology. Several possible relationships between language and society have emerged.

My research examines the cultural aspects of language teaching and learning, and I try to understand how social and cultural processes are negotiated in significant part by language. I am particularly interested in two areas: how language affects culture, and how language and culture are intertwined. Clear explanations in this regard are provided by anthropologists of education and linguistic anthropologists who investigate the connection between language and culture and the ways in which language use can constitute aspects of culture and identity. They study language in its social and cultural context (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011; González, 2010; McCarty & Warhol, 2011; Wortham & Reyes, 2011). Anthropologists argue that language shapes culture and affects cognition, causing the language spoken to affect how one thinks about different concepts. A classic example illustrating this comes from Benjamin Lee Whorf and his work on differences between English and Hopi languages. He particularly focused on the concept of time and how it is understood and used in both languages. The Native American tribe (Hopi) treats cycles of time as recurrent events, while speakers of English (and European languages) treat these cycles as object-like, as though they can be measured. Whorf is also a coauthor of a hypothesis stating that different languages produce different ways of thinking (Lucy, 1997, pp. 294-297). The hypothesis holds that the structure of a language influences its speakers' worldview or cognition, and that people's perceptions are thus influenced by the language they use. Sapir argued that people's perception of the "real world" is largely conditioned by the linguistic system they use; language and thought are intertwined. He assumed that the physical world could not be experienced except through language. This concept is similar to linguistic determinism, which states that language and its patterns affect human knowledge and thought, as well as mental processes like categorization, memory and perception. It suggests that people's mental processes depend on their mother tongues (Hickmann, 2000).[33] A language has power to determine one's worldview, as most people's lives now are happening in language and we associate language with thought.

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[33] Based on this hypothesis, Chen conduced a study to test whether the language people speak affects their savings. He tested weather languages that grammatically differentiate between the present and future tense make their speakers feel that the future is still somewhat far away and thus postpone saving, exercising, quitting smoking, adhering to healthy habits, etc. and vice versa. He discovered that people who use languages such as German save more money, retire with more money, smoke less, have safer sex, and are less obese. This is also true, when comparing demographically similar native households between countries and across countries. (Chen, 2013).

Language and society influence each other. Norma González explains in her book chapter *Advocacy Anthropology and Education. Working Through the Binaries* that anthropologists of education seek to understand the social and cultural organization of teaching and learning. Recognizing that teaching and learning practices are rooted within social processes, they therefore explain that theoretical questions are not sufficient in researching the topic. They must ask applied questions within social and political contexts (González, 2010, p. 249). González further acknowledges that the anthropolitical perspective on language education does not treat language and schooling as neutral encounters, and that "both are implicated within contested and contesting discourses of power" (González, 2010, p. 256).

Language constitutes and is constituted by social relations in a cultural context (Wortham, 2008; Wortham & Reyes, 2011). The way a person speaks may determine his or her social class. An important concept for educational research is a concept of *language ideology*, defined by Jan Blommaert as "socially, culturally, and historically conditioned ideas, images, and perceptions about language and communication" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 253).

Language ideology "shows how language in use both shapes and is shaped by larger power relations" (Wortham, 2008, p. 101). In his research, Wortham looks at language-learning in educational institutions and demonstrates how language is used to reinforce certain ideas and groups of people. He says teachers and classmates, by speaking and writing, make students think about language in certain ways. Apart from content, they signal the unspoken and unwritten affiliations with social groups. According to Wortham, these affiliations, most of them created in educational environments and by educational institutions, "can shape students' life trajectories and influence how they learn subject matter" (Wortham, 2008, p. 93).

Language ideology is a preconceived notion about language and how it connects with the social world and how it connects with culture (Wortham, 2001). Particularly relevant to my research is how language ideology affects language learning and teaching. Language learners should recognize their own communities' ideologies and those of the culture whose language they are learning. In other words, learning a foreign language is potentially a subconscious way to put the language's dominant patterns and ideologies onto that person speech. When people learn a new language, at first they are accessing a new grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. Native speakers of a target language have also history, culture,

religion, politics, things that affect the way they speak and how they think about different things. How people relate to themselves is related to the language or languages they are proficient in or use. A language is a connection between one's identity and a medium of communication. (Block, 2014). Every language brings many more elements than the sounds. Language is not just a means of communication but also a key aspect of identity. It is through language that one becomes a member of a community that speaks that language. The more one master a language the more powerful his or her connection with that community is. Language education is intervolved with learners' and teachers' identities. To learn a language itself not only means getting to know its system of symbols and signs, but also involves complex and complicated social relations (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 115). Language plays an important role in determining an individual's identity. It can be used to associate someone with a specific social status, ethnicity, nationality or gender. People who identify with a certain group frequently speak in a similar dialect. People communicate thoughts, as well as the cultural values and practices of the communities to which they belong: families, social groups, and other organizations, when they speak a language. Each community has its own language that conveys its people's thoughts, values and attitudes.

In my research, I build on this notion and see how a language-learner acquires not only language skills, but accesses and assimilates that language's worldview. Identifying and mastering the understanding of the worldview is the key to reaching native level of language knowledge. It is ability to use language in appropriate ways within particular social context. Being able to use the right language style, to choose the right words in the right situations, to answer questions or even to tell jokes. That process is well described in Irvine and Gal's *Regimes of Language* (2000). They say people's cultural images and activities are reflected in the ways they communicate. The specific linguistic features express the images in a broader context. Adding that "participants' ideologies about language locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioural, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed" (cited in: Blommaert, 2005, p. 171), the authors explain that people behave in relation to linguistic differences represented in, and constructed by, ideologies. Through various ideological constructions, links between speakers become the base for building other relations.

An explanatory quotation come from Gee, who illustrates how language in a social context reveals much more about people than their proficiency in using English. Perfectly grammatical usage of English is sometimes wrong or inappropriate. For example, in a bar

where leather-jacketed motorcyclists meet, nobody would ask, "May I have a match for my cigarette, please?" This way of asking the question is correct, but not appropriate to the situation. 'Got a match?' or "Give me a light, wouldya?' would be more proper when turning to a biker buddy. Gee goes further in his explanation and points out that not only words but also actions are important in the speech context. While saying the "right" thing ("Got a match?' or "Give me a light, wouldya?"), a person cannot carefully wipe off the bar stool with a napkin to keep newly pressed designer jeans clean; it is not something a motorcyclist in a bar would do. The combination of spoken language and body language matters: "It's not just what you say or even just how you say it, it's also who you are and what you're doing while you say it. It is not enough just to say the right 'lines'" (Gee, 2008, pp. 2-3).

The teaching and learning of languages does not include the transfer of a closed system of knowledge. Learners acquire a language knowledge not only by learning vocabulary but also by using words appropriately in a context and a changing environment. While learning, they expand and change their language resources. The process of language-learning relies on constant adaptation and enactment to language usage patterns, not on assimilating linguistic forms from teachers or textbooks. Communicative situations are dynamic, and the combined meaning of speech and actions guarantees the right quality of a conversation (Larsen-Freeman, 2012, p. 211).

## 2.3.    HEGEMONY

My dissertation's conceptual framework is also informed by the Antonio Gramsci's concept of *hegemony* (Ives, 2010; Manojan, 2019; Mayo, 2010, 2015) discussed in his collection of writings, *The Prison Notebooks*.[34] In his essays, Gramsci reflects and theorizes a wide range of topics, including Italian history, culture, education, literature and language. Foremost, he concentrates on politics and the concept of hegemony.

Gramsci's understanding of hegemony may be described as an event in which certain social groups exercise their moral and intellectual authority over others, imposing certain interpretative frameworks on them as official ways of understanding the reality and visions of how a community should look (Gramsci et al., 1971). In other words, hegemony is a state of

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[34] *The Prison Notebooks* were written by Gramsci from 1929 to 1935, and first translated and published in English in 1971 by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith in their edited "Selections from the Prison Notebooks" (Gramsci et al., 1971).

acquiescence by the greater part of a society to the values, beliefs, ideology, symbols and interests of dominant groups. By the subjective consent of the minority, hegemony legitimates the dominant group and enables the smooth and efficient practice of dominant policies.

At this point, it is important to emphasize the difference between hegemony and dominance.[35] A regime can work through either dominance or hegemony (Grundy, 2012, p. 4). Dominance, as explained by Gramsci, is a direct physical coercion executed by the state that can be implemented through brutal forces – for example, the police, justice system and military. However, as he points out, most of the time a political regime does not rely on domination, but rather uses hegemony as a system of control: "Hegemony is not an act of coercion or physical torture but rather the process of winning consent from subordinating classes wherein they eventually internalize and subsume their oppression without being aware of the intentions of those interests" (Manojan, 2019, p. 134). The strongest states, according to him, are not those that act through violence, but those that sustain themselves mainly though hegemony.

People's willing consent and ideological control are used to construct a hegemonic regime. The consent is obtained by the dominant regime through the organization of cultural life. As Manojan explains, two forms of culture – dominant culture and subordinate culture – are important for cultural hegemony. In both forms the ideological function plays a decisive role (Manojan, 2019, p. 134). A hegemonic system operates on the cultural level, and thus it needs specific symbols and narratives to legitimize its authority over subordinated groups effectively.

Cultural hegemony is an answer to a question of how, in a given society, ideological means, education, religion and language can be used to convince people that it is in their best interest to follow the laws and believe in the regime. Dominant cultural forms control material productions and associated spheres in civil society and uphold the central privilege in a

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[35] These two terms – hegemony and dominance – are very important in postcolonial studies. Most colonial regimes were established through dominance, most often through military dominance. But eventually the colonizers did develop a sort of a hegemonic regime by providing Westernized education and by creating an elite whose interests were connected to the colonizer. Ranajit Guha, in his book *Dominance Without Hegemony. History and Power in Colonial India,* argues that the British Empire never really established a hegemony in India and ruled through dominance. (Guha, 1997) Masood Raja disagrees, writing in *Constructing Pakistan: Foundational Texts and the Rise of Muslim National Identity* that to establish hegemony the British did not need to introduce their system into India, but established the hegemony by incorporating the local elite into their project. The British played with the particularities of the class system and the social system within India to create their hegemonic project (Raja, 2010).

society. Living under the dominant cultures, some spheres of society become subordinate cultures and are described as comparatively inferior cultures. The dominating culture's ideology can develop the subordinating cultures through this process by "moulding the dreams and aspirations of people by projecting and legitimizing certain models against the lifestyle of the subordinate groups." Gramsci calls this point an 'important intellectual moral leadership of the ideology function" (Manojan, 2019, p. 134).

Gramsci clearly separates the political state power and hegemony. The latter occurs in society and does not fall directly under the governing power structures (Mayo, 2014). However, state power cannot be achieved without hegemony, but ideological wins precede the political wins. According to Gramsci, every social group that seeks to come to power should be capable of exercising hegemony over subordinated groups. By hegemony, Gramsci does not mean domination. Hegemony in his terms refers to intellectual leadership exercises over subordinated classes. A strong, powerful civil society stands behind the state, but under the influence of the dominant classes. Gramsci gives Russia and the West as an example. In Russia, there was no civil society, the state was everything. In contrast, in the West, civil society cooperated with the state and was complementary to its official structures when they were not able to act. "The State was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks …" (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 238).

Gramsci believes that the state simultaneously operates on two levels: force and consent, and authority and hegemony. In more developed countries, the state does not use force for everything and is much more sophisticated using other methods, specifically hegemony. According to Gramsci the state in society does not remain a spectator; it actively involves itself in initiating necessary changes in the society that it requires for its development. The state acts as an institution whose most important function is "to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes" (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 258). Hegemony requires that the people voluntarily accept being led by the more powerful class. To win the society's confidence and become hegemonic, the leaders must be willing to compromise the subordinated groups' interests and address their needs and expectations. Hegemony needs to be exercised through education, culture, ideology and language so the people willingly, voluntarily look toward the ruling power to guide them. Control over culture, ideas, values and worldviews is the best way to gain the people's support, and hegemony can be achieved only at a level of the

people's "hearts and minds" (Rasiński, 2012, p. 91). The hegemonic system does not coerce people into following orders but actually convinces them, through the ideological means, that it is in their best interest to accept the existing system of government and take it as normal and natural. The values imposed on a society become the values of that society.

To conclude, dominance, as the word itself states, is any system in which a regime establishes and sustains itself through force – through the force of the law, the police, the military. Hegemony, on the other hand, is more subtle, more ideological and created through a system of education, socialization and context with the community where people willingly consent to be governed.

### 2.3.1. ENGLISH AS A HEGEMONIC LANGUAGE

Language is a type of capital mediated by power relationships (Park, 2011). In my dissertation, I use the concept of hegemony in relation to English language and its world dominance. English is now regarded as a norm in social, educational, economic, political, military and cultural arenas and is at the top of global language hierarchy (Swaan, 2001). As a global language, it serves in communication, trade, travel and entertainment (Guo & Beckett, 2007). Fairclough defines the hegemonic power of a dominant language: "A cultural disorientation forces other critical reflection about the ideological power of language as a tool of cultural imposition" (Fairclough, 1989).

English has become ever more influential because of its expanding importance as the worldwide *lingua franca*. However, the predominant level of involvement (and genuine interest) in English is cultural rather than economic, allowing access to Global North cultural products such as music, cinema and literature. Through rich access the internet, this effect has further expanded to the cultural capital offered by the Global North (Menard-Warwick, 2011).

English is currently the most desired foreign language. It is considered a powerful international language that can help people become part of the globalized world. At this point, it is important to underline that by "hegemony of English language" I mean common acceptance of English as the most important language. This hegemony of English is a result of a historical process resulting from colonization and its aftermath, as well as continuing globalization that enables the language to spread and assume its hegemonic position. That common acceptance of English as a *lingua franca* makes people learn English and acquiesce to hegemonic structures if they want control over their own lives (Ives, 2010, pp. 95-96).

From this approach, Alistair Pennycook derives that English is a danger to other, less popular languages. English proficiency opens paths to wealth and prestige, whether locally or internationally, between nations. Through English, resources of wealth and knowledge are being distributed unequally (Pennycook, 1995, p. 55).

Robert Phillipson, one of the most important scholars working with the issues connected with the English language dominance, acknowledges that this dominance is achieved and strengthened by political powers and structures that reconstruct cultural and structural disparities between English and other languages (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). By *cultural* he means "immaterial or ideological properties (for example attitudes, pedagogic principles)." By *structural* he means "material properties (for example institutions, financial allocations)." In his book *Linguistic Imperialism,* Phillipson asserts that the global spread of English operates on multiple levels. First, it replaces other languages, but second, it also displaces them (Phillipson, 1992, p. 27). According to Phillipson, the linguistic hegemony of English refers to both direct and indirect activities (purposes, values, beliefs) taken by the ELT profession, which maintains and contributes to strengthening the dominant position of English language (Phillipson, 1992, p. 73). He characterized several distinct tenets of linguistic imperialism, including:

1. English is best taught monolingually.
2. The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker.
3. The earlier English is taught, the better the results.
4. The more English is taught, the better the results.
5. If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop (Phillipson, 2009, p. 12).

Linguistic imperialism is a form of linguicism (linguistic discrimination) that favors the dominant language over others. It is the transfer of a dominant language to other people through imperialism. The dominant language is given more resources and infrastructure. People who do not speak English experience vulnerability in being positioned by other as a novices, foreigners and outsiders or not capable speakers.

The global marketing of English depends on keeping the tenets of linguistic imperialism alive in people's minds. When these are put into practice, decisions must be made on a variety of issues, including what type of English should be taught and acquired; what content and form of materials should be offered to learners; what methodology should be

used; who should teach the language, and so on. Furthermore, propaganda processes and agencies would be required to ensure that only those items – whether materials, methodology or human resources – that are in line with these decisions are allowed to compete on the global market. This is how the market is dominated by products that adhere to the parameters of what is referred to as Standard English. As a result, a single global or centralized teaching-learning English package will be projected as being what all learners and teachers around the world require.

As a global and hegemonic language, English has become a currency that can be traded for access to better employment, financial security and social status in various parts of the world. Phillipson underlines that both processes – globalization and the spread of English – are characterized by, and integral to, the modernization phase after the Cold War, capitalism, financial reforms and McDonaldization on all continents. English dominates international diplomacy and trade. World institutions such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization, but also local and regional bodies like the North American Free Trade Agreement and the European Union, strengthen its already privileged position. As the language of military institutions (NATO, U.N. peacekeeping operations, the arms trade) and the medium of global culture and entertainment (Hollywood products, BBC World, CNN, MTV), English has consolidated all dimensions of globalization (Phillipson, 2001, p. 187). Phillipson acknowledges that the global spread of English does not necessarily lead to the global spread of culture and the corporate interests of English-speaking countries, especially the U.K and the U.S. However, he is aware that the expansion of English correlates with hegemonizing processes, and therefore serves "to render the use of English 'natural' and 'normal', and to marginalize other languages" (Phillipson, 2001, p. 191). People learn English rapidly, since it is the chosen language for doing international business; hence every culture seeks to learn English while putting minimal effort into studying its local or original language. As the dominant language spreads, so does the dominant culture.

There is clearly a link between the global economic, cultural, and political impact of the United States and the U.K. and the growing popularity of English in many nations today. In *the Ecology of Languages paradigm,* Phillipson offers an alternative to what he calls *the diffusion of English paradigm*. That alternative rests on diversity of cultures and languages; it gives equal opportunities to speakers of various languages and representatives of all cultures, which can be achieved by using the human rights system, not the "free" market system.

However, the effort to introduce *the Ecology of Languages* requires engagement of all levels, from local to global (Phillipson, 2001, p. 193).

In 2015 David Cristal stated in his article "A World of Languages – and Language Houses" (Crystal, 2015) that around one-third of the world's population (2.61 billion) used English, either as native speakers or as a second or foreign language. Mother-tongue English-speakers accounted for only 400 million people (15%). English-speakers whose native language is not English "outnumber native-speakers in ratio of some 5 to 1" (Crystal, 2015, p. 108).[36] McCrum, Cran and MacNeil in *The Story of English* (1992) call English not only a global language but also the language of the planet (McCrum et al., 1992, p. 10). For Abram De Swaan, the spread of English has been unplanned and is an effect of unintended decisions made by billions of people worldwide. (De Swaan, 2001, pp. 141-142). As Alistair Pennycook states, the process has been taken by people as not only natural and neutral but also, and most important, as beneficial (Pennycook, 1995, p. 54).

Peter Ives disagrees, explaining that there is nothing natural or neutral about the fact that everybody wants to learn and speak English. It is a good illustration of what Gramsci understood by the willing consent of people in the course of hegemonic practices. People, organizations or even states, seemingly freely, choose to communicate in English, taking it as an innocent way to connect with speakers of other languages. But they do not see the unequal power relations behind learning, teaching or helping English spread (Ives, 2010, p. 79). Ives underlines the importance of Gramsci's description of the concept of hegemony and its role in explaining global transition to English (Ives, 2010, p. 80).

Gramsci himself was a strong advocate for creating a universal language – at first because he saw a pressing need for Italian language to become a standardized language, as the number of dialects used by Italian people prevented the country from becoming a successful nation-state (Ives, 2010). He also saw it as an instrument to broaden people's worldviews. For Gramsci, a conception of the world or of a culture for someone who speaks only a dialect or only one language would be very limited and provincial. Through a language, people express their culture and its values. People expand their thinking about a conception of the world by speaking more languages or by mastering the standard language (spoken by the majority). In his case, the standard language was Italian, but nowadays, no one can contest that greater or

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[36] The same author writes in his 1997 book *English as a Global Language* that there were only 5 million to 7 million English-speakers in the world toward the end of the 16th century but 250 million English language speakers in 1952 (Crystal, 2003).

lesser conception of a worldview is supported by knowing or not knowing English (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 325).

The context in which English is becoming a universal language is different, but as Phillipson writes, governments of English-speaking countries, especially the U.S and the U.K., by creating policies that promote English, are aiming to maintain its global and dominant position (Phillipson, 2007, p. 378).

The British and U.S. governments make very conscious choices about promoting English outside their borders and have been well aware of the language's significance. The United Kingdom has the institution of The British Council, which promotes the use of English and its culture all over the world. The British Council's mission from its origin (1934) has been "promoting a wider knowledge of [the U.K.] and the English language abroad and developing closer cultural relations between [the U.K.] and other countries."[37] The U.S. State Department finances similar initiatives through government funding. Its American English Center is a resource for teaching and learning about American English language and culture.[38]

The words of a high representative of the British Council are a good illustration of where English-language hegemony comes from and in what it is being manifested. In the early 1980s, in *The British Council Annual Report*, its chairman admitted that Britain no longer possessed the power and influence it had once had in the world. Britain's military and

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[37] www.britishcouncil.org/about-us/history; Retrieved Oct. 6, 2020.

The British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher opposed the LINGUA program of the European Community in 1989 and tried to stop it. The LINGUA program was established to promote foreign languages such as Swedish, Dutch and Danish in the European Community. Thatcher stated that the program was of no use to the U.K. (Ostergren & Le Bossé, 2011, p. 180).

[38] americanenglish.state.gov; Retrieved Oct. 6, 2020.

Donald J. Trump, during the U.S. presidential campaign in 2015 and 2016, often repeated: "In the United States you have to speak English" or "This is a country where we speak English. It's English. You have to speak English!" His message was clear: if you are in this country, you have to speak its language. His "English only" movement was directed mainly to limiting Spanish-speaking in the U.S. As the country has no official language, his demands had no legal basis (CNN, 2015). The enforced "English only" policy "eliminates use of the immigrant's native language (…) Hence, through this racialized, hegemonic practice the language policies and programs serve to reinforce their marginalized status in the hostile labour market environment" (Gold & Nawyn, 2019, p. 334);

"More than a decade ago, Hornberger (2002) noted that the one language-one nation ideology of language policy and national identity was still holding tremendous sway despite the increase of multilingualism. Fifteen years later, it is evident that the status quo has not changed and many countries still adopt homogeneous language policies. Several countries instrumentally use immigration and language policies to practice power in their political discourse that reaffirms the dominance of local citizens and the supremacy of the national language and culture. The suspension of the U.S. refugee programs and banning entry of individuals from seven Muslim-majority countries ordered by the U.S. President Donald Trump in January 2017 will no doubt continue to fuel the normative language policies and ideologies" (Gold & Nawyn, 2019, p. 334).

economic resources were no longer enough to impose its will on other states. But, the chairman added, because its mother tongue, English, had become the *lingua franca* of science, technology and commerce worldwide and because of the world's unquenchable demand for English education, it would be Britain's new weapon. The language – the new arm – could be introduced by initiatives either through the education systems in various countries or on a commercial basis. The chairman wrote: "Our language is our greatest asset, greater than North Sea Oil, and the supply is inexhaustible; furthermore, while we do not have a monopoly, our particular brand remains highly sought after. I am glad to say that those who guide the fortunes of this country share my conviction in the need to invest in, and exploit to the full, this invisible, God-given asset" (cited in Phillipson 1992, pp. 144-145).[39] [40]

Similar statement may be found in the British Council Annual Report from just a few years later (1987-88). There, the chairman repeated the strong comparison that for many countries the English language was the real black gold, like North Sea oil: "It has long been at the root of our cultures and now is fast becoming the global language of business and information. The challenge facing us is to exploit it the full."[41]

In this regard, two quotations from Gramsci and the "Selections from Cultural and Political Writings" (1985) need to be highlighted, as they may be applied to arguments in favor of English as a global language and to emphasize the common consent of language shift to English. The high (Gramsci call it *endless*) number of various languages and dialects used by people all over the world limits the possibility of direct communication with one another. This simple fact advocates for one language to become a global language to enable undisturbed communication among all humans. But, as Gramsci notes, the fact of not being able to talk to one another is rather a cosmopolitan, selfish anxiety of those who travel abroad for either work or pleasure (bourgeois). It is not an issue for an ordinary citizen. The problem is more artificial but creates consequences that will become apparent in the future. (Gramsci et al., 1985, p. 27). On the pages of the "Writings" that follow, Gramsci recognizes that the propagation of a common language is neither politically natural nor neutral, and that the state

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[39] Chairman of the British Council, in *The British Council Annual Report* 1983-84, cited in Phillipson 1992, pp. 144-145).

[40] In a 2013 report, the British Council's director of English and exams, Mark Robson, repeated: "The English language is perhaps the United Kingdom's greatest and yet least-recognized international asset. It is a cornerstone of our identity and it keeps us in the mind of hundreds of millions of people around the world, even when they are not talking to us" (Howson, 2013).

[41] *The British Council Annual Report*, 1987-1988, cited in Phillipson 1992, p. 49

should take an active (hegemonic) role in language planning and teaching. The formation, development and spread of one standardized language is highly complex; hence the state needs to be aware of the entire process and intervene if necessary. Only then will the results achieved be the best possible. However, even a government should not play a "decisive" role and does not guarantee "that one will obtain a specific unified language" (Gramsci et al., 1985, p. 183).

Peter Ives stresses that the concept of hegemony is especially important in language education. It stands in the opposition to the common view that people themselves choose the languages they want to learn. It also proves that the transition to English is not their independent choice, but a choice that carries the Gramscian idea of "willing consent" (Ives, 2010, pp. 80-81). Ives underlines that in Gramsci's essays, language use is inseparably bound up with education, culture, ideology and politics.

By addressing Gramsci's scholarship on languages, language education and politics, I hope to provide a groundwork for understanding hegemony and contribute to the debate on global English, language education and power. The monopoly English gained by promoting the West's ideological and cultural hegemony has helped create further global inequalities between rich and poor. Peter Mayo, cited at length in this chapter, concludes that language represents and is an example of what Gramsci thought of as a "dominant form of culture" that everybody should possess. Mayo himself admits that "learning English is a must if one is to avoid remaining on the margins" (Mayo, 2014, p. 394).

## 2.3.2. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHER AS AN ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL

As part of the theory of hegemony, Gramsci developed the concept of *intellectuals* and their role in extending hegemony, supporting and reinforcing power structures. Depending on the nature and quality of their work, *traditional intellectuals* and *organic intellectuals* are the two types of intellectuals Gramsci distinguishes.

