Transnational TESOL Professionals and Teaching English for Glocalized Communication (TEGCOM)

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> How should we write our research? ... the question reflects a central postmodernist realization: all knowledge is socially constructed. Writing is not a "true" representation of an objective "reality"; instead, language creates a particular view of reality. ... All social scientific writing depends upon narrative structure and narrative devices, although that structure and those devices are frequently masked by a "scientific" frame, which is, itself, a metanarrative (c.f. Lyotard, 1979). ... Can we construct a sociology in which narrated lives replace the narrative of unseen, atemporal, abstract "social forces"? (Laurel Richardson, 1997, pp. 26-27)

Richardson (1985) intertwines narrative writing with sociological analytic writing in a research-reporting genre which she called "the collective story". The collective story "gives voice to those who are silenced or marginalized" and "displays an individual's story by narrativizing the experiences of the social category to which the individual belongs" (Richardson, 1997, p. 22). To Richardson, the collective story is not just about the protagonists' past but also about their future. While Richardson emphasizes the similarity of experiences of "members" of a certain "social category" (identified according to certain similar conditions or experiences; e.g., cancer survivors, battered women), we want to emphasize the fluidity and non-essentialized nature of such social categories and how the rhetorical decisions made in the writing of the collective story contribute to the foregrounding of similarities of experiences, while de-emphasizing dissimilarities. On the one hand, we want to show in our collective story our uniqueness as persons each having a "unique trajectory that each person carves out in space and time" (Harre, 1998, p. 8). On the other hand, we want to show in our collective story how the "narrated experiences" of each of us are not isolated, idiosyncratic events, but "are linked to larger social structures, linking the personal to the public" and the biographical to the political (Richardson, 1997, p. 30).

Those similarities of experiences and social conditions that each of us found ourselves in constituted the reason for our joining together to embark on the writing of this paper. Resonating with Richardson's notion of using the collective story as a form of social action with transformative possibilities, we want to use our autobiographic narratives not only to report and interpret action, but also to shape future action, stressing "the prospective aspect of autobiographies" (Harre, 1998, p. 143). Recent works in applied linguistics that drew on narrative analysis and autobiographical data (e.g., Pavlenko, 1998, in press; Kramsch and Lam, 1999; Young, 1999; Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001) as well as the endorsement of narrative and autobiographic research as legitimate approaches in recent research methodology discourses (e.g., Casey, 1995; Ellis & Bochner, 2000) have created in applied linguistics a much welcomed niche, an opening, a legitimate discursive space for us to

explore ways of presenting our experiences with English as "EFL learners" in different Asian contexts. In presenting these narrated experiences, we are also paving the way to create subject positions more complex than and alternative to those traditionally created for us in EFL learning/teaching discourses (e.g., the Asian classroom learner of English, who is good at reading and writing in English but not as fluent in speaking and listening, and speaks with a characteristic "accent" marking them out as "non-native speakers").

We are four TESOL professionals (Wendy Wang, Angel Lin, Nobuhiko Akamatsu, and Mehdi Riazi) who have learned and used English since childhood in different parts of Asia--Mainland China, colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong, Japan, and Iran respectively. We crossed one another's pathways when we went to Canada to do our doctoral studies in English language education in the early 1990s. We parted upon graduation and each went into different career paths under different sociocultural and institutional structures. We decided to present our voices as language learners from different parts of the world to the "mainstream" audience by forming a panel, writing up our autobiographies of our experiences with English, and presenting them at the TESOL convention in 2001 (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, and Riazi, 2001). Now we want to make deeper sense of what we have written by reflexively analysing them, linking them to current discourses of language learning and identity, and local production of disciplinary knowledge in applied linguistics (e.g., Canagarajah, 2000; Norton, 1997, 2000; Toohey, 2000; Leung, Harris, and Rampton, 1997). As we do not have space in this paper to present our autobiogrphies in their entirety, we shall adopt the format of Richardson's collective story. We shall analyse the storylines of our autobiographies and present excerpts from them to illustrate the storylines. We use the collective story as a format to tell our stories of learning and teaching English in different sociocultural contexts. We discuss how this local, socioculturally situated knowledge can contribute to the knowledge of the discipline and a re-visioning of the field.