By traditional intellectuals, he means those with little connection to the existing society. They keep apart from the people, are autonomous and make up an independent social group. They think that they are above the people – that they know more than other people but actually live in the past, glorifying tradition without following change. This kind of intellectual is very much linked to tradition and the past. Traditional intellectuals do not

represent, and are not directly associated with, the economic structure of the society. More importantly, they think of themselves as not having connections with any social class and do not adhere to any particular class (Ramos, 1982, p. 16).

In contrast, an organic intellectual, Gramsci says, should practice "active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator" (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 10). An organic intellectual should play a positive role in society by constructing, organizing, persuading and articulating the hegemony of the dominant class. An organic intellectual is not separate from that class; he or she is part of the class. According to Gramsci, intellectuals are created in every social group and play an essential role in a society. Just as a capitalist entrepreneur needs an industrial technician and a specialist in economics, any social group needs an organic intellectual who organizes its activities in various spheres of people's lives. That is why an organic intellectual cannot be limited to a certain activity but should initiate interest in various spheres (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 5).

Gramsci lists characteristics of an intellectual and suggests that anybody has the potential to become one. By extending class hegemony, intellectuals unite people and give them identity. Organic intellectuals are those who belong to and have a relation with society; are strongly rooted to the community; and perform ideological and organizational functions. They actively participate in practical life by being in close touch and identify with the society as working for the benefit of the community (Mayo, 2014, 2015; Ramos, 1982; Tickle, 2001). Mayo explains that "the 'organic intellectuals' (…) are cultural or educational workers in that they are 'experts in legitimation' " (Mayo, 2015, p. 39) and adds: "They serve as opinion leaders and promoters of particular conceptions of the world through their affirmations, strictures and actions" (Mayo, 2014, p. 387).

I find Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual inspiring for my research, in which I want to capture how hegemony operates through English language teaching and learning and how EFL teachers engage in communities to teach the language. Are they aware of the agency, or are they instruments of someone else's agenda? The issue repeatedly appears in the teaches' narratives when they reflect on the EFL teaching profession. Intellectuals play an important role in creating narrative in a society. Such narratives then further play an important role in obtaining the willing consent of people. ESOL teachers provide language-learners with a new culture, new ideas, new thoughts and new narratives. In their practice, they address practical issues to seek out possible solutions for their students.

## 2.4. EMPOWERMENT ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Empowerment is a multilevel concept that may be defined in many ways, as various scholars have shown. Theories of empowerment are derived from a number of different disciplines – sociology, economics, political theory – but the concept is attributed mainly to Julian Rappaport, an American psychologist, who defines empowerment as "a mechanism by which people, organizations and communities gain mastery over their lives" (Rappaport, 1987, 1995). Other scholars whose works have formed the building blocks are Marc Zimmerman and Douglas Perkins, who understand empowerment as a process that focuses on the local community and through which people who lack an equal share of resources gain greater access to and control over those resources (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). They looked at empowerment as an action by which individuals and groups, through democratic participation and a critical understanding of their environment, gain control over their lives to access resources and control their circumstances. The word *empowerment* is used to describe the act of someone gaining more confidence and control.

Scholars point to various types of empowerment: psychological, organizational and community based (Fawcett et al., 1995; McMillan et al., 1995; Rich et al., 1995). Psychological empowerment aims to help people identify personal and situational factors that hamper their progress. Psychologists employ different methods in the process of identifying the obstacles: training, developing advocacy skills, studying, becoming self-efficacious, and pursuing resources and opportunities. The goal of this kind of empowerment is to develop additional skills in individuals; enhance their access to financial capital and other resources; and exploit available opportunities. Psychologically empowered individuals have a sense of personal power and mastery of their situations. Psychologists focus on the environments in which individuals find themselves that are likely to limit their ability to overcome their problems. Empowerment is possible only when individuals can articulate their specific needs (McMillan et al., 1995).

Organizational empowerment involves empowering those within an organization and initiating engagements between organizations and their external environment. It recognizes the fact that community members have established such organizations (for example, NGOs) to fulfill their needs. Organizational empowerment focuses on how organizations at the community level can be enabled, or their ability enhanced, to help them understand their internal as well as external environment so they can better engage with and understand the issues they are facing (Rich et al., 1995). Two approaches are employed here. In the first case,

empowerment can happen within the organization, enhancing its capacity to control and influence its members. Empowering organizations can raise new resources to pay their employees well or to train their employees so that they can execute their duties effectively. This goal is achieved by identifying core organizational characteristics such as group-based belief system, relational environment, leadership and opportunities. Empowerment here is concerned with how organizations are led, how leadership in these organizations can be improved, how opportunities that are at the organization's disposal can be exploited, what are the belief systems among group members (do they believe they can overcome certain problems, or do they believe they are limited in such a significant manner that they cannot to overcome the problems they are going through). The second approach to this kind of empowerment relates to the ways an organization gains and uses enough resources to support its people and activities. That depends on the relationship between the organization's members and its leadership. It helps identify actions to be taken so that members can maximally use their knowledge and talent for maximum production, enabling the organization to achieve its goals. Here empowerment relates to ways the organization uses enough resources to support its people. Organizational empowerment looks at how weaknesses can be addressed to make community-based organizations more effective. Empowering people in an organization essentially means granting employees the autonomy to assume more active, responsible roles by strengthening their sense of effectiveness as well as by sharing power, information and responsibility to manage their own work as much as possible.

Community empowerment (Fawcett et al., 1995) means a community has the ability to control its internal and external environments. It relies on systems and collective experience. The indicators of community empowerment are collective reflection, social participation and political discussions. Members jointly examine the issues affecting them. There is an understanding that if a community pursues issues that affects it collectively, it has a greater chance to succeed. Collective action in itself is power that can be exploited by members of the community to push through their agendas. Social participation and political discussions are ways for these communities to take actions needed to empower themselves. Community members must participate in both social and political activities. Here participation might mean attending meetings organized by government officials and weighing in on what needs to be done and what approaches need to be taken or employed to arrive at the best solution to a problem. Political discussions might also mean that community members discuss the political leadership – for instance, by taking part in elections. The empowerment is achieved by

increasing the community's influence over the structures, policies and building of partnerships.

Important to my work, in the context of globalization, is the fact that a community has been redefined. A community used to form primarily within neighborhoods or among people that were geographically close, but as technology has continued to advance, global communities span distances and can even be virtual. Community is thus no longer limited to geographic boundaries but may be created by interest, identity, age group, etc. and facilitated by communication technology. Empowerment should respond to the different kinds of communities that now are formed globally. Global empowerment or empowerment on a global scale could be achieved through enactment of policies and practices that support fair and equitable distribution of resources and access to opportunities – for example and including, language education. Marginalized groups can be supported so that they may attain a fair share of societal resources. Some members of the community that have been marginalized – children, women, people with disabilities, minority groups – need to be given particular attention so that even as changes come, they benefit the entire society without excluding minority groups.

Empowerment entails encouragement and development of skills for self-sufficiency to eliminate dependency on external support. The vocabulary of empowerment consists of terms like independence, trust, participation, accountability and responsibility – authority or power given to someone to do something. Therefore, when looking at empowerment, scholars are interested in various mechanisms that individuals, communities or institutions have employed to advance their own interests and improve the conditions of their lives. While examining the various definitions of empowerment, Maria Czerepaniak-Walczak conceptually distinguished the term from emancipation, emphasizing that empowerment is a one-time event or act, though sometimes a repetitive one, while emancipation is a process. Both terms have notions of breaking free from existing systems. Unraveling the differences, Czerepaniak-Walczak characterizes empowerment with three distinctive features: the source of power, the source and structure of the voice, and the transforming experience of each of these actions (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2020).

In a process of emancipation, the source of power and control is informal and internal to a person – an individual reaction to limitations and personal transformation and development – while being empowered means being supervised by an external source of power and, at the same time moving away from that source of control and internalize.

Empowerment does not exist without an involvement and active participation of an external, formal support. In empowerment, an individual receives voice through someone else. In contrast to emancipation, in which people use their own vocabulary, in empowerment the vocabulary is given and adheres to externally established standards. The act of empowerment involves trust and readiness to subordinate while receiving goods and benefits. Empowerment, Czerepaniak-Walczak concludes, means having control over certain matters, but matters that have been identified and put into one's hands. It aligns well with a context in which people believe the narratives they have been told by a dominant culture. The goal of empowerment is to enable communities or individuals to have greater influence and input on decision-making by learning the language of a particular system or a particular structure. The concept emphasizes the need to make a community central to the kinds of decisions being made about its members' lives, and therefore, at the end of an act of empowerment, community members have a greater influence and control over decisions being made in their interest – decisions that are likely to affect their future.

In summary, empowerment is a concept that focuses on how individuals, groups and communities gain personal, interpersonal and political power to improve their lives. But it asserts and promotes changes that address the needs and issues identified by external sources. Empowerment also emphasizes what can be changed in the community to address the needs and improve its members' lives. The concept also recognizes that, as a result of oppression, many people and communities are in a state of helplessness. But to be empowered is to ensure that the helplessness and oppression are significantly reduced, if not eliminated, so that people can feel power – actually be in charge of their lives and destinies.

Empowerment is both an individual and a group phenomenon. An individual or members of a group can be empowered to advance the conditions of their lives. Empowerment takes different forms for different people and in different contexts. No single empowering method is meaningful to all people in all situations. A solution or an approach that works in one area may not necessarily be suitable for another area or a situation. Each context calls for different empowerment strategies. The process varies across different settings, and the ways of empowering individuals, organizations or communities differ. What works best for an individual may not work for an organization, and what works for organization may not work for a community. The empowerment approach must be tailored to specific needs.

Empowerment means bringing basic opportunities for marginalized people either directly by those people or through the help of non-marginalized others who share their own access to these opportunities. Building on elements that are already strong is critical to empowerment. It is the epitome of not reinventing the wheel, but rather excavating about the strengths of individuals, communities and society and building on those as a foundation.

Education (including language education) is an important element of an empowerment act. Empowerment through education is considered as a significant instrument in improving one's status as it is a major catalyst of social change, it leads towards the development including political, economic, cultural and other dimensions of human life (Shor, 1992). Empowerment through knowledge is rooted in the needs and interests of the learner (or organization, or society in general). Empowering education, according to Ira Shor is based on a student-centered, critical and democratic pedagogical approach. It is a mutual dialogue in which both students and teachers engage by investigating common issues through knowledge. Because of that dialogue, learners can become inspired, active and critical agents of their learning.

Empowerment, as understood in this dissertation, is an act that entails a response to the English language's global domination through specific educational strategies in TESOL aimed at reducing inequalities and injustice related to its hegemonic role. The word *empower* is used to describe the act of giving someone more confidence or control through language education. Empowerment is the degree of autonomy and self-determination that enables people and communities to represent their interests as much as possible in a responsible, self-determined way, acting on their own authority. Nowadays, those interests are best represented when articulated in English. Instead of being hegemonic, learning English can be empowering, giving people opportunities to engage globally and to prosper in a way they could not before.

Over the last century, English has become a force to be reckoned with. The language has become extremely widespread around the world, especially for international communication, and the pressure on for people everywhere to learn it has accordingly increased. The profession of teaching English as a foreign language has become popular, but also controversial, as it exercises and furthers the hegemony of powerful Western countries. When teaching English to speakers of other languages, teachers, very often native English-speakers, promote their (Western) culture which, in some cases, can have a negative impact by diminishing learners' opportunities and their ability to thrive with their own language and

their own culture. In this dissertation, I look at strategies ESOL teachers working globally adopt to question hegemonic practices and empower language learners.

## 2.5.    SUMMARY

The theory of hegemony and the concept of the organic intellectual from Gramsci apply to state hegemony. The organic intellectual builds hegemony through cultural means, within the confines of and in service to the state. I apply the concept to English-language teachers who operate in the global context. I see them as global organic intellectuals who operate not just within their own countries, but rather in the world at large.

The theory of hegemony, together with the anthropological focus on cultural dimensions of globalization, pushes the concept of the organic intellectual beyond the state's boundaries and expands its meaning to the conditions of an interconnected world. As organic intellectuals, English-language teachers exercise hegemony, but theirs does not create a community within the nation-state (in particular the United States). As my research shows, teachers do not serve blindly; they are conscious of their role and the value and controversial role of the language they teach.

Invoking Appadurai's concept of *scapes*, I want to show how teachers operate by means of global flows. They use *technoscape* of online teaching, through *mediascapes*, they bring images of American and Western culture to the places where they teach and *ideoscapes* allow them to teach Western values and ideas. The hegemony of TESOL is tied to teaching language as not as a set of skills but globally influential and dominant cultural and political imaginaries. Through language, the learners learn how to imagine themselves as part of the Western, English-speaking world. This cultural domination as my interlocutors show, however, can also be seen in the context of empowerment. By knowing English, learners expand beyond borders of their prior imaginaries. And knowing English can be especially empowering for individuals and groups moving through global *ethnoscapes*, relocated willingly or not from their geographic and linguistic homelands. English language education can help these groups build resilience and gain agency and voice.

I think of teaching English as a part of building a certain global imaginary through the work of ESOL teachers and their language performance. It is not just about the words they teach students to speak; it is about what they embody as teachers who come from dominant cultures on the world scale to which their learners aspire. Desiring to learn the language,

learners also desire to become like their teachers in the ways in which they can use the language and its metaphors and idioms.

## 3. RESEARCH IN THE TIME OF THE PANDEMIC

## 3.1. INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH IN THE ERA OF PANDEMIC: A DIGITAL ALTERNATIVE

In this chapter I describe my research methodology and design used during the study, highlighting the unprecedented challenge and circumstances of the time the research was done, namely the Covid-19 pandemic. I outline my methodological choices in the qualitative and biographical research approach and the use of interviews and participant observation as methods. This chapter also includes information on the research context, participants and data collection procedures. At the end, of this section I describe ethical considerations.

The time when I started my research – the end of 2019 – was an exceptional one, coinciding with the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic.[42] Planning international research became very complicated. The pandemic continued in the months and years that followed and moved most human activity, including scholarly, to virtual settings. It also impacted my research. In response to the spread of the coronavirus, national borders were closed. Safety protocols for preventing the spread of Covid-19 aimed to protect people by separating them. Face-to-face interactions were not allowed, which influenced the way I was to conduct my research.

Like many other researchers, I was faced with the need to develop an alternative research strategy. What technology and ways of conducting digital research would allow me to do my study without meeting with research participants in the real world? In the face of social distancing and stay-at-home policies, the obvious solution to continue with the dissertation was to move the research activity to the virtual world and use the internet to connect with the teachers (Salmons, 2014).

The choice of this strategy created further questions about the advantages and disadvantages of doing interviews online, and how I could work with the data under pandemic conditions. The issue I did not have to struggle with to be able to continue working with the

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[42] WHO Timeline – Covid-19; Retrieved Mar. 23, 2021, from www.who.int/news/item/29-06-2020-covidtimeline.

teachers was their privileged, unlimited access to the internet and computer technologies, as all of them live in modern metropolises where the problem does not simply exist.[43]

The unprecedented challenge of distance research during the first stage of the pandemic became an issue in scheduling interviews. Participants' availability to meet online was limited, and the unpredictability of the coming days did not increase their willingness to meet and talk. Planning required a certain sensibility, compassion and sensitivity to the very specific conditions of the people with whom I wanted to talk.

The first step was to learn their health conditions and reactions to stay-at-home regulations. What they told me was that they were as busy as never and the work was not slowing down because of Covid-19. In addition, people all over the world started to face funding cuts as a result of the economic slowdown. Rachel, one of the teachers I interviewed, wrote to me:

> *I have been home for three weeks now and am very busy with work, school, and teaching online, which is great, but the situation here is becoming critical and I can't avoid thinking about it all the time.*[44]

Eleven days later she added:

> *I don't know how it's possible that my days are flying by so quickly, but I'm still glad for it. I can't look at the news at all anymore, it's too grim. (...) the same here with meetings. I think that we are having more meetings just because people want to connect in some way, but it's also exhausting being in on-line meetings all day.*[45]

Diane, whom I interviewed later, experienced a similar situation:

> *I'm fine so far. CUNY* [the City University of New York] *has moved entirely online for the rest of the semester, so now, instead of working from home about 50 percent of the time, it's 100 percent. I've now taught two full classes online, and it seems to work. In half an hour, I'll be in the first session of a webinar series on how to teach better online, since I have a feeling that's*

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[43] The case would have been very different had I planned to interview, for example, inmates, indigenous communities, refugees in camps, hospital patients, etc. – communities with little or no access to computer technologies, limited internet access and other issues revealed by the pandemic.

[44] R. Conrad, personal communication, March 29, 2020.

[45] R. Conrad, personal communication, April 9, 2020.

*going to be a big part of my future. My course goes on for three more weeks, and then I'll just be doing one-on-one coaching for the journalism school for the rest of the semester by e-mail and Skype. But now that nobody is wasting time commuting, I also have two new private students, which keeps me in this chair way too much of the time. Really, I'm ridiculously busy for someone who works at home in a city that's shut down. The days just fly by.*[46]

This quotation from another teacher, Alexandre, is also important in the context of doing research in the pandemic:

*The US economy was hit hard with huge unemployment. My job* [language assistant for Brazilian community in a medical company in Tampa, Fla.] *was considered essential. Very glad really. But all shut and locked down for 2 weeks already and curfew from 10 pm to 6am. Science Fiction days.*[47]

Teachers with whom I was in touch with during this time continued their work thanks to video- and tele-conferencing. Without risking their health – in particular, the health of the older participants, who constituted the majority of all interviewed teachers and were at higher risk from Covid-19 – I decided to meet with them remotely. By using the technology to conduct interviews in these circumstances, we relied on the same online communication tools (Skype, Zoom) they had started to use in their daily work.

Online interviews seemed safer and less expensive than all the travel that the interviews would have involved in the pre-pandemic world. Apart from being significantly cheaper, they had the potential to increase participation and reduce the consultation and research fatigue for participants. They did not have to take much time out of their private lives to meet with me. While this was a positive side of virtual meetings, I was also aware of a few negatives. Luckily, technological inequalities did not apply in my cases, but I was afraid of the interview dynamic and alienation the virtual meetings might create. But the decision had been made, and I had to cancel my plans to meet with the teachers in person and move them to virtual venues.

Through email and chat conversations (Facebook, WhatsApp), with permission to use them in my research, I was able to schedule meetings with people in distant locations and in

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[46] D. Nottle, personal communication, April 2, 2020.

[47] A. Duarte Thomaz de Aquino, personal communication, April 12, 2020.

different time zones in Europe and North America. The technologies we would use were selected together with the teachers. I quickly discovered that moving the interviews to digital reality may be an advantage. The teachers completely understood the need for online communication and, as many of them had started to teach online, they knew the media and had practice through their work experience. For some it was even easier to express thoughts online (some preferred using audio only), sitting in their homes, because all the constraints and etiquette around face-to-face offline conversations had been eliminated. For some, our meetings, were a tool of self-reflection during the isolation period.

In doing the interviews, I had to build on all those themes and interactions of confidence, intimacy and ethics that are part of on-line interviews when, through the computer camera, one enters people's intimate spaces. The etiquette of what are appropriate and inappropriate ways to use media – that is, what I might have done if I was there, working with conversation and other forms of interactivity – applies, I think, both online and off.

In the end, without compromising the integrity of the research, the process was just as efficient despite the challenging situation. I took this moment as an opportunity, not as an obstacle.

## 3.2.    RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODS

My research is grounded in qualitative methodology. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln compare the qualitative researcher to a *bricoleur* who collects individual stories and combines them to create the research project (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, pp. 45-46). The central purpose of qualitative research is to understand the world or experiences of another. In my research I relied primarily on different types of interviews. Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori state that "most qualitative research probably is based on interviews." For several reasons. Through interviews, a researcher collects information directly from one-on-one conversations, from a person who, very often is central to the issue being researched. Using other type of methods – for example observations – is not as precise as personal interviews and does not provide subjective experiences and opinions (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2018, p. 1163).

In my research, I used two types of interviews that corresponded to the two different phases of my research project. In the first, I relied primarily on the tradition of semi-structured

narrative interviews; in the second, I built on biographical interviewing. In the following sections, I explain the two phases of my research project in terms of the specific methods.

### 3.2.1. PHASE 1

Maccoby and Maccoby (1954) defined an interview as "a face-to-face verbal exchange, in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons" (cited in: Brinkmann, 2018, p. 1000). Denzin and Lincoln add that interviews equip the researcher with detail explanations about the studied persons and issues (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 904). In the first phase of my research project, I mainly relied on, semi-structured narrative[48] interviews to explore the teachers' experiences and stories. This is the most popular form of interview in human and social research today (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 1002). Semi-structured narrative interviews allow for asking prepared questions to guide the conversation while, at the same time, giving interviewee a freedom to talk freely about what they believe is interesting or relevant (Hesse-Biber, 2017). Semi-structured narrative interviews, Brinkmann writes, "can make better use of the knowledge-producing potentials of dialogues." This type of an interview offers a wider space for following up questions on discussed topics and puts light and attention on the interviewee. In this way, the interviewee becomes central to the research. Issues important to the interviewee have a greater chance to become visible. The research participant becomes a main actor and uncovers whatever angles are significant. Brinkmann calls this person "a knowledge-producing participant" and refers to this type of an interview "an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 1002).

By doing narrative interviews, researchers seek to understand individuals' lived experience. Susan Chase also defines narrative interviews as stories that create meaning and knowledge, describing distinct and unique experiences and understanding of people's actions, events, thoughts, feelings and reflections tied to and in relation to each other. The complex connections among actions, events, thoughts, feelings and reflections allow the researcher to see the consequences over time. Narrative interviews are about the past, the present and also

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[48] A semi-structured interview is the most common type in qualitative research. It merges features of two other types – structured (questions and expected answers are short, and the same scenario is used for every interviewee) and unstructured (based on a limited number of topics with the emphasis on encouraging the respondent to talk about the theme – and therefore is extensively used. It allows for a variety of different forms, with varying numbers of questions, adapted to accommodate the interviewee (Rowley, 2012).

the future (Chase, 2018, p. 951). Narrative is designed not to be a historical record, but rather to understand storytellers' perspectives in the context of their lives.

According to Creswell, a high-quality narrative research design provides a deep, rich and meaningful data base (Creswell, 2015, pp. 503-535). He identifies several key characteristics such a method comprises. These relate to the individual experiences being gathered in the course of the research; coding it for themes; connecting them to the stories being told into the context and setting; and providing the chronology of the individual's experiences. Creswell emphasizes a collaboration between a participant and a researcher or researchers. Because of the small sample, this is an essential aspect of this kind of research. He writes about two types of interview participants: a person typical to the study, and a person with a critical view on a studied topic. Both will have experiences crucial to the studied phenomenon; sometimes this experience can be similar, but sometimes they may conflict. Following Creswell's advice, for my study I chose both type of interview participants, those with positive (enthusiastic) and negative (critical) attitudes, equally important and valuable. I spoke to several individuals who provided me with different stories, some of which were conflicting but some complementary (Creswell, 2015, p. 517). Creswell also underlines that "telling stories is a natural part of life, and individuals all have stories about their experiences to tell others. In this way, narrative research captures an everyday, normal form of data that is familiar to individuals" (Creswell, 2015, p. 504). In fact, some suggest that certain things are known only through a story: "It is in the study of the unique and the contextual that narratives have succeeded where other methods have failed" (Gudmundsdottir, 1997, p. 1). The method is especially valuable in educational research in which bringing teachers' voice up to the forefront is important.

Interviews, as opposed to surveys and questionnaires, are a significantly more personal method of study. For this reason, the method allowed me to work directly with the teachers. In contrast with mail surveys, I had an opportunity to probe or ask follow-up questions.

Qualitative interviewing has many advantages. (Weiss, 1995, pp. 53-55) Possibly the greatest is the depth of detail obtained from the interviewee. Another advantage, described by Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori, is that "the interview is also a very convenient way of overcoming distances both in space and in time; past events or faraway experiences can be studied by interviewing people who took part in them" (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2018, p. 1163). Participants in interviews can construct a picture of what happened during a particular event, provide a perspective on the event and provide other social cues. (The interviewee's

voice, intonation, body language, etc. can provide a lot of extra information.) In my study, qualitative interviewing had a distinct advantage because of its unique format. I could adjust the questions I asked the responders to elicit rich, detailed responses and the data relevant to the project. When I needed more examples or explanations, I could make it clear to the respondents.

Robert Weiss points also to a few limitations such a technique may create. First, it can complicate the planning of the interview, second, because of the personal nature of the interview, recruiting people for a conversation may be difficult (Weiss, 1995, pp. 53-55). For the reasons described in the first section of this chapter, this had some influence in my case.

An interview, as a conversation between people, appeared to be the most suitable technique to elicit facts and statements from the teachers to learn about the ways in which, through their pedagogical practices, they negotiate the divergent positioning of the English language as a means of global hegemony and local and individual empowerment. Their stories allowed for further investigation and re-interpretation of the studied issues.

The aim of the first phase was to gather rich, in-depth information. Through a series of interviews, I collected stories from ten people by having them reflect on their personal and professional experiences as ESOL teachers. Purposely choosing respondents allowed me to rely on their knowledge and experiences relating to the research topic. Being my first source of knowledge, these stories helped me identify and investigate further areas to explore in the research process. The initial analysis of the gathered data allowed me to narrow the area of research interest, and that was a moment when specific research questions started to emerge.

## 3.2.2. PHASE 2

In the second phase of my research, I drew on the specific type of interviewing based on the tradition of the biographical method, which allowed for a deeper understanding of teachers' educational biographies. As a distinct and more specialized approach (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 1011), the biographical form of interview focuses on studying a single person, obtaining data through the collection of stories, the reporting of individual experiences, and the discussion of those experiences' significance to the individual. Norman Denzin also describes the method as "a distinct approach to the study of human experience" (Denzin, 1989, p. 17). Denzin adds that the method, through the documentation of an individual's very personal stories and narratives, allows the discovery of important, turning-point moments in a

person's life (Denzin, 1989, p. 13). Barbara Merrill and Linden West define the biographical method as a study in which, through using personal stories or available objects and documents, a researcher can attempt to understand "lives within a social, psychological and/or historical frame" (Merrill & West, 2009, p. 10).