This chapter is divided into three main parts. In Part I, we critically and reflexively analyse our own autobiographic narratives of learning and teaching English in different sociocultural contexts. In Part II, we engage in discussions which aim at contributing to the disciplinary knowledge and discourse of TESOL and applied linguistics, by illustrating both how English is seen, learned, appropriated and used in different ways in different sociocultural contexts, and how this local, socioculturally situated knowledge can contribute to the knowledge of the discipline. In Part III, we problematize the discursive and institutional practices of Othering by deconstruting and destabilizing the dichotic categories of "native" and "non-native" speakers of English and propose a paradigm shift from doing TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of *Other* Languages) to doing TEGCOM (Teaching English for Glo*c*alized[i] Communication), with suggestions for an alternative theoretical orientation and research program.

OUR COLLECTIVE STORY

"Writing exists in the context of an implicit guiding metaphor that shapes the narrative" (Richardson, 1997, p. 17). Examples of these guiding metaphors, cultural narratives, or storylines (Harre and van Langenhove, 1998) can be found in the popular culture in a

society (e.g., in movies, novels, or biographies of successful people). For instance, the successful immigrant storyline is found in many immigrants' autobiographies (e.g., the immigrant has achieved success and acceptance in the host society through her/his hard work and resolution of conflicts between the indigenous cultural identity and the assimilating identity of the host country, usually by settling down with the possession of middle-class, professional identities; e.g., Lvovich, 1997). Another example is the resistance storyline that is often found in the critical cultural studies literature (e.g., the working class students who engage in oppositional practices that negate the norms and values imposed on them by middle class adults, with the paradoxical effect of reproducing their working class habitus and future work paths; e.g., Willis, 1977). Storylines represent how groups of people tend to see the world and interpret and relate events to themselves and their own actions. Instead of talking about storylines as "right" or "wrong", or "accurate" or "inaccurate", one talks about storylines in terms of the meanings people give to events in the world and the visions that people have for themselves in relation to others and the world.

When we reflexively analyse our own autobiographies, we find a comparable storyline underlying our different stories. Below we shall first illustrate the storyline with excerpts from our autobiographic stories. We shall then critically analyse our own narratives to answer the following questions: Can we reposition ourselves by re-imagining the storylines, and in what ways can our stories contribute to the knowledge and discourse of the discipline?

Learning English in sociocultural contexts where English is not a daily life language

First of all, all the four learners are situated in a similar set of sociolinguistic conditions with respect to learning English. In their sociocultural contexts, English, not being a language for daily communication within their families or communities, is mainly encountered as an academic subject in school:

> How did I get interested in the English language in a non-English speaking country like China? My parents didn't speak a word of English. My first encounter with English was when I was in the 3rd grade and English was a school subject. In the isolated China in the early 70s, many Chinese kids considered English to be too foreign and irrelevant to their lives; so there was lack of interest in the English subject. (Excerpt from Wendy's story)

> I grew up in a small town in Fars province where English was not popular and was taught as a school subject only from grade seven. There weren't any private institutions to teach English either. Moreover, the socio-economic condition of families did not allow for a full-fledged schooling of their children, let alone for extra curricula subjects such as English. Therefore, chances for learning English in families or formal education was very low for us. (Excerpt from Mehdi's story)

> My parents do not speak any English. People we know all speak Cantonese which is our daily language. I grew up in a home and community where few had the linguistic resources to use English at all, and even if anyone had, she/he would find it extremely socially inappropriate (e.g., sounding pompous, putting on airs) to speak English. My chances for learning and using English hinged entirely on the school. However, I lived in a poor government-subsidized apartment-building complex (called "public housing estate") in the rural area (the New Territories) in Hong Kong, where schools were mostly newly put up in the 1960s and they neither had adequate English

resources (e.g., staff well-versed in spoken English) nor a well-established English-speaking and English-teaching-and-learning tradition or school culture. (Excerpt from Angel's story)