In my understanding of the biographical method, I drew on the work of researchers of adult education, especially Peter Alheit, Barbara Merrill and Agnieszka Bron. All of them emphasize that the point of biographical inquiry is an ability to report an individual's personal experiences that revolve around and are a part of a greater research problem (Alheit, 1994b; Alheit et al., 1995; Alheit, 2018; Barabasch & Merrill, 2014; Tedder & Biesta, 2007). According to Peter Alheit (1994a), biographical research provides "a rigorously inductive route, i.e. trying to trace the perspective from which our informants viewed their situation, asking them to describe how they coped with the problems that interested us" (Alheit, 1994a, p. 20). Biographical research highlights social and personal meanings that support my attempt to understand experiences of EFL teachers in their narratives and to consider how global context promotes their efforts to reshape their lives.

Agnieszka Bron notes that other, more traditional forms of research marginalize the individual's role and reduce his or her role in processes (for example, in learning), not giving space for creativity and reflection (Bron et al., 2005, p. 12). In contrast, the biographical method allows and gives the participants space to shape their personal and social worlds, including educational. This freedom and the important stories they may have to tell give a base for "a better, more nuanced understanding of learning and educational processes" (Bron et al., 2005, p. 12).

Evaluating a research project entitled *Learning for Career and Labour Market Transitions – individual biographies*, conducted the by European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training,[49] Barbara Merrill and Antje Barabasch emphasize the importance of the biographical method to the fact that this kind of approach is especially helpful in detailed understanding of career shifts and professional identities. According to them, personal, biographical narratives draw attention to the complex, nuanced processes shaping individual's experiences in education, profession, and transitions made between private lives and professional careers (Barabasch & Merrill, 2014, p. 287). Based on the work of other

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[49] Learning for career and labour market transitions – individual biographies. Retrieved March 23, 2021, from: www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/about-cedefop/public-procurement/learning-career-and-labour-market-transitions-individual.

authorities in the field – Linden West, Peter Alheit and Anders Siig Anderson – they assert that this particular data extracted from biographical narratives helps researchers document and understand experiences more completely. Educational and/or professional encounters during a person's lifetime may occur in various settings. The data from biographical narratives grasps the role and meaning "of learning in a person's life as a whole within a historical, social and cultural imagination'" (West et al., 2007, p. 292, cited in Barabash & Merrill, 2014, p. 288).

What is also important, to the abovementioned authors, is that this kind of research method creates detailed descriptions offering in-depth insights into lived experiences. In addition, it allows for engaged reflection on stories by both the interviewee person and the researcher together. The reflections help identify and lead to new discoveries new knowledge and new theories (Barabasch & Merrill, 2014, p. 288).

Within the method, the concept of *biographicity* promoted by Peter Alheit was also influential in my research approach. By *biographicity,* Alheit means people's ability to continuously redesign, sometimes even from scratch, the paths of their lives. This happens in certain contexts and environments people live (or, as Alhait says, have to live) through. People are able to shape (are *shapeable*) and design (are *designable*) these contexts all over again. In their biographies, Alheit explains, people do not have "all conceivable opportunities, but within the framework of the limits we are structurally set we still have considerable scope open to us" (Alheit, 1994b, p. 290).

He defines *biographicity* as the experience people have, to a large extent, of being able to shape their own lives. According to Alheit's concept, people have a chance to reinterpret the worlds and contexts in which they live. This ability makes them subjects in making decisions, but the decisions made have boundaries and limits. Only significant opportunities, not all imaginable ones, can lead to change. Crucial to the decision-making process is the interpretation of wider meanings that people collect through their life time. This collection of knowledge in their biographies creates opportunities in *the lives that we have not lived* (Alheit, 1995, p. 24).

*Biographicity*, according to Peter Alheit and Bettina Dausien, is one of the most important competences for an individual living in modern societies. New experiences are connected to old ones, are based on things already known and events already experienced. They are only reinterpreted and adjusted to new, changing social contexts, making people's lives and biographies dynamic and *mouldable* (Alheit & Dausien, 2000, pp. 400-422). In the

other words, *biographicity* allows people to create a wide range of transition strategies. It is acquired mainly through "experiential and self-directed learning" (Field & Lynch, 2015, p. 15). In turn, people then develop a perspective of life-wide learning that "strengthens freedom of biographical planning and the social involvement of individuals" (Alheit & Dausien, 2002, p. 5).

Alheit compares the *biographicity* to a "learning ground" (Alheit, 1992, p. 187) and highlights the inextricability connection between learning and biography.

In my research, I use the concept of biographicity to describe how ESOL teachers modify their lives to satisfy their own needs in the face of life's demands in a period of rapid global, social and economic changes.

### 3.2.3. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY

The table presents details of conceptualization and research design around the investigated topic.

| Research Participants | English language teachers |
|---|---|
| Main Research Question | How do teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) who work in different national and transnational contexts negotiate, in their pedagogical practices, the divergent positioning of the English language as a means of global hegemony and local and individual empowerment? |
| Research Subquestions | 1. How does the ambiguous positions of English as a global language play out in the teachers' experiences? <br> 2. How do teachers navigate teaching English, which may be perceived as a way of empowering concrete communities and individuals through foreign-language skills and knowledge on the one hand, but also strengthening Western dominance on the other? <br> 3. How do specific people in specific locations |

| | negotiate the changing conditions of their life worlds as they are affected by globalization? |
|---|---|
| | 4. How are social and cultural processes negotiated by language? |
| | 5. How can language education empower marginalized communities? |
| Methodological Approach | Qualitative approach; biographical study |
| Data collection | Biographical interviews; participant observations |

**TABLE 3: CONCEPTUALIZATION AND RESEARCH DESIGN**
(Source: Author)

## 3.3.  RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

### 3.3.1.  CONTEXT

The overriding aim of the methodological design of my research was to focus on individual experiences connected with teachers' personal biographies. In the choice of research participants, I drew on the network of more than 100 international alumni of *the English Language Practicum* in Wrocław, Poland, with which I worked for nearly 12 years (2007-2018). As a local coordinator of the program organized jointly by the International Institute for the Study of Culture and Education at the University of Lower Silesia and the English Language Studies department at the New School in New York City, I have seen people – native English-speakers from the United States with established careers – succeed in retraining as English-language teachers. The English Language Practicum was part of the curriculum in the Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) program offered by the New School.

The New School has a long tradition of excellence (since 1990) in training teachers of English. It awards the certificate upon successful completion of a structured program of several courses run across two or three semesters, including a teaching practicum. Successful completion of the program gives graduates the skills and knowledge they need to teach English language in adult education programs, private language schools and centers for immigrants, business, libraries, colleges, etc., in the United States and/or abroad. After the program in New York and a 30-hour teaching practicum there or in Wrocław, graduates should possess awareness of the language system and skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing. They should also demonstrate appropriate teaching strategies, including lesson-

planning; know how to assess learner ability and needs to meet learning objectives; reflect on their own teaching and make appropriate changes to their instruction.

In a promotional video, Caitlin Morgan, director of the TESOL program, said: "We live in a globalized world today, and there is just an ever-increasing need for English, which means there is an ever-increasing need for opportunities for people to learn English and an ever-increasing need to have competent and compassionate teachers. (…) So, we can really advise you and support you on every step of your career or vocation, from having no experience at all to really being a committed and educated professional in the field."[50]

The Wrocław practicum was offered annually from 2004 to 2018 (and before that in Paris and Prague) during the summer. It hosted between 5 and 15 trainees – mostly from the United States. Certificate candidates could choose to complete the supervised practicum in one of the partner institutions in the United States or come to Wrocław to teach. The Wrocław practicum was designed especially for those interested in a career change into teaching who at the same time were open to cross-cultural exchange, languages, travel and community engagement. Candidates had to be prepared to teach students from diverse backgrounds and had to demonstrate the capacity to work with others collaboratively and respectfully.

In my research, the data collection was tied to my role as a practitioner – program coordinator – and consisted of several strands. I started to collect data through analyzing the documentation gathered during my work with participants in the English Language Practicum program in Wrocław. It is important to mention that one of my tasks as the program coordinator was to collect and archive this documentation. In addition, I was responsible for drafting and writing reports and surveys, as well as managing promotional materials (including the website) and facilitating all communication between participants and administrators of the program in both collaborating institutions, as well as with their master teacher and students. I therefore knew the documentation well before I started to conduct the research, and it was stored in locations (either electronically or in paper) to which I had easy access. Those facts simplified the process of data collection, as I had access to information through my status as an employer of the partner institution.

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[50] Morgan, 2011; Retrieved March 3, 2021 from: TESOL Certificate at The New School.

### 3.3.2. PARTICIPANTS

I conducted my research in two distinct phases. The first involved narrative semi-structure interviews with ten participants. Through these interviews, I identified main themes, which helped structure my research questions that I later pursued using biographical research method with five participants.

### 3.3.2.1.    PHASE 1

In the first phase of the study, I focused on a qualitative study of ten people drawn from the network of the English Language Practicum (chosen from approximately a hundred graduates). In this phase, I wanted to focus on the participants' biographical choices that led them to change careers to become English language teachers and their experiences in teaching in different national and international contexts. I chose representatives who had taught adult English language-learners, such as immigrants or refugees in the United States, international students, people with limited formal schooling or limited literacy in their first languages, as well as professionals – administrators or professional development providers.

In choosing participants for the first stage, I relied on existing written material (including e-mail correspondence written by participants during and after the program, and pre- and post-evaluation surveys). I depended on my own memory from many encounters with the teachers and times when I was helping them prepare for class, or facilitate communication and mediating between them and students, especially with those teaching lower levels who needed help in translation at the start of the English course.

One of my tasks was to attend classes, observe them and care for the well-being of both teachers and learners. In preparation for the interviews, I also reflected on when I myself was learning English. (I started from pre-school education at home, through all levels of primary and secondary education, and also took part, as a student, in several English courses taught during the Practicum.) All these factors helped me in the process of selecting individuals with whom I planned to conduct interviews.

In the initial, pilot study (February to April 2020), I chose participants based on five criteria:

1. Having extensive work experience in another career (first career) before training in TESOL;

2. Completing the English Language Practicum in Wrocław, Poland;

3. Being a graduate of the TESOL certificate program at the New School;

4. Actively teaching at the time of the study;

5. Having teaching experience outside of the United States.

Not all research participants were native English-speakers. (One of them was a Brazilian with an education in English from early childhood and a professional life connected with the United States; another one grew up in a Spanish-English bilingual family, originally from Mexico.) All respondents had a certificate in teaching English. They differed distinctly in age, (from 27 to 70 years old at the time of interviews), educational background (e.g., international relations, library science, social science, fine arts), pre-teaching profession (e.g., business, finance, culture, architecture); years of experience in TESOL (from 2 to 14 years) and gender.

After analyzing existing written material collected from 2007 to 2018, when I worked as the program administrator, and based on my personal experience with ten cohorts of participants, I had pre-identified ten candidates who potentially seemed to be the most suitable for the study.

Table 4 presents the participants' breakdown, including their biographical information. Except for one participant, their first and last names are original. A majority of my respondents have worked in public sectors or published and advertised their teaching services under their own names and did not see an issue in appearing under their actual names. This was, of course, a matter of their individual declarations of consent, which I collected before the initial conversations and their participation in the study.

| 1. | ANNE B. | |
|----|---------|---|
| | Age | 70 |
| | Gender | F |
| | Educational Background | J.D., Law, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A. |
| | | B.A., Russian Literature and History, University of California, Santa Cruz, U.S.A. |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Deputy general counsel in a financial holding company |
| | | Lawyer |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2009 |

| | | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Date of Interview | March 31, 2020 |
| **2.** | **JULIETTE B.** | | |
| | | Age | 27 |
| | | Gender | F |
| | | Educational Background | B.A., International Studies, University of Richmond, U.S.A. |
| | | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Tenant services coordinator in the New York City area, U.S.A. |
| | | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2018 |
| | | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 3 |
| | | Date of Interview | April 16, 2020 |
| **3.** | **REGINA B.** | | |
| | | Age | 55 |
| | | Gender | F |
| | | Educational Background | M.A., Education, School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vt. U.S.A. (incomplete) |
| | | | B.A., Economics, City University of New York, Brooklyn College, U.S.A. |
| | | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Economist |
| | | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2006 |
| | | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 14 |
| | | Date of Interview | March 11, 2020 |
| **4** | **RACHEL C.** | | |
| | | Age | 43 |
| | | Gender | F |
| | | Educational Background | M.L.I.S., Information and Library Science/Archival Studies, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N.Y. U.S.A. |
| | | | M.A., Musicology, New York University, U.S.A. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | B.M., Music History, Music Performance, Temple University, USA |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Musicologist |
| | | Editor and publishing specialist in a private publishing house |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2016 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 4 |
| | Date of Interview | February 01, 2020 |
| **5** | **ANNE D.** | |
| | Age | 63 |
| | Gender | F |
| | Educational Background | J.D., Law, University of California, U.S.A. |
| | | Certificate in Public Interest Law, University of California Hastings College of the Law, U.S.A. |
| | | Internships at: Committee to Protect Journalists, Washington, D.C.; Center for Investigative Reporting, San Francisco; Alaska Legal Services, Juneau; Externship at Anchorage Superior Court |
| | | B.A., History, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A. |
| | Pre-teaching Work Experience | Lawyer |
| | | Freelance Journalist |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2010 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 11 |
| | Date of Interview | April 9, 2020 |
| **6** | **ALEXANDRE D. T. A.** | |
| | Age | 58 |
| | Gender | M |
| | Educational Background | Certificate in Global Affairs, New York University, U.S.A. |
| | | M.A., Social Sciences, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil |

| | | B.A., Social Sciences, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil |
|---|---|---|
| | | B.A., Geoenvironmental Studies, Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. |
| | | Biology-Biomedical Science, Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (incomplete) |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Social Projects Developer and Coordinator |
| | | Truck Driver |
| | | Catering Services |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2010 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 10 |
| | Date of Interview | February 11, 2020 |
| **7** | **JUDY K.** | |
| | Age | 69 |
| | Gender | F |
| | Educational Background | B.A, French, University of Connecticut Storrs, U.S.A.; senior year abroad in Rouen, France: History of Fine Arts, specializing in Music) |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Tailor, costume designer and wardrobe Dresser at Metropolitan Opera in NYC, USA |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2018 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 2 |
| | Date of Interview | February 13, 2020 |
| **8** | **DIANE N.** | |
| | Age | 65 |
| | Gender | F |
| | Educational Background | New York Times visiting media fellow, DeWitt Wallace Center for Communications and Journalism, Sanford Institute for Public Policy, Duke University |
| | | M.L.S., Woman Studies, Boston University, U.S.A. |

| | | B.A., Journalism, Pennsylvania State University, U.S.A. |
|---|---|---|
| | | B.A., Political Science, Pennsylvania State University, U.S.A. |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Journalist at, i.a. *New York Times, The Boston Globe, The New York Daily News, The Los Angeles Times, The Chicago Tribune, The Detroit News, The Atlanta Journal, The Miami Herald, The Miami News and The Philadelphia Inquirer* |
| | | Freelance writing and editing |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2007 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 13 |
| | Date of Interview | March 04, 2020 |
| **9** | **ROGER R.** | |
| | Age | 70 |
| | Gender | M |
| | Educational Background | Graduate courses in theology, Fordham University, Bronx, N.Y., U.S.A. |
| | | Courses in Russian linguistics, literature, and history, University of California, Los Angeles, U.S.A. |
| | | M.A., Theology, Catholic University of America, Washington, U.S.A. |
| | | B.A., Theology, Russian Language and Literature (double major), Georgetown University, Washington, USA |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | Parish Administrator; |
| | | Adjunct Professor at Religious Studies |
| | | Musician; Writer; Beekeeper |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2012 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 8 |
| | Date of Interview | March 18, 2020 |

| 10 | JOHN S. | |
|---|---|---|
| | Age | 65 |
| | Gender | M |
| | Educational Background | MBA, Finance, Rutgers Business School, Newark, New Jersey, USA |
| | Pre-Teaching Work Experience | IT Technology Services |
| | | Financial Services and Management Consulting |
| | | Business Project Manager |
| | Year of TESOL Certificate graduation | 2009 |
| | Years of Teaching Experience in TESOL | 11 |
| | Date of Interview | April 03, 2020 |

**TABLE 4: STAGE 2 - PILOT STUDY: OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS (ALPHABETICAL ORDER)**
(Source: Author)

Initially, I contacted all interviewees, first by e-mail or online chats in which I provided detailed information on the purpose of my research, its scope and overview, my own background, and ethical information such as confidentiality and procedures. Each email also included an individualized message reflecting on the time the recipient spent in Wrocław. The meetings were scheduled at times convenient to the interviewees (allowing for adjustment to different time zones). All conversations were conducted using online means of communication (e.g., Skype, Zoom). To avoid miscommunication caused by unexpected technical difficulties and by the fact that English is not my mother tongue, the interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' permission. Recordings allowed for detailed transcription, which I completed within two weeks after each interview. The transcription itself also served as an initial content analysis and strongly shaped the process of narrowing the overarching theme of the dissertation. The individual interviews lasted 45 to 75 minutes, amounting to nearly 7 hours of audio recordings and 100 pages of transcriptions. All communication, written or verbal, took place in English.

During the interviews, I was able to ask open-ended questions about the participants' qualifications, professional backgrounds, motivations and reflections on reasons for entering the teaching profession, challenges and rewards of classroom teaching, imagined future career trajectory, and what it means to be an English-language teacher.

In addition to the interviews, in the fall 2020 semester, one teacher invited me to observe the class she taught to Chinese students at Jinan University in Guangzhou and view recordings of her class for international students at Baruch College, a branch of the City University of New York. My presence during the class was made possible only because instruction had moved online because of the pandemic. From October to December 2020, I observed altogether 11 class sessions, lasting 90 to 120 minutes each.

The analysis of the interviews and class observations allowed me to identify thematic areas I wanted to pursue and inspired my search for conceptual framing. In particular, I became interested in the different aspects of teaching English in the global context and the role of teachers in building a certain global imaginary by teaching and performing the language. In these interviews, the themes of English as a global language and teaching it in a transnational context emerged particularly strongly. Participants talked about teaching English as a way of meaningful professional and personal self-realization in the global context. They told me how helping learners use English is a high-stakes operation that makes them feel fulfilled, and how teaching in distant places allows them to become professionally engaged globally in a meaningful way. In the context of my methodological focus on *biographicity*, a common theme in teachers' narratives was the TESOL certificate program and the ways it changed their life.

Based on these interviews, I identified the dominant themes I wanted to explore further in phase 2 of my research.

### 3.3.2.2. PHASE 2

To explore how these issues figure in the personal and professional lives of EFL teachers, I selected the biographical method to guide the second phase of my data collection with five participants. Three had participated in the first phase and in addition, I interviewed two more EFL teachers coming from the United Kingdom, who were not alumni of the New School program and did not come from the American context of EFL teaching. In choosing them, I wanted to broaden the research sample and extend my study to teachers from other English-speaking countries and different environments. I decided to use the biographical method as a way that would allow me to ask and reflect together with the interviewees on their thoughts about the researched topic in the contexts of their lives.

Working with the concept of *biographicity*, I wanted to hear stories of the teachers' redesigned lives. I wanted to touch on moments when they reshaped their personal and professional biographies in response to changing conditions. With a special emphasis on what they had experienced in life, what was important to them and the changes that had occurred, I planned to focus on one period when their professional lives evolved. In conclusion, I sought their reflections on the meaning of their experiences of *biographicity*. The interviews considered the link between teaching English and biography to respond to the problem embedded in Alheit's challenge: "The question which actually needs clarifying is (…) *how* and especially *why* normal people succeed again and again in mastering crises and living their own lives" (Alheit, 1994b, p. 286).

Table 5 presents an overview of research participants in the second phase of the study.

|   | Name | First interview | Second interview | New School alumni | Citizenship |
|---|------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Diane | 04.03.2020 | 17.04.2021 | Yes, 2006 | American |
| 2 | Alex | 11.02.2020 | 19.04.2021 | Yes, 2010 | Brazilian |
| 3 | Sean | - | 19.04.2021 | No | Irish |
| 4 | Kate | - | 21.04.2021 | No | British (England) |
| 5 | Rachel | 01.02.2020 | 27.04.2021 | Yes, 2016 | American |

**TABLE 5: SECOND ROUND OF INTERVIEWS: OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**
(Source: Author)

The technical procedures of initiating, conducting, transcribing and analyzing the interviews in the second round were similar to the first. However, the way I asked questions in the second phase of my research was very different. I divided an interview into three parts. In the first part, I wanted to hear a life story with a special emphasis on the important things the participants had learned in life, and the changes in their lives to that point. In the second, I asked about details of their experience. I focused on one period when their lives evolved in a meaningful matter. Part three involved reflections on the English language-teacher's role in the global context, with an emphasis on social structures or conditions that have influenced the person's life. The data from 7 hours of audio recordings added up to 93 pages of transcription.

### 3.3.3. SUMMARY

Overall, the data collection was widely spread across the period between October 2019 to April 2021, and a total of 12 professionals participated in the process.

The table below outlines an overview of the data collection process in the two phases.

| | | Research time frame | Research activity | Research participants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Phase 1 | Stage 1 | October 2019-January 2020 | English Language Practicum: Document analysis | - |
| | Stage 2 | February 2020-April 2020 | Semi-structured narrative interviews | 10 |
| | | October 2020-December 2020 | Class observation | - |
| Phase 2 | Stage 1 | April 2021 | Biographical Interviews | 5 |

**TABLE 6: OVERVIEW OF THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS**
(Source: Author)

The biographical approach allowed me to study teachers' lives in a larger context. Although my primary research interest for the project is EFL teaching, the interviews covered the teachers' entire lives. In doing biographical interviews, my aim was to understand their teaching performance in a global context. Focusing primarily on individuals affiliated with professional education permitted me to describe the meanings of the central research themes in the teachers' life worlds as expressed in the stories they lived and told. I considered the stories valuable and noteworthy even when told by a relatively small number of people. Their stories were a deep source of knowledge and information, including the individuals' experiences, and reflected in the overarching research theme.

Conversations with teachers were the most important part of the whole research process. Being informed by the literature I consulted and the theoretical framework presented in the chapter above, I took all the stories they told and started to write the actual results, figuring out how these experiences fit together.

## 3.4.   DATA ANALYSIS

Researchers use different analytical frameworks and procedures to guide the interpretation of their qualitative data. According to Creswell, the process of analyzing qualitative data is eclectic, and "there is no single, accepted approach to analyzing qualitative data" (Creswell, 2015, p. 237). In line with the tradition of the narrative field of study, data for my research project were derived from interview records (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2018, p. 1166).

Drawing on Chase, Brinkmann, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, I "treat the interview materials as narrative accounts rather than pictures of reality" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 905). In the initial phase of data analysis, I explored a general sense of the data and followed Agar's recommendation, I read the transcripts all the way through a few times. I paid attention to details, attempting to obtain a sense of the entire interview before breaking it into parts (Creswell, 2015, p. 242).

This process influenced the continuation and development of the second phase of the data collection, the biographical interviews. The preliminary analysis at the end of the collection time, together with the second look at the material after all data had been collected, allowed for a deeper understanding of the findings, and preliminary conclusions emerged.

In my analysis of the collective narratives, I was inspired by the work of Clandinin, Huber and Morris, who stress that narrative inquiry involves a process of "storying or thinking with stories to create a grand narrative" (Clandinin et al., 2007; Clandinin & Huber, 2010; Morris, 2001). This grand narrative attends to what Clandinin and others call "three commonplaces": *temporality*, *place* and *sociality* (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 436). They explain that *time* recognizes that everything is in transition and that the past, present, and future are all connected. The history is significant, the present valuable and the future full of promise. From the perspective of the present, it is possible to comprehend the past and imagine future possibilities. The term *place* refers to the physical locations and contexts of events and experiences. *Sociality* is divided into two parts. First, it takes into account external factors such as cultural, institutional, sociological, and linguistic. Second, it comprises the characters' internal personal conditions such as sentiments, hopes, desires, aesthetic reactions, and moral inclinations. All three are true for both the story and the research setting in which it is told or discovered.

In line with this approach, I transcribed each interview in detail, marked important quotations and grouped them in a way that was easy to navigate throughout. Before I started writing and retelling the stories I had collected from individuals, I read through the material again and looked for consistent themes. As part of my preparation for interviews, I had collected available biographical information and noted it on separate sheets dedicated to individual interviewees. This way, I had 12 sheets that were easy to read through.

I recorded class observations and personal reflections in the form of memos to which I would return during the writing stage. Similarly to the process of analyzing interview data, I reread these memos for consistent themes, which I marked, juxtaposed and analyzed across the themes I identified in my analysis of interviews. In the writing of this dissertation, I have worked across these different kinds of qualitative data that I contextualized in literature and theory. This process allowed me to understand and situate teachers' stories of engagement in teaching English in the larger context of their lives, find a conclusion and try to show the complexity behind the researched theme. In telling the stories of their lives, the teachers told me stories of engagement in teaching English: how they positioned themselves and saw themselves as organic intellectuals in the global context.

## 3.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Shortly before starting my doctoral work, in November 2019 I took part in a certified training on personal data protection procedures organized by the University of Lower Silesia and conducted by a personal data inspector (the training was repeated in April 2021).

Constructing the dissertation and research, I considered several ethical concerns. New ethical issues emerged in conducting research interviews online. Before beginning to recruit participants, I thought through all aspects of the study. Careful planning helped me improve the quality of the study while protecting participants.

With regard to the interviews conducted, and before initiating the meetings, all participants were precisely informed in a written form (e-mail) as to the purpose of the research project, expectations for their participation, types of data I intended to collect and potential publication of the findings. All were informed that participation was voluntary and that, with no consequences, they could withdraw their data at any time. The interviewees were requested to give explicit consent to the recording, collection of personal data and further use in the research (for example using, identifying characteristics or direct quotations). This

information was repeated before launching every single conversation. In addition, each participant was given the option to remain anonymous. Among all the teachers interviewed, two wished to do so. Their first and last names, along with any information that could potentially identify them, were anonymized before the start of the writing phase. The remaining participants gave their consent to appear in the dissertation under their actual names whenever a quotation and/ or a description was provided.

The collection of data included not only first and last names, but also other personal data, such as age and gender. The data was stored in a digital form on a secure system (personal MS365 Office account and password-protected computer). The technology used to store data allowed me to download and then delete the interview records. Audio recordings were deleted after being transcribed. In cases involving project documentation, each document was either publicly accessible online (project website) or stored in the project office, a place of my employment. The research did not involve children and persons under age 18, nor any other vulnerable categories.

## 4. INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS

The five participants I chose for the second phase of the study exhibit diversity in age, nationality, employment and educational background. In consonance with the inclusion criteria, four of them are citizens of inner-circle nations (the U.K., Ireland, and the United States); one is a citizen of Brazil and represents the expanding outer circle countries (according to Kachru's Model; see part 2.1.4). All the participants are qualified teachers, having each completed a TESOL, DELTA or CELTA certificate program. In the next sections, I describe the participants' biographical background information.

### 4.1. DIANE

Diane describes herself as a "Manhattan-based writer, editor and educator" (Diane Nottle, 2019).[51] She spent over 30 years as a journalist in daily newspapers, including *The New York Time,* where for almost 20 years she was an editor specializing in arts and culture. She has published articles on lifestyles, travel, the arts, television, food, home design and education in publications including *The Boston Globe*, *The New York Daily News*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Detroit News*, *The Atlanta Journal*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Miami News* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Since graduating from the TESOL program at the New School in 2008, she has taught English in Columbia University's American Language Program, Hunan University of Science and Technology in Xiangtan, China, and the University of Lower Silesia in Wroclaw, Poland (where she designed several thematic courses, including "English for Professional Purposes," "Cultural Backgrounds of English-Speaking Nations," "English for the Media," "English for the Arts," "English for Academia and Beyond" and "English Writing: Avoiding the Trouble Spots." In 2016 she was awarded a prestigious Fulbright Senior Specialist grant.

She has taught professional journalism courses, in English, at Jinan University in Guangzhou, China: "English News Gathering and Writing," "International News Analysis and Comparison," "Media Law and Ethics, and "Survey of English-Speaking Cultures."

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[51] dianenottle.com/about

She has been coaching international students at the City University of New York's graduate school of journalism since 2012, and she is the founder and author of its English for Journalists blog.[52] Currently she also gives private English lessons online to students from all over the world.

Diane has written three books: "American English for World Media" (a guide to grammar, usage, pronunciation and professional terminology for journalists and other media professionals who are not native English-speakers but need to use it in their work); "English Grammar and Writing" (with Zhu Xiangjun; a guide for Chinese learners of English ); and "Traveling in Tongues: Adventures in Language and Life" (a memoir of her life as a perpetual student of languages and her transformation into a teacher of her own).

Diane was born in a small town in Pennsylvania. Even as a child, she always knew she wanted to go to college and assumed she would be a teacher because that was all she knew:

> *I assumed I was going to be probably an elementary school teacher. And then by the time I got to maybe junior high, I realized I do not really like kids that much and I did not want to spend my life being a small town, probably as a high school teacher. I probably would have been an English teacher. I had to find a way to make a living because it was always clear to me I would need to make my own living and it had to be something to do with language and words. I thought, okay, journalism. That is about writing, and you can get a real job in it. I thought, well, I am not going to be a journalist forever. I only will do this until I can become a writer.[53]*

Her life is very much shaped by language. Although she does not speak many languages fluently, she has studied several, including Latin, French and Japanese. Language seems to be her biggest talent:

> *People are gifted in math and in science, I have language.*

She has an extensive career as a journalist, but around 2005, during a down period in her career, she realized she was not going to be doing that forever. She started to think what she would do if she just left the newspaper:

> *One of the things that came up was, I could try teaching English to speakers of other languages. I had a couple of things happen that indicated that this might be a*

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[52] englishforjournalists.journalism.cuny.edu

[53] This quotation, along with those to follow comes from an interview conducted with Diane on April 17, 2021

*good choice for me and that it might be something I could logically do. I saw an ad for*

*the open house at the New School, for the certificate program. I thought I should go.*
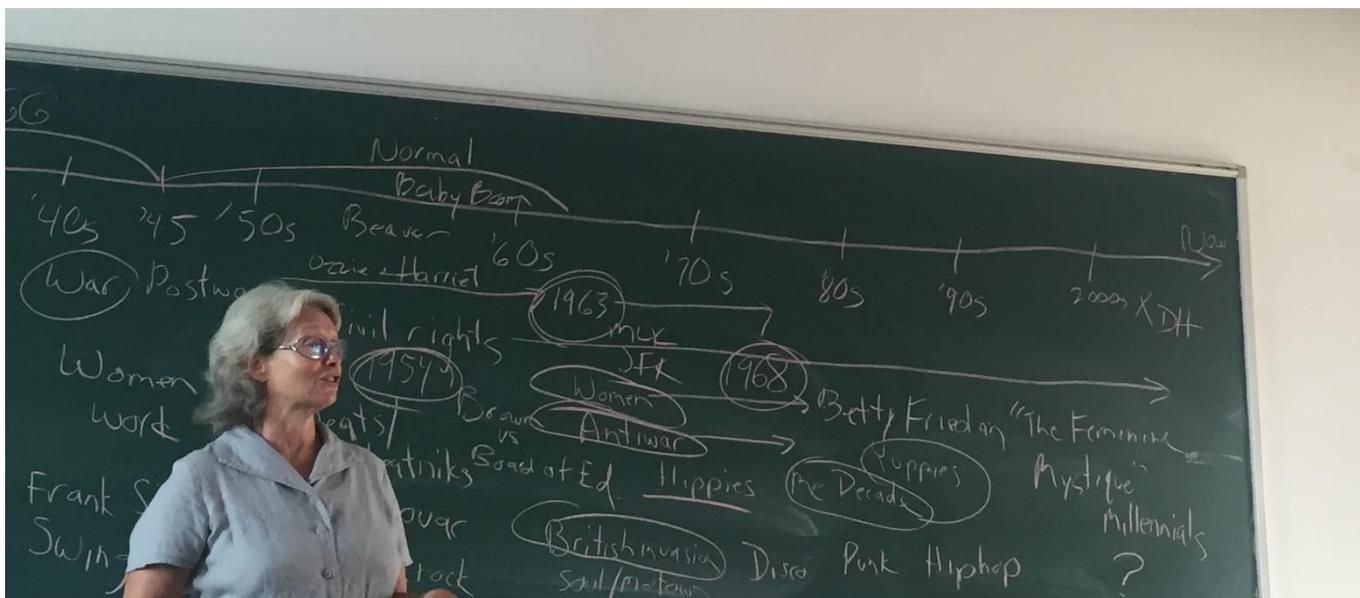


**FIGURE 9: DIANE TEACHING CHINESE STUDENTS ABOUT AMERICAN MUSIC AND POP CULTURE, JINAN UNIVERSITY, 2015**
(Source: Diane's private archive)

She went through the New School certificate program and completed the Wrocław practicum, which marked the start of her teaching career.

## 4.2. RACHEL

Rachel has 20 years of experience in publishing, which brings a unique set of skills to her role as an English teacher and an editor in academic and professional writing. She has served as a publications editor for the Kafka Society of America, the Journal of the American Council for the Study of Austrian Culture, the Music Sales Corporation and the New York Philharmonic. She was an online publishing specialist at the National Center for Biotechnology Information at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, where she oversaw the online publication of more than 100 medical research journals. Rachel has contributed as an editor and proofreader to publications of the Earle Brown Music Foundation, the Fales Library and Special Collections at New York University (NYU), the Milken Archive of American Jewish Music, and the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Educational Forum (a scientific peer-reviewed journal). Currently, she works as a production editor with John Wiley & Sons, a global publishing company that specializes in academic publishing.

She earned a master's degree in library science at the Pratt Institute's School of Library and Information Science in 2006. She added that degree to an already impressive academic portfolio, which includes a bachelor's degree in flute performance and music history from Temple University and an M.A. in musicology from NYU. Rachel also holds a TESOL certificate from the New School in New York (2016) and has taught English to speakers of other languages in public and private language schools in the United States (College of Staten Island, Brooklyn Public Library, the Latin American Association, New York English Academy), Peru, Poland (Wrocław practicum and as a fellow in the Kosciuszko Foundation's Teaching English in Poland Program 2020, Basznia Dolna English Language and American Culture Camp).

In 2019 she started to study at Hunter College for an M.A. in TESOL. In parallel, she has been developing her online teaching skills, as she expects the demand for online education to continue after the pandemic.

Like Diane, Rachel was born in a very small town in Pennsylvania and always wanted to move to a big city:

*There were other things in the world I wanted to see and do.*[54]

When she was growing up, there were two important things in her life: education and travel. Her parents told her to focus on her education first and then see the world.

Realizing she could merge teaching with travel, she became interested in teaching English to speakers of other languages,:

*I have always had an interest in travel and teaching English. I have worked in publishing, which is dealing with the English language, but I love learning languages. So, I always thought that teaching English overseas would be an amazing thing to do (…) and living in New York City, where there is such a huge immigrant population who need English or want English or would benefit from learning English, so I thought, well, here is this community of people like my neighbors, who I could be serving, and I could be helping them acquire this skill and I could be developing my skills as a teacher and seeing if it is something I could really do.*

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[54] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Rachel on April 27, 2021.

She began teaching in 2013 as a volunteer at the Brooklyn Public Library, leading small conversation groups to help adults learn to speak and improve their English proficiency:

*I started doing that and I absolutely loved it.*

From the beginning, her teaching was driven by her interests in languages, teaching, travel and connecting with people. Her teaching philosophy is based on the idea that all language classes are multilingual classrooms, and that all students bring a wealth of linguistic resources to her English lesson. She attempts to make the most of all the languages in her classroom to improve the target language – English – and create a friendly learning environment for all her students.
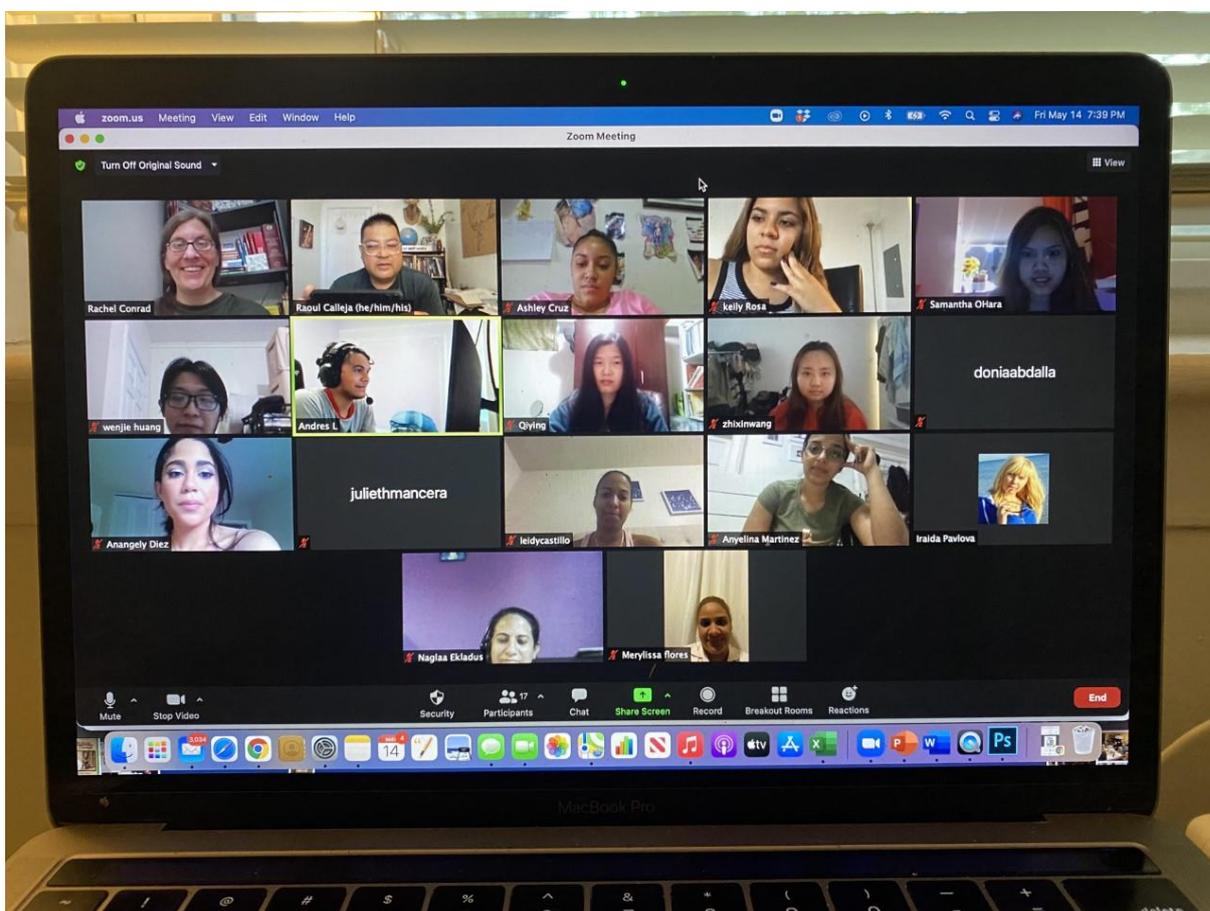


FIGURE 10: RACHEL (UPPER LEFT CORNER) DURING AN ONLINE CLASS AT CUNY LANGUAGE IMMERSION PROGRAM, SPRING 2021
Her students, from about 20 different countries, have been accepted into a CUNY college but must first take academic reading and writing classes before they can officially matriculate (Source: Rachel's private archive).

## 4.3. ALEX

Alex, who graduated from the New School certificate program in 2010, has over 20 years' experience in teaching including more than 10 years' experience in teaching English in

several different countries (Poland, Portugal, Brazil, USA). He had prepared students for the TOEFL, IELTS and TOEIC exams. He is an experienced translator from English and Portuguese for a wide range of areas and industries such as legal, pharmaceutical, oil and gas, and hospitality. He worked for global companies including Shell and BP. In recent years, he has focused on business English and academic writing. He assists foreign students in American universities in preparing for the writing sections of the TOEFL and IELTS, as well as Ph.D. and postdoctoral students in writing and editing papers for publication or presentation in seminars and congresses. He has developed an extensive career as an English-language teacher, giving private lessons, teaching in person and online, independently and through SELECT.linguas, a language school he established in Brazil. With these experiences, Alex has been navigating his multiple identities as a language learner, teacher, international student and migrant.

Unlike the four other participants in the second phase of my research, Alex is not a native English-speaker of English but represents the expanding outer circle of English language-users. He was born and grew up in Brazil, a Portuguese-speaking country, but throughout his life he has spent many years (more than 18) in the United States. Before he became interested in a career teaching English, he studied biology, biomedical science, biophysics, and environmental science. His education includes degrees in Geoenvironmental studies (B.A., Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania) and social sciences (B.A, Universidade Federal Fluminense, and M.A., Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro).

As a teenager he studied English for seven years at a British school in Brazil. He first went to the United States as a high school exchange student when he was 14 - an experience that enhanced his English language skills by exposing him to native speakers:

> *That accelerated and I became quite fluent in English at that time. I was there only for one year.*[55]

He returned to Brazil and finished high school. He went back to the U.S. at the beginning of the 1980's and applied for a scholarship program at Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania, where he studied for three years. After graduation he returned back to Rio, where he took his first certificate examination and proficiency test (Cambridge) and applied for a scholarship to study in the United States, as he said, *to keep in touch with the language.*

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[55] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Alex on April 19, 2021

He would also signed up for various courses at American Center in Rio: in translation, teaching English, phonology course, grammar course, American literature.

He had his first experience in teaching English in 1984:

*That was the first job that I ever got as an English teacher. (...) I went back to Brazil, and there were no jobs in environmental science. That was, what we call, 'the relaxation period' because it was a transition from the military regime to the democratic. It was very difficult – the '80s were difficult years in Latin America – and I ended up working in different jobs. The first job was teaching English.*

In 1994 he moved back to the United States to work for an airline, and two years later he returned to Brazil and decided to go back to school. He became interested in anthropology, sociology and political science. He studied politics of education and sociology at Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro and also taught Brazilian Culture and Introduction to Sociology. At the same time, he was becoming involved with a group of researchers in education and political science, working with children from low-income families who had made it to the university:

*It was very important to use those kids as role models, especially because they were coming from areas called 'favelas,' which had a lot of backward traffic issues – the poverty, no garbage collection, no proper education, no proper housing. But these kids somehow made it. They were brilliant minds, made it to the higher educational system in Rio.*

He came across information that similar programs were conducted in the United States. In 2005, with his wife and daughter, Alex moved to New York and applied to City University of New York, but his project was not accepted. He decided to go to New York University and earn a certificate in Global Affairs:

*I finished the certificate program and wrote a paper that changed my life: 'Immigration, from segregation to assimilation. The history of a hyphenated population,' where I was dealing with Afro-Americans, Greek-Americans, Latin-Americans, Polish-Americans, and discussed democracy in America. When I wrote that paper, I started thinking, why not teach English to immigrants?!*

In 2009 Alex enrolled in the New School certificate program:

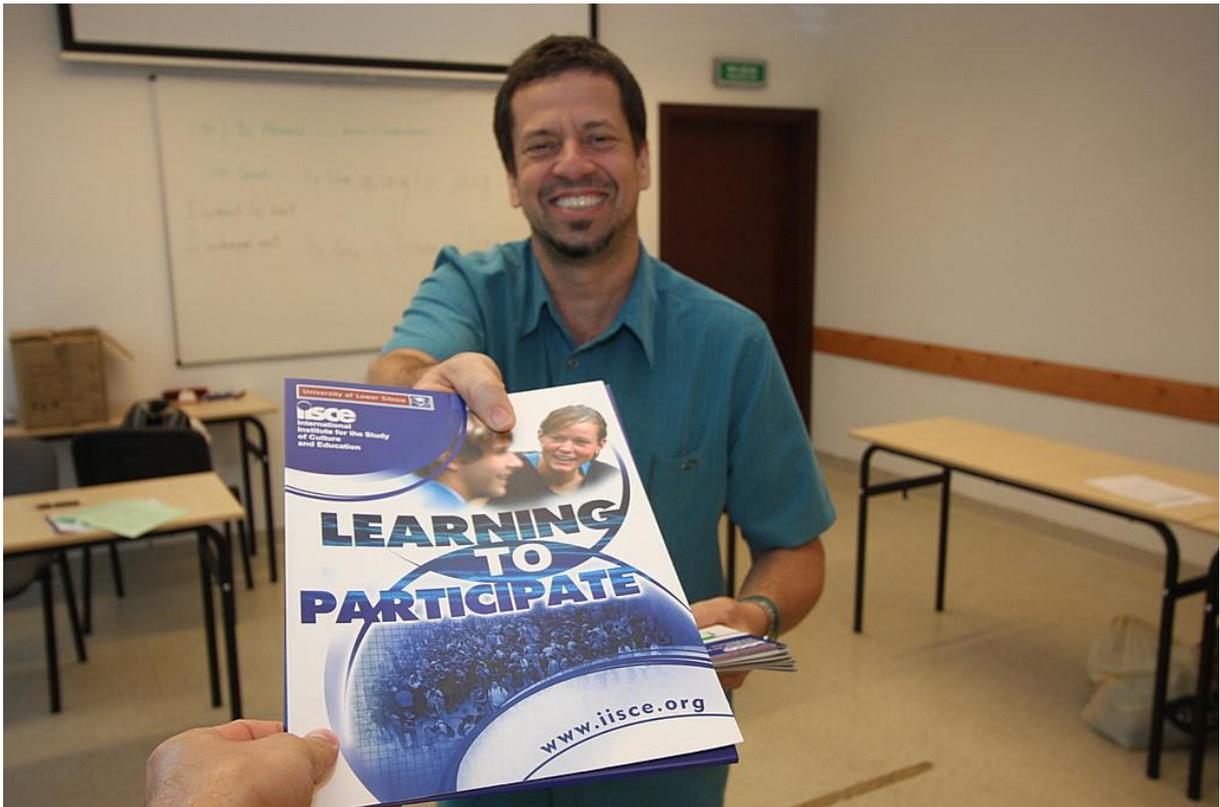*I started the New School, and I found a whole new career.*

**FIGURE 11: ALEX HANDING A CERTIFICATE OF ATTENDANCE TO ONE OF THE STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE INTENSIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE SUMMER CLASS**
organized by the International Institute for the Study of Culture and Education at ULS (2006-2018, Wrocław, Poland; Source: IISCE archive).

## 4.4. SEAN

Sean was born in New Zealand to a New Zealand mother and an Irish father. The family moved to Ireland when he was 3, and he grew up in Ireland. He went through public education and decided to take a gap year before starting university. He worked in construction to save money for a trip to India and Nepal, where he started to volunteer teaching English with Oyster Worldwide, a British travel organization.[56]

This experience planted a seed in his mind, and he started to think of teaching as an opportunity to travel and see the world. He graduated with a degree in sociology in 2012 and went straight to work for a year on a government program, teaching English in the Republic of Georgia. From there, Sean moved to teach first in Korea, then in Kurdistan and Kazakhstan.

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[56] Oyster Worldwide has been sending volunteers and paid workers to diverse destinations around the world since 2006; www.oysterworldwide.com.

In 2018 he graduated from an intensive DELTA certificate program at the University of Cambridge. The diploma allowed him to become the academic director of the British Study Centres Algeria and Algeria International Study Centre and to run an English-language school, a private franchise of an U.K. university pathway program. Apart from being the director, Sean taught general English classes for adults and a class in English for Academic Purposes. From 2018 to 2020, he studied literary linguistics and earned an M.A. from the University of Nottingham. In 2020 he moved back to Ireland, where he has been looking for a job and studying for a master's in law. At the time of the interview, he was hoping to start a contract job quite soon:

> *The last year has been a kind of time thinking about what I might want. I am very unhappy with the English language teaching, the ELT industry. I believe that to be an intensely immoral industry, and I have been wanting to get out of it. (...) I have an interview this week, which I would genuinely love to get, which is for, in Ireland, we have a center called Youthreach,[57] which is educational centers for people who have been kicked out or dropped out of a normal secondary school, normal education. It is kind of what they call 'second chance education.' And so, it is for the more disadvantaged areas. So, I will be working as a resource person, which is like assistant director of studies. I am interviewing for that job. That is what I would like to do.[58]*

## 4.5.  KATE

Kate was born and grew up in England. She is an experienced teacher of English as a Foreign Language and academic director with a demonstrated history of working in the education management industry. She holds a B.A. degree in English language and she has two M.A. degrees – one in language documentation and description, the second in anthropology. She is also a Ph.D. candidate in Linguistics.

Between her undergraduate degree and the master's degree, she received CELTA qualification:

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[57] The Programme for Employability, Inclusion and Learning 2014-2020 is co-funded by the Government of Ireland and the ESF with a special allocation from the Youth Employment Initiative. The Youthreach programme provides two years integrated education, training and work experience for unemployed early school-leavers without any qualifications or vocational training who are between 15 and 20 years of age (Youthreach, The Programme for Employability, Inclusion and Learning 2014-2020).

[58] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Sean on April 19, 2021.

> *I mostly did it because my housemate was doing one and she wanted some company.*[59]

But the certificate came in handy when she finished her studies and could not find a job. She found a teaching job on tefol.com and went to Kyrgyzstan for over a year, teaching General English to teenagers and adults at the London School in Bishkek. While in Kyrgyzstan, she applied for a job in Yakutsk, Siberia, where she later spent ten months teaching children, teenagers and adults, preparing them for IELTS (a popular English language proficiency test). After that she went to Shanghai, where for almost a year she taught English for Academic Purposes to university students at East China Normal University. In 2018 she moved to Algeria and became an English-language teacher at BSC Algeria, teaching General English courses for group lessons and individual tutorials at a range of levels (A1-C1); preparing and teaching conversation workshops for beginner, intermediate and advanced classes; and participating in ongoing Continuing Professional Development workshops with fellow teachers. Later she was promoted and became an academic director of the center. She coordinated and taught a pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes program for prospective entrants to U.K. universities; delivered counseling, and oversaw university placement processes for undergraduate and postgraduate students. After three years in Algeria, Kate decided she needed a change:

> *I was in Algeria and I had been teaching for maybe six, seven years already. I did come to enjoy it more, but I never really felt that it was for me, I guess. I started thinking quite seriously about doing a Ph.D. and decided to come back home. So, it is kind of nice to find that I do actually enjoy teaching. It might just be the subject teaching that I need to change.*

## 4.6.  SUMMARY

For the participants in this study, pursuing a teaching career was shaped by a variety of internal and external motivations. Whether they drew upon their experiences as students, their previous careers, or being native or non-native speakers, they had to imagine themselves as global ambassadors for the English language and the cultures of English-speaking nations. These five people alone have taught thousands of students from dozens of countries – to mention only a few, Armenia, Brazil, Canada, China, Georgia, Japan, Kazakhstan, Korea,

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[59] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Kate on April 21, 2021

Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Nepal. Those in the United States often taught immigrants from all over the world.

Diane, who has the longest teaching career, has taught English to students from at least 30 different nationalities.