I was good at math and science, and English was also my favorite subject. I felt that English was the easiest subject of all, in terms of getting good marks. Somehow, I could always get good marks on English without studying too hard. In my third year in junior high school (Grade 9), I decided to try to enter the most prestigious high school in my city. (My brother, who was two years older, was studying at that school; it was kind of natural that I was going to take an entrance exam for that school.) In spite of all my efforts, however, I failed the entrance examination for the high school and had to go to another school. I thought that my life was over. In Japan, people tend to believe that a good school makes a good life, and I was, of course, one of them. … When I started my high school life, I was just miserable. The school was not the one I wanted to go to, and I was unhappy about everything around me. I said to myself, 'No matter how hard you try, you can't get what you want. This is life.' Although I went to school everyday, I didn't study at all; I was just killing my time for nothing. It was one of those days when I met Mr. Okuhara." (Excerpt from Nobu's story)

Meeting with teachers who facilitated our appropriation of English to expand our horizons and identities

Given the situation that English is mainly learned as a school subject for academic grades, one will normally not expect the learner to have developed a high level of communicative competence in English. However, our stories illustrate the important role that our teachers played in helping us appropriate English and in enabling us to engage in practices that expanded our horizons and identities. These moments are experienced as self-transforming, culturally enriching, and also at times psychologically liberating (resonating with the emphasis of recent works on the intimate relationships between identity and language learning; e.g., Norton, 1997, 2000; Toohey, 2000). For instance, the hierarchical schooling system in Japan imposed a failure identity on Nobu when he failed to enter a prestigious high school; his meeting with a very special English tutor, Mr. Okuhara, had created a new, expanding identity for Nobu and had turned his life around—he wanted to become an English teacher, like Mr. Okuhara:

Mr. Okuhara was a former English teacher of my mother's friend. Because my mother was worried about me, she asked her friend for some advice. She suggested that she introduce Mr. Okuhara to me. … Although I knew that he had taught English at high school for many years and he was offering private English lessons, my first impression on him was not so great. I was fifteen years old, and he was about seventy-five; we had almost sixty years in age difference, and I was kind of skeptical about his ability as an English teacher.

The first meeting was very brief; he just read through the textbook and reference books (i.e., grammar books) I was using in my high school and made a few comments on them. He then handed me another book, saying, "Why don't you read this book, as much as you want, and tell me what it says about? How about starting next Wednesday?" So, I went home with the book and started reading it. Boy, it was so difficult! There were a lot of words I didn't know, and some sentence structures were also complex. I could read only three pages or so in a week. This was not just disappointing but also shocking for me because I was very proud of my English ability at that time. English was one of the very few things I was good at. After a few lessons with Mr. Okuhara, I realized that my English ability was not good enough to read the book he gave me. I still remember that my "English" world before I had met with him was like a small pond about which I knew everything. After having studied with him, I felt like I were thrown out into the sea, where I had no idea which way to swim or whether I could swim without drowning. (I found out later that the book I was given was used as a textbook for university students!)

Mr. Okuhara's study room was small and simple. Basically, there were only a desk and two chairs. We sat at the desk, face to face. The lesson usually began with my reading aloud. I read aloud the text and translated it into Japanese, sentence by sentence. When I was reading aloud, I often stumbled or mispronounced unfamiliar words. My translation was also so poor that sometimes I myself didn't understand what I meant. Mr. Okuhara, however, never showed any negative expressions on his face or in his words. He simply provided the correct pronunciation or explained what made my translation poor. His teaching style, though it was rather old fashioned, surprised me in a sense. Because I was used to the teachers' complaints about the students' poor performance or disgusting expressions towards the students' mistakes, Mr. Okuhara's sincere attitude towards teaching deeply impressed me.

I studied English with Mr. Okuhara for four years (ages 15 to 19). In those four years, I read a variety of English books with him, such as autobiography, mystery, adventure, and philosophy. My reading ability in English improved so much and I learned many things from the English books I read; however, it is the time I spent with him after each English lesson that I appreciate more. The English lesson with Mr. Okuhara began around 6 p.m. and it usually continued until around 9 p.m. After the lesson was over, his wife always brought us two cups of tea, fruits, and some sweets. Then, we, Mr. Okuhara and I, talked about many different things over the goodies. He used to tell me about his youth and his teaching experiences. He sometimes showed me his old pictures, explaining each picture, one by one. His talks were always so interesting that I never felt our age difference, and I found myself looking forward to the conversation with him after lesson. (Mr. Okuhara died in March 1991. It may sound strange, but I still talk to him in my mind once in a while. He was a very special person who influenced me most in my teenage, and he is still my mentor.) …. I realized that I would like be an English teacher like Mr. Okuhara. (Excerpts from Nobu's story)