*The thing about teaching in New York City, because we have everybody from all over the world, if you go into a class, you could have any combination of languages from anywhere in the world. In this current class at Baruch, I have four Chinese, one Japanese, two from Latin America – I think possibly both Colombian. At Baruch, some years I have three or four Chinese, lots of Asians. One year I had four French speakers. So, it can be any combination. In China, obviously the Chinese, but I have had a couple of Indonesians there. I have had one from Uganda and one from Zimbabwe. The interesting thing about Canada – I was in Vancouver, which has a big Asian population, but Canada is very mixed anyway. So out of 14, seven were not native English speakers. We had one or two Koreans. We had an Egyptian who had grown up in Bahrain. I had an Icelandic student in that class. I had a Russian, any combination. So, I have had people from literally all over the world. Even in Wrocław, there was one year there were several Romanians. There was a German, there was Lucka* [from the Czech Republic]. *So even though I have taught in maybe three or four specific locations, I have had people from just about everywhere.*

She, Rachel and Alex continue to teach locally and globally, whether in person or online. Sean and Kate reached a point of decision to make a career change. The experiences of all five participants illustrate multiple strategies and choices made to negotiate the ethics of teaching the dominant language.

In the next chapter, I present the findings of my study based on their biographies.

# 5. LANGUAGE AND INEQUALITY: GLOBAL CHALLENGES TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

This chapter presents the perspectives of Sean and Kate, as they struggled with the tensions and rewards of teaching EFL. I chose Sean and Kate for my study because of their extensive experience as EFL teachers in various countries: Armenia, China, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal and Russia. In their interviews with me, they both comment on deep inequalities embedded in the English language-learning and teaching industry. They provide deeply reflective descriptions of their experiences, including their struggles with reconciling ethical dilemmas tied to being teachers of a language that is global and hegemonic. In this chapter, I explore participants' *biographicity* through unpacking their attempts to reconcile their aspirations with the realities of the English language global market.

## 5.1. SEAN: *"ENGLISH LANGUAGE-LEARNING IS AN ENORMOUS CONTRIBUTOR TO INEQUALITY"*

At the time of the interview, Sean was looking for a teaching position, applying to public universities across Ireland and the United Kingdom. A year before, he had returned from Armenia, where he established and ran a private English language school. Since he returned to Ireland, he had been trying to find a job in an area of expertise different from teaching EFL. He was hoping for a position as an assistant director of studies in an educational center called Youthreach, working with students from disadvantaged areas.

The entry to the teaching profession was a part of his search for a suitable (educational and professional) occupation in the future. Sean started teaching English as a volunteer teacher in Nepal in 2008. He finished high school in Ireland and wanted to take a "gap year" before moving ahead with his education:

> *On the last day of school, I remember saying, 'this is a great moment because I never have to step a foot in a school again.' And then a year later I was a volunteer teacher. I was on the other end of the school process (...) I spent six months in Nepal, volunteer teaching, and that kind of planted the seed of teaching as an opportunity to get involved and to escape. (...) I said, 'I am not staying in Ireland. I want to leave.'*

In Nepal he helped teach English in a local school that did not have an English language teacher at all.[60] The only qualification to be able to teach English Sean had was his status as a native speaker. Although he liked the experience and wanted to continue teaching and traveling the world, he quickly realized that under the cover of a resource of global communication, the private sector sees English as a commodity to be sold.

According to Sean, the major determinants of effective instruction should be teachers' qualification and pedagogical skills, not when or how they learned English. Sean's biography proves that access to quality education is not available to all. Taking for granted that a native speaker is the best possible person to teach a foreign language is absolutely stereotypical. Educational materials and assessments have to account for the real world of using English. In Sean's view, individuals who work as English-language teachers and earn money without having adequate teacher training or education are a threat to the profession.



**FIGURE 12: SEAN DURING AN ENGLISH CLASS IN NEPAL**
(Source: "Where are they now? Sean McGann tells us how his life has changed since his time in Nepal" – Oyster (oysterworldwide.com); Retrieved May 19, 2021).

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[60] He later reflected on his teaching experience in Nepal in a short memo published at Where are they now? Sean McGann tells us how his life has changed since his time in Nepal – Oyster (oysterworldwide.com)

Sean did not want to be the kind of a teacher whose only qualification for his profession was his native language. He explains that he started to work as a teacher to escape financial crisis in Ireland but he also saw the job as an opportunity for personal growth and learning as well as a way to orient himself toward new experiences. Three years later, he graduated from college with a degree in Sociology, and in his last year of study he decided to do a TESOL certificate. After graduation, he went straight to teach English language on a government program in the Republic of Georgia. His university degree and the certificate were the only requirements for acceptance in that program:

> *They advertised on the tefl.com*[61] *website; you applied and there was one interview. It was not very rigorous, I would say. They did an interview; then you did not have to do any visa until you got in the country. It was basically just the interview, and within a matter of a week, you could be in Georgia.*

In Georgia, Sean taught basic English to children and teenagers at a public school. When he arrived in Supsa, a village on the shore of the Black Sea, no one in the village spoke English. He says:

> *Even the English teachers did not speak very much English. The students were all A1, beginners.*

Sean saw it as a major problem, as he witnessed that many teachers with little or no proficiency were forced to teach English, with poor results. And this problem relates not only to non-native speakers, but also to native speakers with literacy issues. He feels they devalue competent professionals and depreciate professionalism in English language-teaching. Market forces, he believes, may be the reason. In many contexts, he stated, demand for teachers far outweighs supply, and usually the more qualified and expert the teacher, the more expensive they tend to be.

The next step in Sean's EFL teaching career was a position in a private language school in Korea. There, for a year and a half, he taught classes in English to young learners. English was integrated into other subjects:

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[61] Tefl.com is one of the longest-established and most popular international English Language Teaching job platforms. It has acted as a conduit between teachers and language employers since 1997. "With a registered membership of 200,000+ ELT teaching professionals and 30,000+ employers, we offer the international job-seeker access to a unique selection of international teaching job vacancies and the recruiter to a truly global teaching audience" (ELT Job Search).

*I would teach geography to young kids in English. The lesson objective would be English learning, where you would kind of do it through little geography and culture lessons.*

It was in Korea that Sean started to feel that he was adding to the global English language industry, and he began to have doubts about further engaging in the field:

*In Korea it was harvesting money from young education. My job was much more about what their work and progress appeared to their parents than what their work and progress actually was.*

There, he noticed that teaching English was much more than the instruction itself:

*I found out that there is a commercial push to learn English. 'You need to do English? You want to learn English? Oh, great. Our courses are 10 euros an hour, but if you spend 12 euros an hour, you can do business English. And if you spend 14 euros an hour, you can get a free textbook.'*

It started to become obvious to him that there is commercialization and that there are commercial benefits of learning the language. But that was not what learning languages meant to him:

*I have an example where students have failed exams or assignments, partly as a result of them not working, but also partly as a result of bad and no standards in the delivery of the education and the owners of this private education, rather than saying, 'okay, let's work on building up that student,' they said, 'pass them.' And then the teacher is forced to find a way to give them a C, which allows them to continue. And does not even never force students to reflect. It is bad for local students who see their education standards diminish.*

This experience resonated with him for a long time, and by the end of his stay in Korea, he decided he did not want to be a teacher anymore. Looking back at his time in Georgia and Korea, he realized that his main motivations to do this job were traveling to exotic destinations and encountering other cultures:

*I was content. I said to myself, 'Well, this is only – this is just traveling. It is not working.'*

Reflecting on his teaching career, Sean also pointed out that he wanted more from that experience. His work as a language educator was an important aspect of his life. By teaching

abroad and meeting people from other cultures he was able to acquire new knowledge and thus further develop his individual interests:

> *When I left Korea, I did not know any Korean, and I was a little bit embarrassed about that. So, I said, 'The next place I go, I want to learn the language and not befriend Europeans and Americans only.'*

His next stop was Kyrgyzstan, where he taught at a private language center. He decided to immerse himself in the local community and started to learn Russian:

> *I spent two years in Kyrgyzstan learning Russian. That was a life-changing time. I look back and say there was a change, absolutely change in my life, primarily due to learning Russian, the friends there and as well meeting my partner. (...) Definitely, Kyrgyzstan changed that for me, because I liked my job and I liked my students, and I learned to teach, really. I learned teaching in Kyrgyzstan.*

As a result, he made it a priority to not only teach others but also to learn new things. From Kyrgyzstan, Sean moved to Kazakhstan when he wanted to combine teaching English and continuing to learn Russian. Again, through tefl.com, he found a job in a private company where he had a chance to teach his students without a pressure to achieved high scores on an exam or good marks. His activity as a teacher was a personal learning process, oriented toward possibilities provided by a multicultural world. For Sean, the world is a space of possibilities where one moves according to his or her interests. This possibilities are matched to a current person's interest, and institutionalized procedures and external expectations do not play any role:

> *That was a really bizarre job. I was recruited by one of the oligarchs. He had an idea that he would like to know English, but he also wanted his security team and management team to learn English. And he needed someone that could also do elements of interpretation and translation. My job was to teach his security team, and I did bits of interpretation for European clients that were coming to me. I would greet them and introduced them to Almaty, the city where we were. It was kind of a mixture between doing nothing and just hanging around with the staff. I enjoyed that.*

He believes this teaching experience in Kazakhstan was one of the best contributions he ever made while teaching English:

> *The security team were ex-Russian soldiers who did not really have many opportunities in their lives. They just happened to join the army, did relatively well in*

*the army and now they were doing this job in security. So, none of them spoke very much English. They had never learned English. And I kind of got the opportunity to work with them without any pressure to pass exams or to get a certificate. They just said: 'Hey, I want to learn English.' It was as a personal development thing, I felt that was really great.*

In Kazakhstan, Sean started to like teaching again and decided to raise his teaching qualifications and do the DELTA certificate to improve his skills. The certificate allowed him to develop confidence that he is a good teacher and knowledge about teaching methods and what is teaching really about:

*DELTA was instrumental, and it was so helpful. I learned a lot, which I then applied throughout my time in Algeria. One of the things that I really learned during DELTA is that there is a non-linguistic objective towards what you are doing. And I find that this principle underline literally everything. I think, in English language-teaching, I think that is it. And I used that in my sociology classes. I said the objective of the lesson was never to teach a sociological term. It was to be able to apply a sociological concept to a particular situation. It is this skill or task-based learning we try to find which are the essence of my educational philosophy. I would say. I definitely facilitate a place which can serve more objectives than just language learning.*

After receiving the DELTA certificate from the University of Cambridge, Sean moved to Algeria, where he set up a school that prepared Algerian students to apply for admission to British universities.[62]

From 2018 to 2021, apart from being an academic director of the study center, he taught English for Academic Purposes, Society and Politics, and Research Methods.

This experience was, again, a transformative one. After three years in Algeria, Sean decided he does not want to teach English language anymore:

*I think I did damage. I think I was setting up a system that is not good for Algerian society. (...) There is an analogy between what I do and what the old British colonialists did when they went to India or West Africa. I guess they are not the same*

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[62] Algeria International Study Centre "is a franchise school of British Study Centres Group that has extensive experience in education and a long history of excellence. The school offers high-quality, communicative and student-centered English courses with highly experienced and qualified native English teachers for all kinds of learners" (NCUK).

*thing, but there are similarities.*

*When I go and teach English in Central Asia or Algeria, I am almost embodying Western values. I am embodying the Western values that Western countries demonstrate to the world through all this propaganda marketing. For example, in Algeria, people say the U.K. education system is the best education system in the world. And it has been told to Algerians from the age of 2 to the age of 200. So, when I arrive in Algeria, yet as a part of these political and social structures, I embody those values, even if I do not want to, I am embodying those values; you cannot escape it. The only way to not do that is to not go abroad and teach.*

He comments on the university path program of which he was a part:

*The United Kingdom universities charge really high prices, so centers in Algeria or Nigeria or Vietnam have to charge really high prices, which means that only the richest in the country can study. So, it is almost like the United Kingdom is exporting that model of education – exporting this class-creating system that simultaneously only allows the elite to study but also gives the impression of English as a necessary step towards success. However, that necessary step is very expensive, and I find the U.K. universities – I had have less dealings with American universities and Australian universities, but my understanding is they are not much better. They are exporting this financial and commercial form of education, which reinforces class in societies that do not particularly need any help.*

*I was supposed to spend last year in Odessa, Ukraine, and I remember talking to someone there, and they were saying that in Ukraine all of the middle-class kids who are able to afford are put into English language education. There is the governmental incentive to invest in English education because it is completely privatized. And the people who do not get to learn English do not actually have a political voice anywhere. It kind of goes across the borders, and it is this constant push of, like English, well, you might like business English. It is only slightly more expensive. Oh, you might like, because you speak English, now you need to learn professional skills. And it is a never-ending treadmill of money-harvesting.*

In his opinion, the British public universities are not a public sector available to the whole society. Although they are public universities, they are run as profit-making enterprises, which are really detrimental to the thousands of international students that they

take in every year and diminish standards in education.

Sean's comments revealed that he was aware of the various inequalities and the tensions he felt while teaching English abroad. He makes a direct link between contemporary ESOL teaching and the history of colonialism. He also shows awareness of how the economic structures – monopolized certificate exams, access to textbooks – that have been built up around English language learning and teaching "are an enormous contributor to inequality":

> *I would say English –the concept of English as a second language, English language-learning – is an enormous contributor to inequality. I do not think that is necessarily English language-learning. It is not English language-learning itself. It is the economic structures that have been built up around English language – the intense presence of Cambridge English. If you do not have a CELTA, you are not an English-language teacher. A lot of the certificates are monopolized by very few limited amount of companies, which makes English-learning monopolized.*

> *Economic structure and policy that I see: Cambridge English, Pearson, whatever, they have monopolized things. So, if you want to do an exam, you are going to be doing a Cambridge exam.*

> *The textbooks – there are not that many textbooks, considering how many people actually study English. All of these materials come from the United Kingdom or the United States and Australia, and are very expensive – highly developed, high-standard-of-living company countries that export these high prices. They are obviously modified, depending on the country, but they still remain very expensive things. An example of that is the price to do the CELTA course; that ranges from a thousand dollars to a thousand and a half dollars, and that is across the world. If you are a U.K. citizen, you actually have access to do the CELTA for free. If you are unemployed and claiming social welfare, if you are an Algerian or a Kyrgyz person, you have to spend $1,200, which is ten times the average salary in Kyrgyzstan. It creates economic inequality.*

> *The second way, I think, is often more subtle, in that how English language-learning has become a set of quantifiable goals. So, say you take this out from this yet separate scale A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2. I find that, by quantifying it so much, you create these arbitrary stages, which themselves become points for exams, which people charge for, and which they also become cultural, a form of cultural capital*

*somewhat. So, I found myself saying, like,' I reached a C1 level in Russian,' and I found myself kind of saying, 'Oh, I am C1, I am better than the B2 speakers.'*

*I am not saying all quantification of language-learning is bad. I am just saying the amount of it that comes in modern economic structures is becoming really harmful. If you are lucky like me and you – you come from a rich country and you have all these opportunities to spend some time in a foreign country learning a foreign language – you can easily get to see that, but if you are from Donbas in Ukraine, you do not have as many opportunities like that. That is unnecessarily unequal approach.*

As a result, Sean is changing his career. His experiences teaching English also illustrate the complexities and multiple dimensions created by the spread of the dominant language. Deciding not to teach English anymore, Sean is fleeing the global economic structures that he feels create inequalities among learners and teachers. In his story, entrance to the ESOL teaching activity took place accidentally, was unplanned and from the beginning, was a way to supplement his income and opportunity to travel the world. The ability to teach appears almost naturally as a result of his interests and instinctive teaching skills. It is, however, an activity that allows him to retest his teaching competences and enhance it further. From this perspective, experiences in ESOL teaching increases his personal and professional development. Through self-reflection and self-observation, he aspires to match individual interests with the available possibilities. He tells his story in a form of a personal and professional development process integrated into a biographical process of experience. With a retrospective look at his teaching career history, his next job becomes the key moment of the beginning of a change. His *biographicity* is narrated as a result of efforts in permanent learning that are strongly tied to biographical development and personal fulfillment.

## 5.2.   KATE: *"IT IS NICE TO FIND THAT I DO ACTUALLY ENJOY TEACHING. IT MIGHT JUST BE THE SUBJECT TEACHING THAT I NEED TO CHANGE"*

At the time of the interview, Kate was feeling disenchanted with her ESOL teaching experience. In particular, she found it difficult to justify her future teaching career in the English language industry. As she was already educated in English language and literature (B.A) and language documentation and description (M.A) she was well aware of the threat of the English spread and its effects on less popular languages. She said it was just getting harder and harder to justify her work:

> *I was well aware of the kind of inequalities in the industry. Between teachers and also between students. If you want a well-paid job, you are probably not going to be working for a state-funded institution. I was just getting less and less happy with that idea, I think.*[63]

Kate completed her teaching Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (CELTA) between her undergraduate work and the master's degree.

> *I mostly did it because my housemate was doing one and she wanted some company. I also did it because when I was at university doing my undergraduate, I really hated giving presentations. I thought it would be something that would help me with public speaking.*

The certificate came in handy when she finished her studies and had no job opportunities in England. She did not even know what type of job she wanted:

> *I kind of remembered that I had this CELTA, and I decided to go away for six months. And in that time, my plan was to work on a Ph.D. proposal and then come back to the U.K. I found my job at tefl.com. There was a job in Kyrgyzstan. I liked this one because it was kind of a bit unusual. Most importantly for me, it was a six-month contract rather than twelve months, because I did not actually know how much I would enjoy teaching. So, I wanted something with a slightly shorter contract. (…)*
>
> *I arrived in Kyrgyzstan and just really, really enjoyed being there. In the end, I decided to stay there for a year, extended my contract, and then I extended my contract again. So, I was there for about a little over eighteen months. Looking back, I am not sure exactly what it was that made me stay quite so long.*

In Kyrgyzstan she taught general English classes in a private language school.

> *In Kyrgyzstan, English was fairly new, not too accessible. Also, the native speakers, the Kyrgyz teachers who taught English at the school, were not very good – I think not very good at English and possibly not very good at teaching. I think they did not invest much in training. In places like Kyrgyzstan, there is not a very good infrastructure for education.*

Teaching experience from Kyrgyzstan led her to search and apply for a job in new places.

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[63] This quotation, along with those to follow, comes from an interview with Kate on April 21, 2021.

*While I was still in Kyrgyzstan, I applied for a job in Yakutsk in Siberia. I decided to go there, I think, partly because it is just such a mad place to go, but it was also a place where I could continue to learn Russian.*

There she taught general English to children and teenagers. She also led a conversation class for university staff members.

*I was there for about a year; that was quite challenging because it was just very, very isolated. It was a very small city in the middle of Siberia. Cold – absolutely, absolutely freezing. In the winter you would get about two or three hours of daylight.*

*I was mostly teaching children, which I do not enjoy doing at all. That was tough. I am very glad I did it. I was working in a very small part of the school that was sort of like a satellite school, which meant I was working just with Russian colleagues. I was able to practice my Russian a lot, which is really good. But the fact that I was mostly only speaking English to Russian children and then I started losing English. Well, that is how it felt anyway. I was there for a year. Very glad I did it, but one year was enough.*

*One of the weird things about working in Siberia, especially with the teenage years, is that it is one of the few places that I have worked, where the students I had been teaching had just absolutely no interest in going to England or going to America. It was just because their parents wanted them to learn English. They were perfectly happy with their life in Russia.*

From Yakutsk, Kate went to Shanghai. She chose China as a complete contrast to Russia.

*Initially that was one of the places I had been thinking about to go to. And I decided that I just really wanted to go, just try out. That was an enjoyable place to be. Your experience really depends on who you are working with. I happened to have quite a nice bunch of colleagues, and it is much easier to socialize and make new friends in a place like Shanghai, big, national capital city.*

She had two different jobs at two different Chinese universities. During her first semester there, she was teaching EFL to two very low levels of students and found that very tough; she confessed that it was horrible for her, as she did not like to teach beginners, but also for her students, who were not satisfied with her teaching. That is why, for the second semester, she was transferred to another university, where her experience was much better.

Shanghai was much more about her career. At that point she had been teaching about three years, and she started to specialize in university-age groups, teaching academic English. She had gained some certainty and confidence of her teaching skills and knowledge and she wanted to continue to work in the field.

*In China, where students have been much more reserved, I was able to kind of push myself with my teaching and my lesson planning, be more creative with activities. I found that really satisfying. There were a lot of times where I would finish a lesson and be really sure that the students had gone in not knowing how to do something and left knowing how to do something. But in China people tend to be slightly better educated, or it is easier for people to access good education. You would meet more people who have the training and had been speaking English from a young age.*

In 2018, Kate moved to teach in Algeria, where she was working with local and international upper-management teams to set up and run one of the British Study Centres[64] in Algiers. The process involved preparing the school for accreditation, recruiting and training staff, student recruitment, and planning and implementing a multi-disciplinary curriculum enabling students to meet the entrance requirements for undergraduate and postgraduate university study in the United Kingdom.

*We were asked to set up the school in Algiers. When we were starting it, it was very small. The first year we had about nine students total. We pretty much split the running of the school equally between us. We have both got quite complimentary skills. He is very good at the big picture, looking into the future and development, and then I am better at sort of day-to-day details. He was mostly running the language school while also teaching sociology, and I was running the pre-sessional course and teaching English for Academic Purposes, which I really enjoy.*

She was teaching Algiers students who want to go to a university in the United Kingdom. Algeria does not have an international baccalaureate system, nor is its secondary-

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[64] British Study Centre Algeria is an award-winning school of English. "We offer General English, Business English and Exam Preparation (IELTS) courses. BSC Algeria is a prestigious institution that aims to provide Algerian students with a high quality education with highly qualified teachers. We believe that learning English is a cultural experience that can change people's lives. BSC Algeria is working in partnership with NCUK, an international higher education qualification provider operating in 25 countries, with 65 Study Centres. NCUK offers students who wish to continue their studies in the United Kingdom, the opportunity to do their preparatory programs here in Algiers, which would allow them to join one of the universities of NCUK in the United Kingdom" (British Study Centres)

school qualification recognized by international universities. Students taught in the British Study Centre would receive a certificate and apply directly to universities in the U.K. At the center they studied Sociology, Business, Economics and Academic English. To qualify for a U.K. university, students needed to pass exams in all these subjects.

*I was teaching academic English, and I was also guiding them with their university choices, helping them write their applications. I enjoyed that part of the work. I like teaching where there is sort of a long-term focus – seeing the same students every day, being able to work on their skills and kind of build them up for exams or course work with the ultimate goal of having a certain grade and seeing them off to university.*

*Teaching English in Algeria is kind of a weird case. English is new over there and also until recently it has been quite inaccessible. Teachers in Algeria –, they would have maybe B1 or B2 levels. Pretty good conversationally, but not necessarily actually good enough, not a native speaker level.*

After six years of teaching English in four countries representing very different cultures and mix of people, Kate started to struggle and have doubts about the profession. She was experienced enough to be aware of the necessity for people all over the world to learn English, but it also became apparent to her that there were inequalities entangled in the process. This long quotation illustrates her experience:

*In Algeria, I became very aware of not just the value of English, but the perceived value of a degree from an English university. I have always been very conscious of that, and also, coming from a background of learning about language endangerment, which obviously goes hand in hand with colonialism, I have always been aware that the job is somewhat at odds with what I have studied into practice. It is quite an interesting contrast, but then, at the same time, I am also aware that in some cases you are giving people opportunities as well. Particularly in China, where I was working for state or public education institutions. It is harder to justify that idea of giving people opportunities when you are working in a private language school where you already teach people with lots of opportunities. (…)*

*I was working in various language schools. I am pretty sure the place I worked in Kyrgyzstan was actually fairly reasonably priced in terms of what the average salary was like. It would have been open to people who were sort of middle-class. I*

*think it was fairly affordable, and they got a lot of lessons for that money.*

*Much less the case in Algeria. It was incredibly expensive for students out there. You have really had to be earning a lot. I think (...), a lot of the students came because their employer had paid for them. You either had to be very well off yourself or quite high-ranking in a big company. That goes ten times more for the students in our pre-sessional college. Not only did they have to be able to pay for a whole year's tuition. It was a lot; I think it was somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000 GBP a year. And then on top of that, they would have to be able to afford three years of international student fees in the U.K. They were from very wealthy families. Absolutely these were people who, even without English education, would probably have been living a pretty good life, whatever they were doing.*



**FIGURE 13: AN AD FOR A LANGUAGE COURSE TAUGHT BY NATIVE SPEAKERS AT BRITISH STUDY CENTRE IN ALGERIA**
(Source: British Study Centres Algeria – Oran | Facebook; Retrieved May 19, 2021)

In her comments, Kate shows her awareness of the double-sidedness involved in the ESOL teaching. On the one hand, by teaching English, she contributes to her students' empowerment, while on the other hand, she promotes further spread of the dominant language, strengthening its hegemonic position. Ultimately, she felt these tensions could not be reconciled.

After leaving Algeria, Kate decided she did not want to teach anymore and needed to retrain. That was a moment of a shift of her identity as an English language teacher into a

continuous learner, a biographical turn. From 2020 to 2021, she studied for another Masters' Degree and was a teaching assistant at an Irish university. She believes the teaching and managing of activities were a part of her personal search and learning process. Currently she is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistics pursuing a research project on verb semantics and West African Pidgin English:

> *I came to enjoy teaching much more towards the end of my time doing it, but I still did not really enjoy it that much, and for me the biggest bonus of doing teaching [English] is being able to go to all these places.*

> *It is nice to find that I do actually enjoy teaching. It might just be the subject teaching that I need to change.*

## 5.3. THE LANGUAGE OF WESTERN SUPREMACY

Both, Sean and Kate have decided to stop teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages because they became critical of their role as instruments in furthering hegemony and global inequalities embedded in the ESOL industry and profession.

Apart from seeing TESOL as a way of deepening inequalities among the learners, they saw the same in the teachers' community.