Learning English in China in the 1970s should have also proved to be a lonely enterprise. However, there were two significant events in Wendy's early learning experience: Wendy's parents desired their daughter to take up the future identity of an interpreter, who will serve as a bridge between the Western world and their own world, and Wendy's meeting with a special teacher, Mr. Qi, who had opened up a bilingual discursive space for her to feel secure enough to explore a new world and a new identity in English:

> … *My parents passed on to me their beliefs and interest in the Western world. They strongly believed that the future of China was to be open to the Western world and English language is the key for communication.* As a third grader, I developed an interest in the English language simply because of my curiosity. For me, *English was a mysterious language, representing an unknown world. It fascinated me because it was so different*. I often wondered: Who were the English-speaking people? What did they look like? What would English sound like in real life? My curiosity allowed me to dream of one day meeting these people. *It was exciting to imagine that I could understand them, but I wondered if they could understand me. … My parents believed that I had language talent and could become an interpreter one day.* So they seized the opportunity for me by signing me up for a language aptitude test when the Tianjin Foreign Languages School reopened the year after President Nixon's visit to China in 1972. I passed the language aptitude test and was admitted into an intensive English program in 1973. I was 13 years old. Getting into the English program changed the path of my life forever. ...
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> … I enjoyed more when I practiced speaking English with peers and teachers. *All the teachers were fluent speakers of English, though not native speakers.* The classes were small, with no more than 12 students in each class. I enjoyed going to English classes, particularly the English conversation class. Our teacher, Mr. Qi, was fabulous with students. He often carried out conversations with us on topics of our interest and our conversations often went on beyond the class hours. *A unique feature of Mr. Qi was that he liked to code-switch between English and Chinese.* This shaped the way we communicated with each other both in and out of class. We often started a topic in Chinese and

ended up in English or vice versa. Everyone was free to join in the conversations in either language. *In switching between the two languages, we learned to relate to each other and communicate in the world we created. The use of both languages signified a sense of belonging to that world.* However, even in the intimate use of the two languages, it was clear to everyone that they played totally different roles in our communication. *Chinese was the language to represent ourselves and English was the language we used to expand who we were and who we wanted to be.* To this end, *English became a language of dream and a language of freedom.* For this reason, I didn't really feel embarrassed when I made mistakes in English. I truly enjoyed talking to my classmates and sharing ideas in the language we were learning. In fact, it was in the company of the group that I became a <u>confident</u> speaker of English. ...

... The issues we didn't feel comfortable talking about in class often became the topics for discussion in our dormitory. I shared a room with five other female students from the same class and we ended up being good friends. I enjoyed every minute of our discussions in the dorm room. What made our discussions a unique experience was that we exchanged our thoughts in English. *Speaking English gave us a sense of freedom and liberation from being silent on all the social, cultural, and political issues in our first language.* The relaxed atmosphere in the dorm made it possible for us to be open and feel free to question the social, cultural, and political practices in China. *The fact that we chose to experience English as the medium to express our reactions, concerns, frustrations, worries, expectations, and hopes signified our expansion and growth in a new dimension.* (Excerpts from Wendy's story; italics added)

Likewise, the arrival of two energetic teachers who taught Angel self-learning strategies with which she could gain access to English had set her onto a different path. English later became much more than a school subject to her; it became a tool for her to enrich and expand her sociocultural horizons, and a space for her to negotiate her "innermost self":

At Primary 4 (Grade 4), there came a fresh graduate from the College of Education to our school, and he became our English teacher. His teaching methods were very different from our former teachers. He was friendly and approachable and talked to us explicitly about our need to increase our English vocabulary. He asked us to keep a "rough work book" where we put down all new words or new sentences exemplifying a new grammatical point. He gave us ample practice with word pronunciations and meanings. He explained everything clearly. He also taught us how to use an English dictionary. I started to pick up some confidence and interest in learning English since then. …