Sean believes his status as a native English-speaker has opened more doors on his path to becoming an ESOL teacher:

> *The fact that I am a native speaker of English and the fact that I am white has helped me to become a teacher. If you go to many Asian countries, you can have a Black American or a Black English person, and they are not considered as native teachers. There is this perception that a native teacher looks like me or looks like the female version of me.*

> *There is also a hierarchy within the native country. In Korea, they want American, North American teachers. In post-Soviet countries, in Russia and Central Asia, they prefer British teachers. Irish teachers tend to generally either get lumped in with British or they are like at the bottom, they do not really want that Britain. Irish, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa are at the bottom. There is a hierarchy within the native teachers as well. (…)*

*In Korea, it is a very Americanized society. They consume American culture much more than anywhere else. In Central Asia, in Russia, I have found that there is a cultural prestige to Britishness that they do not see as existing in Americans. They consider American – I mean, this is a generalization, but in my experience, they have often talked about Americans as uncultured, whereas British people have this historical cultural prestige.*

The fact of being a native speaker and a white man has advantaged Sean in getting job opportunities. His reflection shows an awareness of the prejudicial and racist system of ESOL teaching – native English-language speakers are more valued not because they would be necessarily better teachers, but because of where they were born, where they came from and the color of their skin.



**FIGURE 14: LEARN ENGLISH WITH THE AMERICAN – BANNER ON A STREET IN WROCŁAW, POLAND**
(Source: Author)

Kate's confidence as an experienced and competent professional was also challenged by the inequities and injustices embedded in the institutional approach to employing ESOL teachers. She comments on inequalities in treatment and renumeration between native and

non-native speakers that have provided her with some confrontational experiences that influenced her view on ESOL teaching profession. In Yakutsk she was working in a very small school with only one other teacher, a native Russian who spoke very good English. She had also been a well-trained primary school teacher. Kate was aware that her Russian colleague was a better teacher, but it was Kate who was being paid three or four times more (for the same kind of job):

> *The difference in the way that foreign teachers and native teachers would be treated in that school was really, really bad. She was paid depending on how many students turned up to her class on a given a day. If someone did not turn up to her class, she had to then give them, like, a 30 minutes' individual makeup lesson in order for her to get paid. I think the school was sort of hiring all the native teachers on a kind of freelance basis. (...)*

> *I really thought that it was just awful, especially because, as I said, I am not good at teaching kids; I have got no training at teaching kids. I had actually told the school that I can teach all ages – kids, teens, and adults. And I think I had been very explicit in the answer that I had no experience with teaching children, but I think that the biggest earner for them were parents wanting to send their kids to be taught by native speakers. So that was I ended up doing, because that was just the most they could get to have me.*

In the context of EFL teaching, there is a view that local teachers are never good enough because of the prejudice toward native speakers. Kate's story shows how in ESOL teaching, local teachers are often considered inferior to native speakers – illuminating the entrenched injustice of the global TESOL industry. She adds:

> *It felt very evident that native speakers were treated astronomically better than incredibly well-trained and very good Russian teachers. My classes were always bigger. There were teachers who were self-trained or they had been teachers before, like my colleague. At that point I had maybe two years' experience from Kyrgyzstan. I was not terribly qualified, I could say; I was certainly a much worse teacher than I am now. I think those parents were really wasting their money. It was very uncomfortable, especially because she was my colleague.*

> *We were working in a tiny office. It was me and her, and the accountant as well. So, every two or three weeks she would have to see me get given this big bag of*

*cash – really uncomfortable.*

Kate has definitely always noticed the disparity in the way foreign and native, as in native to the country, are treated. Choosing native English-speaking teachers over non-native English-speaking teachers is a discriminatory and racist practice. This occurs even in the European Union where it is forbidden under anti-discrimination legislation[65] to advertise positions open for native speakers of a given language only. Despite this policy, advertisements for native-speakers and non-native speaking instructors, offer much lower salaries to the latter. In China, there are restrictions on who can be granted a visa to teach English as a second or other language. Being a native English speaker, which is usually demonstrated by one's nationality, is one of the requirements for obtaining a visa. Kate gives an explicit example from her time in that country:

*While I was in China, the government changed their visa regulations. The rule was that you could only teach in your native language. For example, a Polish person coming to teach English may not be able to get their visa. They would have to be coming to teach Polish. I have a feeling that the rule may have changed. It was sort of coming in when I was there. But even at the time it seemed such an unsustainable thing to have because there were people from all over the world teaching English in China. And I think quite a few people, like my boss who was Polish – he had come to teach in China because it was one of the few places where he would not be given the same kind of treatment as someone like me.*

*I had a lot of colleagues who were all non-native speakers of English. It was during that time that things were changing. I was working for EF (Education First[66]) at the time – huge company. That was a real headache for them when that came. They were shifting the contracts of the non-native speakers who were already there so that it said they were working in an administrative position or a managerial position in order for them to stay.*

Another racially prejudicial practice she noticed among the Chinese was the desire to

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[65] Article 21 - Non-discrimination of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, fra.europa.eu/en/eu-charter/article/21-non-discrimination (retrieved Jun. 9, 2022)

[66] Programs in Shanghai | EF Education First

be taught by a white person[67]:

> *A British or American person teaching at a university who was Black was getting complaints from students saying, 'We want a British person,' 'We want an American person.' And in some cases the comment would be 'We do not want this person. We want someone who is English like Maria or Tom,' like my colleagues who are from Serbia, Poland, so very much just seeing skin color as being native. I think it was very weird in China because I could tell that EF would hire people who were well qualified. They were not concerned with where you were from, but then we were sort of contracted out to work in universities. EF would have that to sort of think about: well, this university does not like having teachers who are not white, so we cannot send them non-white teachers to this university. We have to send them to this one. There is a lot of very kind of outright discrimination; it was quite explicit, especially in China, but in Kyrgyzstan they had a rule: they would only accept teachers from Britain, Canada and America. They only accepted people from a very select number of countries, so I would not have even been able to get that job if I had not been a British citizen. I do not remember if any non-white people were hired while I was there.*

This raises a question of who should be included in the definition of a native speaker. Do we stick to the highly discriminatory Western-centric perspective of only including those from the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (inner circle of English-speaking countries in Kachru's "Three-Circle Model of World Englishes.")? Or do native speakers also come from Malaysia, India, Singapore, English-speaking Caribbean islands (Kachru's outer circle)? Race is another barrier to being considered a native speaker. A Black person, for example can be treated as less native. Also Asians, older teachers, those with darker skin tone and those who do not speak English as their first language are often considered less qualified.

While she was teaching, Kate noticed that there were many occasions when non-native English-speakers would be better at teaching certain areas of English. And she felt they should be hired to teach regardless of prejudice based on race, nationality, or other discriminatory factors.

> *For someone who is just come over from America or England and does not*

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[67] Similar experience was shared by Diane who said: "I once heard about Japan, they want their *teachers young and blond*. (D. Nottle, personal communication, January 22, 2022).

*have much background in languages or linguistics, which is most people, if they agree just coming over for six months, if you ask them why do we say 'I have not eaten today' instead of 'I did not eat today,' they will not be able to tell you; they will just say, 'Well, 'cause the first one is just right.' If you ask someone who actually had to learn English, they will be able to tell you the rule.*

*In Algeria, we worked with a colleague from Germany. I think I was teaching phrasal verbs, which is just horrible to teach because there are not any rules, really. You just kind of have to remember these things. And I asked her, 'How did you learn phrasal verbs? Do you remember what your teachers did to help you remember them?' That was an example where it was really helpful speaking to a non-native teacher to kind of understand how they learned something.*

For many, the goal of studying English is to become as much communicative and skilled as a native speaker. However, as the status of English as an international language has expanded, this premise has become an issue. The reality is that most conversations in English today take place between two or more non-native speakers than between native and non-native speakers. Kate has found it quite a backwards logic that preferred someone who just spoke the language natively over a non-native English speaker trained in linguistics and pedagogy. Kate definitely did not think native speakers would have any particular natural advantage.

*I think that is something that just becomes more and more obvious the longer you work in TESOL.*

*In Shanghai, I really felt for two friends. One was Polish, and one was Serbian. They were both incredibly good teachers. It goes without saying that they spoke English very well, but, like, aside from that, they were just amazing teachers. They both had master-level training in translation and education, teaching English as a second language, and see other people, like just some 19-year-old alcoholic from England who just come to China and gets any job he wants, immediately going up and get promoted because he is more desirable. It must have been absolutely awful having to have to see that.*

She believes that the concept of an "ideal native speaker" is false and racist. It is based on an assumption that native speakers are culturally superior because they come from the West. Teachers coming from non-English speaking countries always aspire to be like native

speakers but are considered to be never as good as them (Waddington, 2022). Quality, qualifications, and experience, she felt, should be the deciding factors in hiring any ESL teacher.

Becoming aware of all the kinds of inequalities in the industry between teachers (native speakers versus non-native speakers) and also between students, both Sean and Kate were finding it harder to justify teaching EFL:

*We were just getting less and less happy with that idea.*

For Sean and Kate, the biographical process of professional and personal development took place in three stages:

- Stage 1: Searching and testing

The entry into the ESOL teaching profession was for both of them a part of a search for a suitable professional occupation before they decided on their future careers. From the beginning, the activity was mainly a way to see the world, have some income, and a test if teaching was something they wanted to do for life. For few years, by carrying different teaching activities and participating in additional certificate courses, they continued in developing their pedagogical qualifications.

- Stage 2: Self-reflection/ Self-observation

The extension of their skills brought them to stage two in which they started to reflect on the ESOL teaching and whether the field was the right one for them. Positive and negative experiences thay gained during the years of teaching assured them that this concrete activity/professional, despite their success, was not something that they wanted to do in the future.

- Stage 3: Demonstration of competences

Acting on their knowledge and abilities brought them to the next stage in which the demonstrated competencies supported them in knowing who they were and what they wanted to do. This process is a result of acts that are strongly tied to ongoing biographical development of competences and personal fulfilment.

The growing discomfort with promulgating English, and a certain type of English, was a reason they decided to shift their careers. They became aware of the unspoken benefits of accepting jobs they got merely because of the type of passport they had, but they could not ignore the problem that their privilege brought them compared to their students.

At the beginning of their careers, the main inspiration and deciding factor to teach was the opportunity to travel the world. The travel component is very important for many novice ESOL teachers (Jakubiak, 2020). Unskilled teachers often work in exotic places without deep awareness of social and economic inequalities, without much critical reflection about their own culture and resources in relation to local communities they teach. Sean and Kate evolved from teachers coasting in Nepal or Kyrgyzstan with no real interest in the geopolitical and economic issues surrounding them to teachers with a critical approach to teaching ESOL. Findings from my interviews with them complicate the predominant view of the innocence of ESOL teachers' work and bring to light the inequalities involved in ESOL teaching's role in the global spread of a hegemonic language.

## 5.4. SUMMARY

In summary, interviews with Sean and Kate provided evidence that experiences in EFL teaching frustrated their attitudes toward the English language-teaching industry in the times of globalization and influenced their future career choices. The process of *biographicity* involved a stages of growing discord with the principles and course of their ESOL career.

Kate and Sean were not blind to the fact that they were teaching a hegemonic language – a language of homogenization imbued with power inequities. Data showed that they drew on a range of experiences gained from different EFL jobs in eight countries. This teaching experience contributed to their critical view of learning and teaching English. The extensive teaching practice (six consecutive years for Kate and five for Sean) challenged many of their preexisting beliefs and enabled them to negotiate new meanings about teaching. They revealed that there were disappointments in many aspects of the EFL teaching, particularly struggles with injustice created by the global economic structures.

They recognize that they equip their students with valuable and relevant skills and competences, but at the same time it was difficult to face growing disparities between those who have the opportunity to learn the language and those who do not.

In their opinion, the ELT profession is significantly affected by the notion that "because you can speak the language, you can teach it."[68] Teachers who have spent time

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[68] The internet is full of "Native speaker wanted" or "No EFL teaching qualifications required" job advertisements. Here is a good example from a Chinese portal: www.glassdoor.com/Job/china-native-english-jobs-SRCH_IL.0,5_IN48_KO6,20.htm (retrieved Dec. 19, 2021) where the only requirement to work as an

preparing to do this job acknowledge that knowing the language is, of course, important but not enough. A teacher needs to know how people learn, how a language is shaped in society. An English language teacher especially does not teach just grammar or vocabulary, but also the life semiotic system that people use to relate to one another.

The findings from these interviews highlight important factors that contribute to thinking critical of English language learning and teaching. It is apparent from the data that Sean's and Kate's issues with the EFL industry are an essential part of their identity as EFL teachers. They both had to reconcile the rewards and challenges. By drawing on their personal experiences, they had to recognize that teaching the global language had its benefits but also disadvantages.

For teachers like Sean and Kate, inequalities in teaching and learning are crucial elements in deciding to end their EFL careers. This is their *biographicity* – negotiating life transitions and reconciling personal goals with structural constraints. For them, the process was led by choices they made through differentiated teaching experiences in which they participated. In their case, the concept of *biographicity* refers to their ability to reshape their own life utilizing their experiences. Critical reflections on the industry with personal development they gained, help to understand how lived experiences are reflected in their identity and the ability to recognize contextual socio-cultural issues, enabling them to decide for their next steps in critical relation to social conditions.

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Internal English Teacher is "1. Can speak American English fluently, native speakers are preferable." Another interesting example comes from a LinkedIn profile of a person who advertise himself as native speaker/conversationalist at English schools (https://www.linkedin.com/in/edwardhackett/, retrieved Dec. 19, 2021) and whose work experience as a mechanic in a pharmaceutical chain helps him now in EFL teaching (sic!). He writes of himself: "The one thing that I bring to the table in any job I've worked is my personality. I'm outgoing, honest (brutally at times), and diplomatic".

# 6. GLOBAL ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS: BRINGING THE WORLD TOGETHER

## 6.1. BECOMING A GLOBAL ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL

In Gramsci's concept, the organic intellectual can cross over into the working classes and work in solidarity with the people, but also the working classes can develop their own intellectuals who understand their lived conditions from their perspective and then explain it and open it up to the other classes. Any organic intellectual will align his or her interests and praxis with the oppressed – will first learn with them and then, with that learning, work alongside them and fight for their rights, mobilize their entire repertoire of knowledge, resources and praxis around the learners' interest.

ESOL teachers make their knowledge available in the service of hegemony; they use their knowledge and expertise to support English, the dominant language. Their interest is determined by their connection to the dominant ideology, but at the same time, some of them consciously and knowingly work in support of their learners, criticizing power and aligning themselves with their students. They represent the interest of the students.

The teachers I interviewed resemble organic intellectuals in standing in solidarity with a group that uses their help, learns from them, and then articulates their point of view and develops a practice with them, regardless of whether teachers have a privileged position in the world; they are working in solidarity across the class and cultural divide. The career change to teaching English and the intellectual identity they are performing makes them what I refer to as *global organic intellectuals*.

An organic intellectual, as identified by Gramsci, emerges from a working-class individual who has taken up the role of cultural leader within the class. Being a member of the class him- or herself, an organic intellectual, by drawing on personal experiences, can articulate an ideology on the level of a local familiarity that the governing power cannot match. Organic intellectuals integrate the working class by giving people an identity through the dissemination of the power ideology. As Gramsci explains, "homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields" (Gramsci et al., 1971, p. 134). Through the global spread of English, the organic intellectuals' role has been embraced by the teachers of the dominant language. These global

organic intellectuals, as I refer to them, are neither professional politicians nor members of the media. The ESOL teachers on whom I focus in this chapter, are second-career teachers who are motivated and recognize the strong potential of teaching English to facilitate for others the gaining of the benefits of knowing the *lingua franca*. The global organic intellectuals must engage with their students in order to help them learn and to have a great impact on their progress. Through language education, they bring together learners through a common language. Global organic intellectuals acknowledge the potential of knowing English and play a crucial role in disseminating the hegemonic language. The ESOL teachers I have interviewed exercise the role global organic intellectuals because they are deeply bound up with the needs of the groups they teach. In what follows, I will focus on Rachel, Diane and Alex and their transformations towards becoming global organic intellectuals and I explore their struggles and strategies in working with people to empower them by teaching the hegemonic language.

Rachel worked as a content technology specialist in a publishing company in New York City. When she was given an opportunity to teach classes in English conversation group at Brooklyn Public Library in 2013, she instantly fell in love with the idea of teaching. She felt encouraged and started to think about becoming a certified EFL teacher. From the very start, as she explains, her motivation was not a profit-oriented career move. Rather, she saw her teaching as an opportunity to help migrant community, for which she felt solidarity and empathy:

> *I thought, okay, this is something I can do, but I want to actually acquire the skills so that I know I am doing it well. I just feel, like, such a huge sense of responsibility as a teacher, with my students, especially in New York City, where it is really about life skills: you are helping somebody learn how to navigate talking to a doctor or just very, very simple things like paying an electric bill, talking to their children's' teachers at school, like, very basic life skills that are critical for many people in the immigrant community. So that is when I decided to do the certificate program at the New School, which eventually brought me to teaching in Poland, which was an amazing experience.*

To Rachel, teaching is a service and a mission. Motivated by service and community, she wants to provide support for people in her neighborhood who want to learn English. This motivation is supported by her ability to teach and, at the same time, her interest in teaching and sharing. She calls herself a *bridge,* seeing herself as a path leading her students to where

they need or want to be:

> *if it is education or work, professional development or again, just, like, survival English, participating in a parent-teacher organization in their children's school. So, I am helping to cross this bridge of just parenting, becoming a participant in her children's lives as a parent. So yeah, I think that is bridge. I am a bridge.*

Diane, the journalist, was looking into career change after 35 years working in newspapers. She had had a couple of experiences that indicated teaching English to foreigners might be a good choice for her, and she had a strong desire to travel and work with people across cultural and geopolitical contexts. Ultimately, she decided to build on what she perceived as her skills and talents and also on her openness to the world:

> *I saw an ad for the open house at the New School, for the certificate program. I thought I should go. And I went and I thought, yeah, this sounds like possibly the right thing for me. (…) I took my first class, which was in teaching pronunciation, and it really clicked. It brought together everything that I had done in my life in terms of language. I realized that pretty early on, I was always gravitating toward English, writing, language, which got me into journalism. Also, part of it is I like to travel. So, the language plays into that. So that was probably a deciding factor.*

For Alex, a social scientist, the final paper he wrote for a class in New York University's certificate program in global affairs was the primary factor on his journey toward becoming a teacher. Although Alex had considered teaching before, he never took the necessary steps toward earning a teaching certificate. His motivations for becoming an ESOL teacher were underpinned by his political engagement, primarily the connection between the ideals of American democracy and its unfulfilled promise revealed in the experiences of immigrants. In an essay he wrote for a class he took at New York University to gain a certificate in global affairs, he articulated his motivations for a becoming ESOL teacher:

> *I decided to write about immigration, and the title of the paper was actually 'The Immigration. From segregation to assimilation. The history of a hyphenated population.' Democracy in America naturally segregates the population by letting the population exercise their own culture, but living under the American umbrella. Because in America you are a Greek-American, Latin American; you are Afro-American. There is always a hyphen in you, meaning that the American democracy allows you somehow to keep your origins and cultural privileges to live with the*

*American culture. Under the umbrella, people end up being whatever they want to be and exercising cultural and political beliefs in the country. Because of that, I kept in mind, why not work with immigrants? And why not teach English to immigrants? So, I decided to look for a certificate program that will give me the TESOL certificate and allow me to teach. And that was a big change in my life. That changed my life completely.*

Rachel, Diane and Alex all decided to join the New School certificate program to gain training and formal qualifications for becoming ESOL teachers. The certificate program helped them see teaching as a viable career move. However, as their narratives show, this was much more than a practical career change. It was a desire to teach the dominant language to people around the globe in an empowering and critical way, to help their students, for whom they feel responsible. Becoming global organic intellectuals, they placed themselves in a unique position to influence and empower English learners. Their role is particularly significant when, by teaching, they motivate their students to think critically to understand and be able to articulate their own worldviews in the dominant language of the West. As such, they may also act as catalysts for empowerment and change.

## 6.2. LANGUAGE IS EMPOWERMENT

By evolving into global organic intellectuals, ESOL teachers had to adapt to the dual goals of empowerment and critical engagement. Entering the profession, they committed to their students' interests and simultaneously began to play a significant function as transmitters of knowledge by expanding the power of English.

In 2011 Alex left New York and returned to Brazil to open a language school in Rio de Janeiro, focused on teaching business English. While living in the United States, he understood that:

*there was just no way out, English would be the language of business – in every aspect of the business. So all different types of businesses would be using English in a world that was more and more connected. The technology. Everything is simultaneously and things obviously are in English.*

*English became the official language of businesses because of the importance of the English-speaking countries, in terms of technology, in terms of advancement, in terms of innovation processes that happens in the U.S., that happens in the U.K. And it is; you cannot deny it.*

As a business English instructor, Alex not only teaches the language but also prepares his students for success in their careers and helps them become more employable. As the world of work changes, it is critical for him to evolve to prepare his business English students for the changing workplace. In his classroom he focuses on universal skills such as innovation, critical thinking, communication and the impact the possessing of the skills can have on his learners throughout their careers in English-speaking environments.

The contributions Alex has made while teaching ESOL have been affected mainly by the fact that he himself was enfranchised and emancipated by learning English starting as a high school student in Brazil. His individual experience led him to regard his work as empowering for his students. As a committed educator, he thinks beyond the prescribed curricula and he is proactive in his work as well as in his own development.

Diane describes various accomplishments students achieved through knowing English and learning from her as a native speaker. A few years ago, a translation student in China whose work she had edited regularly, applied for a job at the translation department at Huawei, one of the leading global providers of information infrastructure and communications technology. The application process was very competitive, with thousands of graduates in China applying every year. To be accepted for a position, applicants have to pass a language exam. Diane's student was the one who got the job. She wrote to Diane:

> It is all because of what I learned from you. I've learned so much from you, not just about how to translate news, but more importantly, how to attract readers to read the news. I've come to realize that every piece of news is a story, and the way to tell it could in a way decide if it's interesting enough for target readers. So instead of translating literally from the original passage as I often did, I'm trying to take myself as a reader and consider about what information attracts me to read the news. This new perspective has helped me improve my translation in various tasks. I'll try my best to avoid making the same mistakes and improve my translation (*Traveling in Tongues: Adventures in Language and Life*, Diane Nottle, unpublished memoir).

Diane is aware that there are people all over the world who get jobs and make careers because of her. In Wrocław, she had a student who was also applying for a job in an international company where the official language was English, and she felt she was hired to a large extent because she was coached by Diane. She said:

> I do not think I would have gotten this without you.

Diane also shared how her teaching impacted her students' job prospects in other parts of the world:

*Same with my CUNY students, the international students: they get jobs here. A recent graduate is now on a one-year fellowship with "Frontline" and PBS documentaries. She just sent me her latest story on Tuesday, and I will tell you, it reads so well. If I did not know she was Brazilian, I think she was American from this story – really well done.*

*We have one guy from Afghanistan who was a translator and fixer for The Washington Post over there, but he wanted to be a reporter. So, he came to CUNY and got a Master's and did an internship at The Washington Post. And now I see his articles from Afghanistan all the time in the Post. So, these people who take the CUNY programs get jobs all over the world.*

*I know I have had an influence on that. I know I have contributed to that.*

Similarly, Rachel speaks about her teaching in the U.S. and helping immigrants navigate life in America. She is aware that language barriers create serious challenges for them, leading to misunderstandings and feelings of isolation and that for an immigrant in America, communicating in English is a basic life skill. It contributes to their educational, professional and personal success. She shares how this often it involves small successes, like being able to call 911 or talk to a doctor, pay an electric bill or attend a parents' meeting in a child's school:

*These are very basic life skills that are critical for many people in the immigrant community. I have had many students who have gone on to great success: they got into colleges and they got jobs that they could not have had without better English skills, and I play a role in that. But it is my students' achievement; they put the work and effort in that and into it. I bring them motivation, I am just there to support them, and push them and help them to meet the success.*

In shaping her teaching, Rachel acknowledges the very different languages, experiences and identities of her students. She works with her students in dialogue, focusing on their uneven language knowledges and expectations. In working with them on their writing, in class discussions or one-on-one consultations she sees how non-linguistic cultural norms, values and rules shape and impact her students' day-to-day language practices. She stresses that she wants to give students autonomy and enable them to have a say in the

direction of their language learning. She wants her students to use language to be seen, heard, and judged positively in their daily life and imagined social worlds. Language, she says, is part of being able to exercise agency.

Teachers who participated in this study underline that building students' knowledge of English is a critical skill that can be acquired in contemporary circumstances of global politics and economy, and a necessary step toward success. They feel they are the ones who help their students achieve it, giving examples of success stories of their students, which they feel the latter "owe" to them.

## 6.3. ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

All respondents in the study mentioned they tried to critically analyze ways of teaching English without decreasing their students' interest in learning other languages. It is challenging for teachers to deal with the way English and English-speakers are elevated while all other languages and those who speak them are devalued. Do they want to continue to strengthen the dominance of English? Or do they want to use this experience as a platform for sharing, and for connecting different cultures and different people? Being conscious of these two opposite perspectives helps them develop multiple teaching strategies that engage teachers with students and their cultures.

When Alex started not only to teach but also to translate from English to Portuguese and Portuguese to English, he said he learnt to understand how important cultural knowledge and sensitivity was to translation. While he often translates straight-forward texts, such as a simple website of an oil and gas company or teaches the company's employees how to trade a barrel of crude oil in English, he sometimes has to deal with extreme situations that require high-level of cultural sensitivity:

> *During the pandemic I have dealt with extremely emotional situations where a chaplain was called in. It was saying a prayer to a woman who was dying of Covid with the brother and the other sister. On the telephone. (…) About two weeks ago, there was a child dying of Covid. The child had complications, and I had to had to interpret sentences from the doctor asking the father to hold the child's hands. Because it is very important to let your child pass. Extremely emotional, things that are involved in the job where you have to adjust the words. To have a similar impact, not just the words. Sometimes it is not a literal translation, especially, when you say a*

*prayer. So, I see that as challenges – that teaching itself, it is not teaching. It is not really teaching, but it is learning for me.*

Recognizing the hegemonic character of English but at the same time its empowering potential, Alex invests himself as a global organic intellectual in different sites across borders. Through teaching and translating English as a means of cultural and cross-cultural communication and understanding, he makes an impact on local people's lives in the global context. He does that by using his English language expertise and his training in the U.S. to help Brazilians in Rio where he established and runs a language school. And he also does that by teaching English to Brazilians, who like him, emigrated to the States looking for better lives. Bridging two cultures through the two languages, Alex is an example of the real world impact of the efforts of the global organic intellectuals.