… At Primary 6 (Grade 6), another recent College of Education graduate, Miss Law, came to our school and took up our English classes. She taught us those funny symbols that they use in the dictionaries to indicate the words' pronunciations. I learnt that these funny symbols were called "international phonetic symbols", and I took a strong interest in them. … I started to go to the public library to borrow English storybooks and I conscientiously looked up all the new words and practiced pronouncing them. I kept a vocabulary book where I wrote down the meanings, pronunciations (recorded in phonetic symbols) and example sentences of the words (copied from the dictionary) and I read it whenever I had time. …

… I had pen-pals from all over the world: England, Canada, U.S.A., Austria and Germany. In my circle of girl-friends, having pen-pals had become a topic and practice of common interest and we would talk about our pen-pals and shared our excitement about trading letters, postcards, photos, and small gifts with our pen-pals; we'd also show one another pictures of our pen-pals. … It's a spontaneous "community of practice" (Lave and Wenger, 1991) that had emerged from our own activities and interests. … I also started to write my own private diary in English every day about that time. … Although I had started off this habit mainly to improve my English, later on I found that I could write my diary faster and <u>more comfortably</u> in English than in Chinese … I felt that I could write my feelings <u>more freely</u> when I wrote in English--less inhibition and reservation--I seemed to have found a tool that gave me more freedom to express my innermost fears, worries, anger,

conflicts or excitement, hopes, expectations, likes and dislikes (e.g., anger with parents or teachers, or a troubling quarrel with a friend at times) without constraint or inhibition--as if this foreign language had opened up a new, personal space (a "third space", Bhabha, 1994), for me to more freely express all those difficult emotions and experiences (typical?) of an adolescent growing up, without feeling the sanctions of the adult world." (Excerpts from Angel's story)

Mehdi's location in a tourist spot and his identity as one of the few tourist guides in the community gave him an impetus to learn English. He also met two teachers in the school who put English within a comfortable zone for him. Later, English came to be an important tool for him to acquire a socially upward, professional identity:

My first encounter with English language was in the form of facing foreign tourists coming to our historical town to visit the historical traces of the past dynasties. This created in me an impetus to learn English. In summer, when schools were closed, one of my hobbies became finding and reading simplified English books using a very basic bilingual dictionary. Afterwards, in grade seven, I had my first formal exposure to English language as a school subject. Though teachers' status and behavior in classes usually imposed a psychological barrier to students' learning, I was one of those rare lucky students who did not have such a problem. That was because my first English teacher in school turned out to be my cousin, and this took away from me any stress. …

…In my second year of high school (grade 8), I noticed that my English teacher was a native American, Mr. Rooney (if I am right). That created a chance for me to use my English to communicate with him. The chances were more when I noticed that we both had to pave the same route on foot to school every morning. He was friendly and tolerant and I took the opportunity to converse with him all the way to school leading to a high motivation and desire to learn and improve my English all through my high school and afterward. (Excerpts from Mehdi's story)

…Having finished my high school, I entered into a two-year college program in electronics. Students in this college were required to spend their first quarter totally learning English as all the textbooks were in English and even the language of instruction in some courses was also English. We had ample chances in classes and language labs to improve all the four skills. We had to use English to perform our tasks and assignments. We wrote research papers for English courses and we wrote our technical projects in English. This college program helped me a lot in changing my subject and field of study (from electronics to English) both in entering the field (English program) and later on in fulfilling the requirements of different levels of the English language program. (Excerpts from Mehdi's story)

Anti-climax: Experiences of being positioned as an inferior copy of "the master's voice"

Our storyline has so far been one of a successful journey of learning and mastering English for our own purposes. Two of the stories (Wendy's and Angel's), however, have an anti-climax, a difficult situation that destroyed most of their previously built-up confidence about themselves and their English. Positioned as an inferior (or "accented/not-competent" English speaker) by her Anglo classmates, Wendy was made to live with an *imposed Otherness*, and she both missed and had to hide her bilingual, code-switching, confident, hybrid self (c.f. Trinh, 1990) that she once had before going to Canada:

When I went to Canada in the late 80s, I was a relatively fluent speaker of English. However, it didn't take me long to realize that my English was marked. All of a sudden my relationship with English changed. In China, being able to speak English was a plus; therefore I was "I + English". As a *non-native speaker* of English in Canada, the capitalized "I" automatically became a lower case