Alex also feels that an internal linguistic feature that puts English before other languages is its simple grammar system. As a non-native speaker, he observes that

*the English grammar is very simple. Compared to Polish grammar, compared to German language, compared to French or any of the Latin languages. I think there is even an advantage of English because it has the grammar system simpler compared to other languages.[69]*

Rachel speaks of how her students bring to the classroom their varied understandings of their own language choices and experiences navigating social and racial pressures. She invites her students to contest norms of monolingualism and work in a cross-language approach. She believes that all teachers, no matter their context, should actively and critically scrutinize their pedagogical practices, their institutions and larger systems with the explicit aim of uncovering the influence of monolingualism, racism and colonialism. Such continuing ideologically driven inquiry, alongside students' increased awareness of the intersections of various language politics, she believes, may further loosen the grip that ideologies of monolingualism have on institutions and society today.

Rachel says she wrestles with herself as a player in the larger cultural-political context of teaching English as the language of dominance:

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[69] This is a main barrier to Chinese in becoming a global language. Chinese has a difficult idiographic writing system that is challenging to learn. David Cristal ironically notes that "The biggest potential setback to English as a global language would have taken place a generation ago – if Bill Gates had grown up speaking Chinese." (Crystal, 2003, p. 122)

*At the end of the day, I tell myself that, in the context of American culture, I am helping people gain tools they need to improve their life circumstances, but the larger question still looms. It becomes more challenging when teaching outside of the United States.*

Rachel understands that language is a complex dynamic and develops variations based on how it is used and who is using it. She does not talk about one English language, but instead about Englishes.

*There are many types of English. Right now, American English is the prestige English, but we are going to see – and we are already seeing – a shift away from that kind of centralization and like valuing of American English, above all other languages. Because English is so widely distributed around the world, what is emerging are centers of English. I mean, we already have, like, British English, American English, Canadian, English Northern in North America, but we are going to see an emerging, maybe, Chinese English or Indian English. Of course, in India English is one of the national languages there already.*

*There might be an emergent of a European English. They are essentially dialects of English that are all valuable and will allow people within those kinds of that language group to perform their functions using that dialect of English. And they will not necessarily have to go to England or come to the United States to speak like Americans. Right. They will have their own form of English that functions within that family, that language family, but could also be equally understood by the other English Englishes of the word.*

She thinks English will continue to be one of the world's most-spoken languages but will not be so centralized and dominated by Britain and United States. It will reflect economic, cultural and political influence of the Anglo cultures, and emerging economies and political influence from other countries, but in her opinion, English will continue to be the thing that connects countries globally.*"*

They teach their students that there are varieties of English and that they have to be prepared for this – that they should not think, "I am learning the right English." While they teach standard English, they acknowledge that a variety of Englishes are valid. They realize it is extremely difficult, though not impossible, for a learner to develop nativelikeness in adulthood. Rachel predicts that:

*It is far more likely that we are going to observe and interact with adults around the world communicating with an accent and communicating successfully as well. And that is not to be scoffed or disrespected.*

By giving students exposure and time to become accustomed to different varieties, teachers create a possibility that they will find it easy to understand other variations of the language. This is something of which Rachel tries to make her students aware*:*

*I often hear a student say, 'I want to sound like you. I want to speak like you.' I mean, that just signals a sense that they need to change who they are – that they need to – and it is related to race, especially in the United States, that they have to conform to this, like, white American version, and really they should not worry about their accent.*

*Everybody has an accent; every person has their own accent, and they should not focus on sounding like somebody else. They should speak their form of English, and yes, they need to use correct vocabulary and correct grammar, but they do not need to conform to some standard that does not actually exist. It does not.*

There is not just English. She knows that learning other languages facilitates learning English in the classroom. Multilingualism is the norm in most regions of the world. However, since English is overtaking other languages and becoming the all-important language in the interconnected world, she feels people need to learn it to improve their chances. In her teaching practice, she advocates for maintaining the minority languages and cultures on the one hand and, on the other, for the widespread adoption of a global *lingua franca* such as English. Rachel puts issues of correct grammar or sophisticated use of vocabulary in the background. The strategic elements of communication are really what she teaches her students. In her opinion, native-speaker norms should no longer be considered the standard in language assessment. She would agree with Canagarajah, who sums up: "In a context where we have to constantly shuttle between different varieties and communities, proficiency becomes complex … One needs the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties to facilitate communication. The passive competence to understand new varieties…" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 233). However, the reality shows that many varieties of English create many ways of being correct. Official tests measuring formal correctness in such areas as grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation are often limited if they try to assess against a sort of idealized, standard variety and can lead to wrong decisions about someone's language proficiency. Language testing is

used in making many high-stakes decisions, including university admissions (who is allowed to enroll in a university), professional certification and licensing (who can get a job as a doctor or a nurse) and the very controversial, in my opinion, area of language testing for immigration and citizenship. Another challenge *World Englishes* and English as a *lingua franca* bring to the process of language testing is the idea that language tests are wrongly focused on judging against a stable variety at all. Non-native English-speakers carry the burden of communication in ELF interaction, as they are the ones who are being tested. There is an assumption that native users of English are naturally the best communicators.

Alex and Rachel recognize the importance of teaching different types of English by which they question and possibly weaken the hegemonic dominance of English as a global language which they teach. Acting as global organic intellectuals, they reach to students from diverse cultures and language groups in ways that respect, rather than denigrate, their native tongues and cultures.

Diane, in her very personal statement illustrates the conflict in the negotiation between hegemony and empowerment when it comes to ESOL learning. She is concerned that her teaching only strengthens the hegemony of English and the West, but at the same time she believes it empowers her students:

> *I sometimes feel bad. English is a hegemonic language – yes, it is – and people want to learn it. But I am not a missionary. I do not go to a foreign country and say, 'I am here to teach you English so that you will see the light; we are bringing God to the heathen.' I do not do that. People ask me to come and teach English. (…)*

> *English is of value, and people want and need to learn it. But at the same time, I feel bad when I think I do not want their languages to disappear. English should be a second language, but the languages need to coexist.*

Diane's thoughts illustrate how a global organic intellectual differs from the Gramscian organic intellectual. The global representative of the organic intellectual carries an awareness that the global hegemony he or she promulgates while teaching is not purely emancipatory. ESOL teachers – the global organic intellectuals – I interviewed, are aware that they are passing on cultural and ideological patterns of the West, contributing to the diminishing of the cultural specificity of local communities. Their practice is therefore an ongoing process of negotiation between being "tools" of hegemony and empowerment.

Diane sees the value of the language, but at the same time she sees some danger if English continues to spread around the world with no control. In her travels to Poland, she was dismayed by how many words Poles borrow from English :

> *in Polish, you use 'komputer,' right? So that makes me a little sad. When I pass by the repair shop, I see 'laptopy.' I think 'Oh, dear.' Whereas the French still say 'l'ordinateur,' as they did in the early 1980s.*

She does not want English to be a replacement:

> *It is not like the entire world speaks English. That would be like traveling anywhere and seeing all the same shops you see in the United States. That is not my idea of fun. So, I mean, it is kind of fun to see a McDonald's on the Rynek, but I would like to see all the Polish restaurants on the Rynek, too, because I do not go to Wrocław to eat at McDonald's.*

This statement shows she is aware of, and actively works with, the knowledge that TESOL as a global professional field and a business is not innocent. She has an interesting point of view about her service, and she feels uncomfortable by the fact that the world is becoming homogenized:

> *One of the things is not that I go abroad and force people to learn English; they beg me to come. What bothers me when I travel is that the whole word is becoming so homogenized – that I can go in China to the same stores that we have here and the same stores you see everywhere, and the word is becoming too much alike everywhere, I would really like very much to see different cultures preserved, and I would like to see different languages preserved. On the other hand, so far, American pop culture is what rules the word. Everybody wants it. It bothers me.*

> *Globalization has been a trend for the last 20 years or so, but now there are cracks in it, and what does it mean for English, and all of that? My feeling is that in the 21st century there will be two world languages: English and Chinese. Two different systems. Because, in China now, almost every sign is also in English, because they figure, well, Westerners are coming and they cannot read Chinese, but almost everybody can figure out a little bit of English. And Chinese will stay because the Japanese use Chinese characters, and there are a lot of similarities, I think they will split out that way. There is a need for some kind of – I do not want to say 'universal*

*language,' because it is not, but a language that a lot of people understand so they can have basic communication.*

In her classes, Kate always asks her students why they are learning English. She says that regardless of whether it was a businessman who needed English for traveling or a teenager who needed to enroll in an English university, the answer was the same: "Because it is a global language." Kate's background in studying language endangerment makes her very worried about the power and spread of English. For her and Sean, teaching the dominant language that is in demand was in fact the main reason to stop doing it. They acknowledge the value that knowing English brings, but at the same time they could not justify their practice and continue teaching because, as Sean underlines, when teaching English he embodies Western values:

*Even if I do not want to, I am embodying those values; you cannot escape it. The only way to not do that is to not go abroad and teach.*

Language educators are well placed to address the issues of social justice, equity and human diversity, and to act as organic intellectuals at home and abroad. "Public and private institutions involved in education believe that our role is only teaching English: to stand in front of the class and instruct their learners 'to listen to repeat'. As TESOL professionals we have to let them understand through our leadership and professionalism that we go beyond the traditional 'repeat after me teaching,' to be agents of change in the classrooms, in the communities and in our countries" (Pardo et al., 2017, p. 60). Practicing TESOL as global organic intellectuals, many of these professionals believe in changing people's perceptions of what learning language is all about. Essential to language-learning is knowing how to say what you want to say, not having to say it in a particular "correct" way – it is a form of personal and local empowerment albeit in the global hegemonic context.

In addition, TESOL teachers realize that while providing English language-teaching for their students, they are much more than just language teachers. They see their language classes not as "English only," but as teaching a repertoire of other resources, content and lived experiences. They speak about how they fluctuate and use contexts from another languages, or from students' experience or an emotion that triggers the student. In their interviews with me, they claimed they did not see the student simply as an English language-learner, and they reject the monolingual ideology. They said they were paying attention not to marginalize speakers of other languages; and they prioritized their students' bottom-up linguistic practices

and strove to shift dynamics of privilege by empowering students' knowledge repertoires. They also named minoritized languages in students' repertoires for further recognition. Through cross-cultural and intercultural approaches, my respondents saw their teaching of the English language through landscapes of society, politics and economies in which they and their students were situated. They acted as global organic intellectuals.

## 6.4.    TEACHING THROUGH LOCAL KNOWLEDGE: STUDENTS' LIFEWORLDS

In Gramsci's notion, the organic intellectual learns with the masses and integrates local knowledge with the hegemonic project. Similarly, my respondents as global organic intellectuals shared how they learnt from, and drew on, the experiences of the people they taught. Integrating local knowledge and practice to their teaching, teachers respect and enhance students' lifeworlds. They shift the focus in the curriculum from teaching from a book to students' lifeworlds, recognizing other worldviews as equally valid.

Alex, Rachel and Diane shared how the New School program prepared them to teach English from the student's perspective, which resonates in their practice. Diane, for example, once assigned an advanced class of Polish students, to work in pairs developing short tours of various points of interest in Wroclaw for an English-speaking visitor. The students were enthusiastic, and the resulting class session, an afternoon of tours, was highly satisfying to both the students and Diane in the role of the foreign tourist. In teaching this way, as global organic intellectuals, the teachers work with the idea of local knowledge, not general knowledge. To understand the students, they have to respect their local knowledge. All three mentioned how they enjoyed developing a custom study program to meet their different students' goals in learning English – be they professional or academic.

Teaching students involves learning how to teach from the perspective of their life worlds – it is a two-way street of learning to teach and teaching to learn. Alex mentioned how he learnt to engage with the lifeworld of an initially poorly motivated student:

> *A student had a lot of difficulties trying to be motivated by English. I spent a couple of months trying to find something that would make him talk, that would have made him speak, that would find something emotionally, and it was not until I found out what soccer team he cheered for. I asked him, 'How did your Flamengo do last night?' Because we were doing simple past. 'Did Flamengo win?' And he said, 'Oh,*

*teacher, of course, Flamengo won'. So, soccer was the motivation of our classes for, like, two or three months. (...) I became addicted to those challenges of trying to find something that would motivate the students to learn the language.*

Alex shared with how teaching the language means fitting into his students' culture, making adjustments and building confidence. He prefers to practice the language in real settings, not just memorize note cards. Teaching English, he believes, is much more than following a book:

*This is very important because even to my advanced students, they used to come to me saying, 'I have a meeting in English tomorrow. And it is going to be only me and my boss here in Brazil and my boss in London. And we are going to discuss data privacy.' And, when I say, 'Tell me what you are going to talk about,' and then the person tells me what she or he is going to talk about. And if I understand, and I am not from the area, that means you are brilliant in your explanations. So, I think, it is adjustment; it is motivational; it is building confidence. That is what I think the students get because that is my main concern. Teaching the language would be to open the book and teaching. This is a book; that book is on the table. The chair is under the table. This would be teaching the language.*

*But teaching English, I believe, is more than just teaching a language. It is teaching confidence. It is teaching motivation. Especially to immigrants. Because it is very difficult to leave behind, leave a story behind for whatever reason. It can be in search of a better life. You leave your family; you leave your house; you leave your language, and you leave behind your surroundings.*

When speaking about his teaching, Alex says he makes adaptations and includes diversified scaffolding and tweaking lessons. He tailors instruction to students' needs by testing new strategies, and by redesigning teaching curriculum. This strategy, according to TESOL researchers, "is a feature of successful teaching" (Athanases et al., 2015, p. 84). Alex stresses how he tries to be very sensitive to his students' needs and goes beyond supporting their academic literacy development. He offers personal adaptations filtered through the lens of each student's interests as well as their personal and cultural background. He follows his students' interests to maintain their involvement. He supports what he refers to as "students' agentive engagement."

*I see students improving and I love to learn. So, it is my learning experience from the students also. I think it helps to build a much better relation. Because when the student – especially with adult students – when you give your students a chance to teach you something, it is like reversing the roles.*

For Diane, teaching is also not just transmitting the knowledge and skills of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary. She says that her role as a teacher of English is more complex:

*It is not broadcasting. It is not giving out information that they will take notes and they will pass the test and that is how they will learn it. That is still the educational style in much of the world. It is still the style in China, pretty much 'til they get to me. Then they have to do things like talk in small groups and report in front of the class. They have never had to do things like that before. This is difficult. It is difficult because they reached the point in their education where we were teaching how to think for yourself. We are teaching critical thinking. That is a hard transition for them to make. But that is really my role: not spewing out facts but teaching them how to think about the given material.*

Along with mastering the essential content, Diane says she wants to cultivate students' skills that allow them to engage in meaningful interactions with the world around them. Through language acquisition, she says she teaches them problem-solving abilities, oral communication skills and writing competence; she motivates them. She says she thinks of the world holistically and that is how she teaches English:

*I am going to quote my high school English teacher. He always said, 'I want to teach the <u>whole</u> boy and the <u>whole</u> girl.' And I say, 'You are not teaching the subject. You are teaching the student.' That is my one step further from what he said, which was basically his educational philosophy. It is not just the language; you are teaching the person. The language is the target. You want them to be able to pass TOEFL or come up to professional standards or whatever it is they need. You want to do that, but it goes way beyond that. But that is the most important: that you are teaching the student. Sometimes there is a certain curriculum you have to get across. I was told, "This is what you need to be teaching in this class, but how you do it is your own business."*

When I asked Diane the question, "Why do you teach?," she said:

*Because I was told I have a natural talent for it. I enjoy it. I feel I am doing some good in the world.*

She focuses on students learning English, the language, but more importantly, she wants them to learn how to function in that language. Therefore, she covers not only the structure and vocabulary, but teaches how to adapt and improve in the new language environment and how to think in English:

*It is important to be able to think in English when you really need to do it for speed, like in journalism, or for living in the culture. If you are living in New York City, but you are thinking in Polish, it slows down your everyday interactions.*

To Rachel, language and communication are culture.

*I always try to connect it back to my students', like, home culture, or tell me about a holiday that you spend with family or that celebrates spring – that kind of thing. And then again, bridging between the two cultures. So, it is relatable to them, based on their experience of their background, but is introducing to them the American culture.*

*I get a lot of satisfaction out of just the exchange with my students. I always tell my students we are learning together – Like, I am learning from them. I am learning like about their culture, their history. I am also learning from their perspectives of life in America. What is life like for them? What do they think about Americans and American society? I learned from them as much as they are learning from me.*

For teachers like Rachel, Alex, Diane and Kate, who want to deepen their practice, insight from students' lifeworlds is invaluable. Often, these insights result from unexpected interactions or observations. Sometimes activities might be planned that allow students to reflect deeply and share their own knowledge. By valuing student voices and showing respect for other cultures, teachers negotiate the complexity of teaching the dominant language. The need to incorporate local knowledge into English language education to reflect local culture seems one way of negotiating the complex position as global organic intellectuals in service of hegemonic ideology (English language teaching) while at the same time striving for empowerment of their students. In their interviews with me, they spoke of their love for their work in the global context and their deep awareness of their difficult positioning.

## 7. LESSON FROM THE PANDEMIC: TEACHERS' SCAPES ACROSS BORDERS

One of the major developments that has been the most enabling in terms of the speeding up of the globalization processes is the rise of new electronic media and technologies (Appadurai, 1996). These have enabled the expansion and improvement in communication across long distances. In the context of my research, it is significant to note that when the Covid-19 pandemic started in early 2020, it did not disrupt the teaching of English to people all over the world. On the contrary, it strengthened opportunities to teach and learn the language across distant locations.[70]

When borders closed, flights were canceled and international travel became impossible during lockdowns, the teachers I interviewed for my research remained active in giving online lessons. Suddenly the pandemic, rather than destroying the professional field (which happened to many other industries), opened up more opportunities to teach globally. The long-distance connections with amazing speed and ease opened the prospect of remote English-language education.

The fluid global landscape of technologies described by Appadurai as *technoscape* has allowed to continue ESOL teachers with their profession. Although most of my teachers had had remote teaching experience before the pandemic, the online shift has improved their remote teaching skills and created positive experiences to such an extent that they cannot imagine returning to classroom teaching or do not want to. Diane says:

> *I have no real desire to go back to the classroom unless there is a trip involved.*
> *I had been wanting to teach full courses online and to learn how to do it for a long*
> *time. As you know, we tried, but I realized the technology just was not ready yet. If I*
> *had, say, a dedicated workstation at a school with tech support, I could have done it,*

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[70] At this point it is important to recall Benedict Anderson's idea of the nation and how the invention of printing technology and newspapers, led to the development of modernity and to the birth of the nation (Anderson, 2006, p. 37). Similarly, looking at the new information technology, we see a similar shift in the history of the world. New media have had an impact on the imagined community as being different from the earlier communities. The technologies have led to deterritorialization and the emergence of a diasporic public spheres, and ultimately to new imaginings of self and community in the new global world.

*but the tech to do it from my laptop at home was not there yet.[71] Well, now, it is 2021, and I guess the technology is there because we have all been doing it for a year.*

In the early months of the pandemic, travel was almost impossible or very complicated. When many countries banned travelers from abroad, in-class English teaching was completely upended. Technology has affected the ELT sector, and the pandemic in particular forced English language-teachers to profoundly shift their use of the modern tools.

Teachers made use of tools that had already been in operation for some time, but they also embraced new technologies. As it was the only way to teach and learn for a long time, teachers and students lost their fear of using technology and digital resources. Technology-mediated instruction was available before the pandemic, but now its use has expanded exponentially.

Diane has taught online one-on-one for years:

*I think Wiola was my first online student. She was the first person I did online. And, of course, I have done a number since then. And in fact, even working with my CUNY students –even when we all went into school, which we do not anymore – if we could not get together for our schedules to meet, we would still meet online sometimes.*

*But when lockdown came, a number of the international students went home. We had a woman working with us; she was from NHK, the Japanese public broadcaster. She had been set on a yearlong mission to do research. She was doing it at a private journalism school. So, I worked with her, but as soon as lockdown happened, NHK said, 'Come back and go back to work.' And she finished her program from there.*

*We had a Korean student who went home to Korea for lockdown and finished her master's degree in the middle of the night, taking her classes. And that is how some are doing it.*

Rachel had also been teaching online before the pandemic and had experience using platforms like Blackboard and Zoom, so she did not have to go through a big transition into

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[71] Diane speaks about an online class on *English in the Media*, which she invited me to attend in 2014. Together with her, students from several countries around the world and several time zones experimented how to move class to virtual space. We did not succeed at that time, but six years later she was doing exactly what she had intended to do, with her students from Baruch College and China. She comments: "So all it took was time, improved technology and a pandemic."

online teaching. She was also very interested in learning more about online teacher marketplaces. For her, remote work has opened new possibilities. She even started to think about living as a digital nomad, teaching English online. She was excited about teaching English online more, quickly realizing what kind of freedom it gave her*:*

> *Working from home, for me, it is just amazing. I love it so much. Now is it, I do not know if it is the same in Poland or other countries, but in the United States, most employees – like, maybe 30 to 40% of employees, white-collar employees – they are productive and happy at home, and they do not plan to go back to the office. So, like many companies and including my company, they are going to make working from home a permanent option for people who want it, which is just amazing. But it also opens up a world of opportunity. Suddenly I am not anchored to New York City, and I can work from anywhere in the world. I have been developing my online teaching job. I have gotten, like, three new jobs in the past three months.*

Because of busy schedules, financial constraints or desire to practice English with people from other countries, among other factors, many students opt to study English online rather than in a classroom. For Rachel, one benefit of teaching English online is that she can work with students from a variety of backgrounds. As a virtual ESL teacher, she does not need to travel to interact with people from other countries and discover their cultures.

In February 2021 she started to teach for the Latin American Association:

> *It is really fantastic. I have a class; we meet on Saturdays. I have level three students. So, they are kind of low- to medium-intermediate. It is grammar, reading, writing, speaking, listening, everything. People from Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru, based in Atlanta, Georgia. They have all lived in the United States for between, like, two to ten years, but they have never had the opportunity or the time to study English. So that is why they are at the Latin American Association. But again, they are all in Atlanta. The organization is in Atlanta, and I am in Brooklyn. So, this is just one example of what online – one of the opportunities that have become available through this online teaching environment.*

People study English online for a variety of reasons. They may just want to improve their English for day-to-day conversations, as in the case above. But an online English teacher might assist a professional in gaining specific language skills to advance in a career, or a young learner in communicating in English for the first time. A teacher can also help high

school students developing their language skills to enter a university, possibly one in the United States. Soon after Rachel began teaching for the Latin American Association, she got a second online job with the New York English Academy.

*They sponsor, like, F1 visas – so, students, international students who want to come to the United States while they are studying English. The school will sponsor their visa. Some of these organizations are very sketchy; they just are moneymaking, schools that just charge a lot from the international students to sponsor the visa, but they are not serious about the education part of this. This program is a very reputable program. They have very strict rules about attendance and testing and all of those things that are actually required by the government. But some schools, they kind of lie about what they are doing or not doing for the student's education. So, this, the school, will help students with the visa application process if they want to transfer to, like, whatever the different visas are. It is kind of like a backdoor way to get into the United States. If you are not accepted into a university, it is kind of a step before that, to at least get you in the United States, help you improve your English and hopefully get you into a university program.*

The technological aspect of teaching was also important to Alex, who teaches business English for global companies:

*In the beginning I had students coming to me asking if I could not teach online because they had to travel for work. They had meetings; they had to cancel classes. We are 2012, 2013, and I said, if it is so difficult to go to a classroom physically, we can try online. It was Skype at the time. And then there were situations which it had to be online to make up classes because students had missed four classes out of six in a month, so I had to recover classes. So eventually I became virtual to a point where in 2018 I practically was teaching all my classes online because the students were demanding classes online. The 30-some generation – in their jobs, they are so used to having virtual meetings.*

Alex gives examples of two companies for which he teaches: an Italian electricity company that does business with Chile, Spain, Brazil and Mexico, and an oil company that operates from Houston with London, São Paulo and Amsterdam. In both companies, the daily language of communication is English. Their employees are used to virtual meetings:

*My physical presence or my virtual presence – this did not mean anything to*

*them, it was so natural. It was a process that I had to learn. I became more technology-savvy, in a way. To a point where I found out that – I discovered, actually, the virtual world as another dimension of a teaching tool. And the results are just the same. Just as well as in physical.*

Rachel confirms that in adult education in the United States, the language schools have found that adult learners prefer online education or at least want the option of online education because they do not have to commute to the language school:

*They do not have to arrange day care for their children. It is just much more convenient. It saves time and money. I think that online, the additional online work I have now is not going to go away because the demand for online education will continue, which has been amazing. I am almost at the point where my online teaching could support me – not in New York, not living in New York, but living maybe some places in Europe or the Caribbean. I am, like, really starting to think, oh yeah, I could really support myself doing this with the online teaching. And if I were to move somewhere, I am sure I could find, like, local work teaching in the school or something.*

Covid-19 has accelerated the move to digital reality and the adoption and integration of the internet into people' lives. One of the biggest challenges to the global community of ELT professionals teaching online is the issue of different time zones; for a semester Diane worked from New York City with a student in Tokyo every Sunday night (EDT) before the student had to start work on Monday morning (JST). There is also the issue of access to technology and resources that may or may not be available in different parts of the world.

Two years ago, Rachel started an online teaching program with a university in New York City, the College of Staten Island, a branch of the City University of New York:

*They have a program with a language school in Peru, in Lima. The students take English courses with an English teacher. And then once a month they go to a language lab, like an old-fashioned language lab. They sit in front of computers with the headphones, and they meet with native English-speakers. There was a whole, an entire curriculum that we followed based on the lessons they were having in class with their instructors. So, I had been doing that for a year, but then we were stopped because the situation in a Peru is pretty critical and the students cannot go to the lab, and they do not have technology access in their homes to continue the classes.*

Rachael's example shows that while the Covid-19 online pivot was successful and welcome by many, there were communities which did not benefit. Large numbers of learners, especially those in underprivileged areas of the world or segments of society have lost access to education because of the pandemic. Many teachers also lost their jobs, and institutions closed. In my research group, this was illustrated by the case of Sean and Kate who were supposed to go to Ukraine to teach at the beginning of 2020. They were offered jobs at a language school in Odessa, but then came the pandemic. They decided to come back home to Ireland instead of going to teach there.

One of the primary benefits of teaching English online is being able to work from home (especially for stay-at-home parents, teachers who live far from their pupils, and those who had to go on lockdown because of the Covid-19 crisis). But the pandemic has revealed the challenges that existed before but were hidden or covered up. Those challenges relating to quality, access and equity were always there.

Diane noticed that when remote education continued during the Fall 2021 semester, a number of new international students at the CUNY journalism school deferred or dropped out. While the impact of the Covid-19 crisis on the educational system has yet to be fully assessed, it has aggravated existing inequalities. Because of many factors – social, cultural, economic, geographical and others – many international students are at risk of not going (or returning) to school. The pandemic, too, has seriously affected their ability to travel and attend school. It has consequences for individual students, their families, their schools and the economy.

> *If they cannot come here, it means they cannot get student visas. And if they cannot get student visas, that means they cannot do internships in the U.S. or even publish their work, which is a big part of our program. The ones who did two fall semesters – one was doing her work from Montreal, one from Mexico City, one, I think, from Venezuela. So that is one way the pandemic has changed things.*

The journalism school is now exploring an online program:

> *I think a lot of international people might be interested in that. Two of our programs now, entrepreneurial journalism programs and newsroom management, are entirely online. They are getting people from all over the world. I just worked with an Indonesian student the other day.*

In the intersection of globalization and new telecommunication technologies may be seen new ways of producing locality and globality. The technologies in today's world – even

legacy media like radio and television – that are interactive enable anyone in the world to transmit information or ideas around the globe. The technologies are infinite in terms of audience participation through requests, through sending questions, through voting, through live conversations. By fostering mass circulation of ideas and images, the internet offers possibilities to anyone to disseminate their ideas around the world.

Appadurai addresses the mass circulation of people and images. Language education through interactive multimedia tools, and the participants – teachers and learners – can express their views directly or indirectly merely by switching to a certain media scape that offers such a wide variety of choices. In addition, they can actively intervene in education by modifying, questioning or interrogating what resources that they have access to today, or by comparing different ones.

Ultimately, modern technologies have not only enabled the opportunities to connect the world and different parts of the world and irrevocably changed the human experience, but also enabled cultural and educational circulation through a mediascape. Technology makes it now possible for both teachers and learners to be not only consumers but also creators of media contents.

Diane, Rachel, Alex, Sean and Kate can teach English from anywhere, and to anyone in the world. In some parts of the world, virtual or hybrid learning is not available (UNICEF, 2020). Or its availability may depend on whether the setting is a primary or secondary school, a college or university, or company training. When available, it will be much more effective in some of these settings than in others. Even so, it is unlikely that educators will ever go back to what used to be; they can only move forward into an increasingly hybridized world.

Global issues have become crucial in the ELT profession. Everyone it touches – teachers, learners, institutions, publishers – has a responsibility to think carefully about what they do, how they do it, how they can effect change. Students in many countries will continue to learn English at school. People will continue to need to learn English to be able to work effectively, to do business, to sell and buy around the world. The need is always there. Technology has always driven education, but there is no education without a teacher. In a multilingual world, technology is a reaction to the changing nature of language learning and education. It allows teachers to reach out to learners and enable alternative ways of learning and creating meaning.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

The present seems to belong to digital nomads, global citizens, who learn to take advantage of the information global revolution. Importantly, the global citizen speaks fluent English – the language of the internet, business and politics – and understands technology that enables him or her to connect with people and information instantly. The world has always been multilingual, but the desire for English and English learning around the world makes people even more multilingual because, by definition, the learners already know one, two, three or even more languages. In fact, speakers of English as a second language are English-knowing multilinguals.

This study explored the English to Speakers of Other Language (ESOL) teachers' attitudes toward teaching English in relation to the hegemony (Gramsci et al., 1971; Ives, 2010; Manojan, 2019; Mayo, 2010, 2015) of the dominant language and the empowerment of its learners (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2020, Rappaport, 1987, 1995, Shor, 1992) for global, international communication. Specifically, this study investigated teachers' views on their role as English language educators given the language's dominance in a globalized world (Appadurai, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Schuerkens, 2003; Tomlinson, 1991).

The topic of this dissertation was inspired by my direct experience as an administrator of *the English Language Practicum* program and its participants with whom I worked for over ten years at the International Institute for the Study of Culture and Education at the University of Lower Silesia. In cooperation with the New School's English Language Teaching certificate, each summer an intensive English language course was organized in Wrocław, Poland, where, in majority, American trainees in ESOL taught local, Polish students. Methodologically, the study used a qualitative approach to data collection. Twelve ESOL teachers (ten graduates of the program and two outside of the program) were interviewed using in-depth, semi-structured narrative and biographical interviews (Alheit, 2018; Alheit et al., 1995; West et al., 2007).

As a result of the spread of English in the process of globalization, I pay attention to the effect of learning English on learners' local and global empowerment (Shor, 1992). On the other hand, I perceived the spread of English as an evident example of linguistic and cultural imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1991), as the language's dominant position is a threat to other linguistic cultures. From this perspective English, as a global language, is

rightly perceived as dominant and hegemonic. To take advantage of scientific and technological advancements in today's world, one must at least understand English. The prominent status of English is strengthened by the processes of globalization. Native speakers as ESOL teachers play an important part in the strengthening this linguistic hegemony and dominance by teaching the language to those people whose mother tongue is not English. I was thus interested in their role in strengthening the global position of English, on the one hand, while on the other hand I wanted to listen to their perceptions and strategies of empowering people through English in their local and global contexts. I refer to my respondents and other ESOL teachers like them as "global organic intellectuals." In this dissertation, I explored their pedagogical approaches through which they negotiated their role as teachers of the hegemonic language with what they believed were practices through which they empowered their learners in the global contexts.

In my research, I sought to answer the following research questions:

- How do teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) who work in different national and transnational contexts negotiate, in their pedagogical practices, the divergent positioning of English as a means of global hegemony and local and individual empowerment?

- How does the ambiguous positions of English as a global language play out in the teachers' experiences?

- How do teachers navigate teaching English, which may be perceived as a way of empowering concrete communities and individuals through foreign-language skills and knowledge on the one hand, but also strengthening Western dominance on the other?

- How do specific people in specific locations negotiate the changing conditions of their life worlds as they are affected by globalization?

- How are social and cultural processes negotiated by language?

- How can language education empower marginalized communities?

The role English has played in bringing together people from different linguistic backgrounds is immense. However, throughout the dissertation I do not just look at its emergence through rose-colored glasses. I look back at the history of English and its role in colonialism. Unpacking issues related to language and power, it is impossible to ignore how deeply embedded inequalities are in English Language Teaching. How can teachers participate in English language teaching in a way that is responsible, ethical and conscious of

the consequences of their practice? I look at inequalities created by the emergence of the English teaching and learning industry. I mention how the global imposition of English has led to the erasure of other languages, cultures and identities[72] – both inside settler colonies that are now English-speaking countries such as the United States, Canada or Australia, and also everywhere else where English is becoming or has become the second language. From very early on, English as a language of colonialism and hegemony has been strongly weaponized, imbuing with power those for whom it was a native tongue and who spoke its most desired – racialist and classed "standard" variety. It has helped to exclude those without such knowledge – drawing boundaries of belonging. Around the globe, there is this history of "othering" based on language use. In this context, the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages feels problematic. As the language of power, it erases much otherness because of its geopolitical prominence and domination, even within the microcosm of the classroom. But as the results of my study show, those who teach the English – the global organic intellectuals – recognize this danger and make pedagogical efforts at this mitigation.

In a 1919 Letter to the American Defense Society, former U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt wrote words that strongly illustrate the power of English as a system of oppression. He said:

*We have room for but one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, and American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house; and we have room for but one soul [sic] loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.* (Roosevelt, 1919)

These powerful, exclusionary words show how the supremacy of English monolingualism is framed as simply racist – a system of oppression built into the very fabric of American nation. But English is not all about oppression. People around the world learn English because it can empower them in their lives. Students' goals related to learning English vary, but the language can be a bridge that connects different parts of the world, bringing together people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds through a shared means of communication. But there is a need to recognize how English has been used

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[72] For example, working in an international environment, I have noticed that people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, especially within China, create their own "English names." Because different Chinese languages and dialects have sounds that are challenging for native English-speakers to pronounce, many students will give themselves an "English name" or names they feel will be easier for English-speakers to pronounce than the names they were given. It pains me that students come to this understanding that their name is such a hindrance that someone could possibly spend ten minutes trying to get the pronunciation.

historically and how it continues to impose a hegemonic power dynamic worldwide. English lies on the spectrum of giving and taking away power, and recognizing this as English-language educators gives teachers the opportunity to frame it as such in their practice. There is a need to bring to the surface the beauty that emerges from a shared language, but also the damage that it has done and continues to do.

How do teachers teach English while supporting their students to become empowered multilinguals? Throughout their careers ESOL teachers face constant challenges in making career choices and identifying best professional practices in view of these dynamics. They are professional language specialists whose job is to help learners become successful users of the English language. In this dissertation I have tried to emphasize their personal histories and trajectories. They had different motivations for choosing to become ESOL teachers. All of them were or have become concerned about the hegemonic element inscribed in their profession. All of them had to learn to communicate their values to employers and students by crafting a powerful philosophy of teaching that showcases their unique mission as global organic intellectuals. It is a continuous process of negotiation in different parts of their lives and in constant dialogue with others. Change is part of their identities. The personal and the professional self converge through their *biograficity* – the ability to continuously redesign, sometimes even from scratch, the paths of their lives.

The way teachers frame how they teach English in the classroom is very important because, along with what they are teaching, they are also imposing a certain cultural norm as native speakers of English. Hedging and softening are needed to account for differences, and for the fact that Anglo cultures are not the only ways of doing things. This is especially important when teaching in the U.S., where the idea of assimilation into the target language and culture is especially prominent. How can teachers move away from ethnocentrism in their practice? How do they teach the English language in a way that is not purely Anglocentric when learning the English language is the goal? One way is to explicitly discuss the different cultural lenses through which teachers can see the world in different contexts. Bringing the different norms to learners' attention can be helpful – highlighting the connections between the language and culture of the student.

The way teachers treat their students' native culture is also a very important consideration. The "English only" norm in the language classroom has its advantages, since students' goal is to learn English, but it is very delicate. Requiring that students use only English, teachers are in a sense invalidating someone else's language. They are treading a

very fine line because immersing in the target language is by far the most effective strategy to actually acquire that language. But language educators still have to ask themselves how, or even if, they are also placing value and merit on the students' linguistic and cultural identities. They need to understand the lens through which they are leading their class and be aware of their tendencies to impose language and cultural norms. The teachers that I interviewed for this study stressed how important it was not to frame English as the golden key, but rather give space for students to be proud of their own languages and cultures. The ESOL teachers I worked with are aware of the cultural variations students bring to their classes. They are aware that students face a variety of difficulties and struggles as they strive to form new identities as language-learners and integrate into a new community, that of English-speakers. They do not see teaching and learning English as activities isolated from content and context: "Language education specifically is an ideal context with which to develop wellbeing competence (…) language education typically aims for more than narrowly defined linguistic competence and it often involves many aspects of the individual" (Mercer et al., 2018, p. 21).

The teachers I interviewed report students' feeling pressure to conform to expectation of doing things "the way things are done in the U.S." or in another English-speaking country, "the white countries." An emphasis is often placed on learning American English or British English, highlighting colonial cultural context and excluding other ways of knowing a language. This exclusionary approach is often openly racist, but it also ignores the reality that English is considered an official language in many countries outside the West. English spoken in these countries should not be called "non-standard" because there is nothing non-standard about it.

The ESOL teachers I interviewed as global organic intellectuals are working to find ways to encourage individuals to embrace the fact that the other languages they speak can enrich their English and can lead to them making English their own. They can also help call out injustices and unfairness tied to ESOL teaching and work toward shifting the paradigm to more inclusive practices, decentralize Euro- and/or Anglocentric normative dominance. Their pedagogies can celebrate linguistic difference and diversity with non-native English-speakers.

The quandary of ESOL teachers lies in the fundamental contradiction inscribed in their profession – the fact that they teach the language of global hegemony while at the same time striving for it to be the means of individual empowerment in the local and global context. Knowledge of English is often used as a tool of social advancement. It is also considered a way of liberating people and giving them more opportunities in the globalized world. But by

teaching the language of hegemony, teachers are reinforcing the global system of colonial and postcolonial dominance. How do teachers position themselves as educators within the system? One of the greatest challenges is the belief that a teacher cannot possibly make a significant difference in such a large industry. Should teachers feel bad about their involvement in this system? I point out that educators do have a significant role in sustaining it. It is a new form of colonialism through a more interconnected global economic and sociopolitical system. It is not a single government like France or England going and dominating a territory; rather, it is a system of cultural hegemony that enables Western dominance to endure. It is also a more complicated power relationship on a transnational level, subject to economic rather than single governments forces.

Taking a critical look at TESOL, Suhanthie Motha, shows how English is used to create hierarchies of privilege and points out that "Those of us who speak legitimated forms of English have a responsibility to consider the implications of privileged speaker status for the pursuit of social justice in our practice" (Motha, 2014, p. 115). In other words, because of its global status, English belongs to everyone who uses it; it is a multi-national language. Therefore, ESOL teachers should empower their students to own their use of English and express their own cultural values and traditions by communicating in English without any hesitation or fear.

By teaching the language, as global organic intellectuals they see an ethical commitment to humanity as indispensable to their students' social transformation. As Gramsci says, the organic intellectual's mission is to know more – truly know more, not just appear to know, not just have the ability to know, but know thoroughly and profoundly (Hall et al., 1996, p. 267).

The ESOL teachers I have interviewed for this study share in their narratives their commitment to equity: English is an additional language and is not there to supplant the home language or languages. They are also aware that TESOL is performed in a variety of settings, imbued with its own set of practices, cultures and resources which they strive to integrate in their pedagogies. They also speak of English not as a unified thing, but rather point to the existence of multiple Englishes. My respondents' experiences in the field have helped them become true facilitators of their learners' acquisition of English for the real world, as opposed to an imagined world that no longer exists.

Understanding the role of English as a world language allows for informed decisions and practices. The teachers as global organic intellectuals realize that English is the *lingua*

*franca* but is no longer owned by people coming from English-speaking countries (which are also multilingual because of immigration). Therefore, they try to create a safe, inclusive learning environment for empowerment of their students.

As a result of my research, three recommendations have emerged as dominant in teachers' narratives. One is to balance form with meaning (keep language meaningful, personal, grammatically correct, providing vocabulary for successful communication) while teaching English. Another is to support autonomy and agency by using authentic materials, with the goal of debunking native-speaker models (exposing students to authentic materials but helping them question nativespeakerism and develop multilingual notions of success). The last is to boost agentive motivation by understanding learners' intersectional places in the world and create conditions in the classroom for their agentic engagement with their own learning and help them to nurture agency.

Learning a language is about learning to *mean*. Meanings are social and personal, and also entangled with who we want to be in the world (and how we want to be seen by others). English language learning does not have to be seen as a ladder to native-speaker perfection. Teachers may choose to judge what they see in their students: is it linguistic incompetence, or multilingual flexibility? They should remember that anyone who comes to them for English already has a language. By teaching an additional language, they help them build linguistic confidence and make them feel proud of who they are in all their languages. Teachers can assist students in developing empowering strategies and agency tools to enable them, modify their realities and negotiate the risks of being bilingual in monolingually biased societies. Instead of looking for certain (as opposed to situated, uncertain) knowledges or the most "effective approaches" to teaching English to speakers of other languages, the teachers should expand their traditional goals to include justice-oriented concerns about how to value linguistic and cultural diversity and promote social justice.

One way is to teach students to use English to think critically and to rise above cultural domination – for example, by including local cultural references to actually encourage people to embrace their own culture while using English. ESOL teachers should also promote local languages and encourage their students to speak their native languages just as much as they speak English. To fight the dominance of English, teachers actually need to teach English more. To bridge the divide between those who know the language and have resources to learn it and those who do not have the opportunity to master the language, they need to make sure that English is universalized and that everybody has an equal chance to learn it. Teachers

should make sure that not only the wealthy have the opportunity to learn English, but the whole society. This can be addressed through proper training to teachers so that they are aware and know that they need to focus on their students. It can also be done by distributing teachers and resources equally to all people, not just the elite. I agree that teaching English can be a hegemonic practice if it is not done in the right way, if the teachers are not culturally responsible, if they are not promoting multilingualism and enhancing the local culture and making sure the language is available to everyone. If a teacher is culturally aware and goes about it correctly, English can become a multinational language.

I would like to end this dissertation with this picture of racist graffiti on a street in London, which the local community turned into a positive message. Disturbed by the words "Speak English" painted on a wall, an artist altered the image to read: "We Speak English, Panjabi, Lithuanian, Urdu, Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Tamil, Bengali, French, Cockney" – languages that local residents from different parts of the world use. Acknowledging them, the artist transformed the graffiti into a celebration of different languages, an artistic rendering of practices in which my respondents as global organic intellectuals engage in on a daily basis.



**FIGURE 15: GRAFFITI IN WALTHAMSTOW, LONDON**
(Source: Facebook; Retrieved Jan. 13, 2021)

**SUMMARY**

In recent decades, the use of the English language has spread literally to every part of the world and into every sphere of life: education, science, technology, military, culture, personal communication. English is so widespread that it is considered a global language (Crystal, 2003). In my doctoral work, I attempt to understand and describe how teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) working in different national and transnational contexts negotiate, in their pedagogical practices, the divergent positioning of the English language as a means of global hegemony and local empowerment.

The study is based on my work experience in international education, specifically an intensive collaboration of nearly 12 years (2007 to 2018) with the New School, an institution of higher learning in New York City. The New School offers a certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Throughout my work as the local coordinator of a teaching practicum in Wrocław, Poland, for certificate candidates – mostly native English-speakers from the United States – I have seen people with established careers succeed in retraining as teachers. I am interested in their nontraditional career trajectories and their experiences of global engagement through teaching English.

In my dissertation, I explore the experiences of EFL teachers working in different cultural contexts. The qualitative research is based on narrative interviews, in which I focus on how EFL teachers experience teaching English, which is, on one hand, a global and hegemonic language that has become dominant in social, educational, economic, political, military and cultural arenas (Swaan, 2001) and, on the other hand, "a gateway to education, employment and economic and social prestige" (Guo & Beckett, 2007: 118).

This complex nature of the ways English is being used, is reflected in the process of globalization, which links humans together more and diversifies society, yet reveals inequalities that are being deepened in the very same process. In my research, I aim to show how ambivalent feelings toward the position of English as a global language play out in the experiences of the teachers with whom I conducted my research. Through interviews, I have tried to understand how they navigate teaching English, which can be perceived as a way of strengthening Western dominance but also empowering concrete communities through foreign-language skills and knowledge.

Framing my research in the debate on cultural dimensions of globalization, I focus on the ways culture travels through global scapes (Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1991) and haw language functions as a cultural tool of both increasing global interconnection and deepening

inequalities (Francis & Ryan, 1998; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Jakubiak, 2020; Li, 2020). The research captures the continuing processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of culture (Appadurai, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Schuerkens, 2003; Tomlinson, 1991). I concentrate on how specific people negotiate the changing conditions of their life worlds as they are affected by globalization (Caldwell, 2004; Eriksen, 2016; Scheper-Hughes, 2008). Furthermore, I ground my project in research on the cultural aspects of teaching and learning language (González 2010), in particular how social and cultural processes are negotiated in significant part by language (Wortham & Reyes, 2011) and how language education can empower marginalized communities (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011; Bartlett et al., 2011; McCarty & Warhol, 2011; Noroozisiam & Soozandehfar, 2011; Stambach & Ngwane, 2011; Ernst, 1994).

**STRESZCZENIE**

*Negocjowanie hegemonii i upełnomocnienia. Nauczanie języka angielskiego jako języka obcego i krytyczne zaangażowanie globalne*

W ostatnich dziesięcioleciach, język angielski dotarł do każdego zakątka świata i do każdej sfery życia człowieka: edukacji, nauki, techniki, wojskowości, kultury oraz osobistej komunikacji. Język angielski jest tak rozpowszechniony, że uważa się go za język globalny (Crystal, 2003). W mojej pracy doktorskiej staram się zrozumieć i opisać, w jaki sposób nauczyciele języka angielskiego jako obcego (ang.: *English as a Foreign Language – EFL*) pracujący w rozmaitych kontekstach narodowych i transnarodowych, negocjują, w swoich praktykach pedagogicznych, rozbieżne pozycjonowanie języka angielskiego, z jednej strony będącego środkiem globalnej hegemonii, a z drugiej lokalnego upełnomocnienia (*empowerment*).

Niniejsza praca doktorska oparta jest na moim doświadczeniu zawodowym w sferze edukacji międzynarodowej, a konkretnie na intensywnej, trwającej prawie 12 lat (od 2007 do 2018) współpracy Międzynarodowego Instytutu Studiów nad Kulturą i Edukacją Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej z nowojorskim uniwersytetem The New School. W ofercie edukacyjnej The New School znajduje się certyfikowany kurs pn. Nauczanie języka angielskiego dla osób posługujących się innymi językami (ang.: *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages – TESOL*). Przez ponad 10 lat obie instytucje zapraszały do Wrocławia kandydatów na nauczycieli j. angielskiego – w znakomitej większości obywateli Stanów Zjednoczonych, dla których język angielski jest językiem ojczystym – którzy w ramach intensywnego kursu uczyli wrocławian języka i kultury amerykańskiej. W trakcie mojej pracy jako lokalny koordynator tej praktyki pedagogicznej (ang.: *English Language Practicum – ELP*), obserwowałam jak osoby z ugruntowaną karierą zaczynają odnosić sukcesy w zawodzie nauczyciela języka angielskiego. Interesują mnie ich nietradycyjne trajektorie zawodowe i doświadczenia globalnego zaangażowania poprzez uczenie j. angielskiego.

W mojej pracy doktorskiej badam doświadczenia tych nauczycieli, którzy pracują w różnych kontekstach kulturowych. Badania jakościowe opierają się na wywiadach narracyjnych, w których skupiam się na zaangażowaniu nauczycieli w uczenie języka angielskiego, z jednej strony będącego językiem globalnym i hegemonicznym, dominującym

na międzynarodowej arenie społecznej, edukacyjnej, ekonomicznej, politycznej, militarnej i kulturowej (Swaan, 2001), a z drugiej strony będącym „furtką do edukacji, zatrudnienia oraz ekonomicznego i społecznego prestiżu" (Guo & Beckett, 2007: 118).

Ta złożona natura języka angielskiego, znajduje odzwierciedlenie w procesie globalizacji, który coraz bardziej łączy ludzi i różnicuje społeczeństwa, a jednocześnie ujawnia nierówności, które pogłębiane są w tym samym procesie. W badaniach staram się pokazać, jak ambiwalentne uczucia wobec pozycji języka angielskiego jako języka globalnego przejawiają się w doświadczeniach nauczycieli, z którymi prowadziłam badania. Poprzez wywiady starałam się zrozumieć, jak radzą sobie oni z nauczaniem języka angielskiego, które może być postrzegane jako sposób na wzmocnienie dominacji świata zachodu, ale równocześnie jako wzmocnienie konkretnych społeczności poprzez nabywanie umiejętności posługiwania się tym konkretnym językiem obcym.

Wpisując moje badania w debatę na temat kulturowych wymiarów globalizacji, skupiam się na tym, w jaki sposób kultura przemieszcza się przez globalne krajobrazy [*scapes*] (Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1991) i na tym jak język funkcjonuje jako narzędzie kulturowe wzmacniające globalne powiązania, a zarówno pogłębiające istniejące w świecie nierówności (Francis i Ryan, 1998; Inda i Rosaldo, 2002; Jakubiak, 2020; Li, 2020). Badania te pozwalają uchwycić trwające procesy deterytorializacji i reterytorializacji kultury (Appadurai, 1996; Appiah, 2007; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Schuerkens, 2003; Tomlinson, 1991). Koncentruję się na tym, jak konkretne osoby negocjują zmieniające się warunki swoich światów życia pod wpływem globalizacji (Caldwell, 2004; Eriksen, 2016; Scheper-Hughes, 2008). Ponadto, opieram swój projekt na badaniach nad kulturowymi aspektami nauczania i uczenia się języka (González 2010), w szczególności na tym, jak procesy społeczne i kulturowe są negocjowane w znacznej części przez język (Wortham & Reyes, 2011) oraz jak edukacja językowa może wzmocnić pozycję marginalizowanych społeczności (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011; Bartlett et al., 2011; McCarty & Warhol, 2011; Noroozisiam & Soozandehfar, 2011; Stambach & Ngwane, 2011; Ernst, 1994).

**Słowa kluczowe:** biograficzność, globalizacja, hegemonia, język angielski, język globalny, nauczanie języka angielskiego dla osób posługujących się innymi językami (TESOL), edukacja językowa, upełnomocnienie

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CELTA      – Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

DELTA      – Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

ELF      – English as a Linga Franca

ELP      – English Language Practicum

ELT      – English Language Teaching

EFL      – English as a Foreign Language

ESL      – English as a Second Language

TNS      – The New School

IELTS      – International English Language Testing System

IISCE      – International Institute for the Study of Culture and Education

TEFL      – Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TESL      – Teaching English as a Second Language

TESOL      – Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TOEFL      – Test of English as a Foreign Language

TOEIC      – Test of English for International Communication

ULS      – University of Lower Silesia

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

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OŚWIADCZENIE

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