"i" and English became my problem ... Soon after I started the MA program in English at York University, I felt numerous tensions building up around the language I thought I knew well. While I was proficient enough to function in the English-speaking environment as a graduate student, *I had the feeling that the person people saw and communicated with was not the person inside. The 'me' shown through the English language was not the same 'me' shown when I spoke Chinese or when I "messed up English with Chinese".* I started to experience a persona split. *I missed the old 'me' with two languages in one person.* Now I felt like two people. The English *Me* was definitely much quieter, more reserved, and less confident to the point that my voice became so low that people couldn't hear what I was saying. I was constantly frustrated when people asked me "I am sorry, what did you say?" or "Pardon?" Each time I heard these, I became so self-conscious that I couldn't hear my own voice. It made me feel worse when I heard people say "Never mind!". I felt like an idiot, unable to comprehend what other people had said. All these instances made me wonder what was wrong with my English. Was my English that bad? (Excerpt from Wendy's story; italics added)

Likewise, Angel was made to feel ashamed of her English:

English in my secondary school days was something I felt I mastered and owned. I felt competent and comfortable in it. It was not until my first year as an undergraduate English major in the University of Hong Kong that I was induced to feel ashamed about my own English—or made to feel that I hadn't really mastered it or owned it. Many of my fellow students at the university had mostly studied English literature in their secondary schools while I had only the slightest idea of what it was! (English Literature is not offered in the curriculum of most secondary schools, but it is offered in a small number of well-established prestigious schools in the urban area in HK). When I opened my mouth in tutorial sessions, I noticed the difference between my Cantonese-accented English and the native-like fluent English that my classmates and the tutor spoke. It was, however, too late for me to pick up the native-like accent then. (Excerpt from Angel's story)

Searching for Resolution: Re-claiming and re-exercising ownership of English

Both Wendy and Angel constructed in the latter parts of their narratives a self which has reclaimed ownership of English through continuous education--gaining more linguistic as well as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986):

Continuing education was my remedy for making up *what comes naturally to native speakers, the confidence to speak. ...* it was not until I started teaching English as a second language with the Toronto Board of Education did I feel comfortable with English and myself. I no longer considered English as their language. It was mine. *It had to be mine before I could teach it to my students.* (Excerpt from Wendy's story; italics added)

My life and career took a turn after my Master's degree and my residential years in the Robert Black College. I have acquired both the paper credentials and the actual linguistic and cultural resources to get and do the job of an English teacher. I had not (and have not) acquired a native-like English accent, but relatively speaking, my spoken English was more fluent and idiomatic than before the Robert Black College years. I no longer felt that I was an "impostor" (Bourdieu, 1982/1991), or an "incompetent" teacher, an object of mockery by my middle-class students and colleagues. I seemed to have somehow managed to enter the elite group of English-conversant Chinese in Hong Kong." (Excerpt from Angel's story)

It has to be pointed out that the resolution, which seemed to have come easily, was, in fact, just a temporary resolution. The feeling of having to prove oneself (and one's competence in English) is a recurrent one and the struggle is one that continues, as both Wendy and Angel are reflecting on it now.

Helping our students

In the final part of the storyline, all four authors are engaged in the positioning of self as a helping teacher, as someone who wants to help learners like themselves to achieve what they have achieved in relation to English and to life in general:

> I strongly believe that helping learners relate to each other in the target language and develop the confidence to use the language as their own should be the primary objectives at the early stages of second language teaching and learning. (Excerpt from Wendy's story)

> … when I think of all that had happened, I realize that my own chances for socioeconomic advancement seem to have hinged largely on a certain exceptional re-patterning of social and institutional arrangements. … whenever I hear my students express worries about their English proficiency, I also notice that they have had a very different relationship than that I have developed with English over the years. I am still trying to find ways to help them stop seeing English as only a subject, a barrier, a difficult task in their life, but as a friend who would open up new spaces, new challenges and new lands for them, both socioculturally and intellectually. … How do I help my students to turn English from an enemy to a friend, to make use of this medium to express, expand and, possibly, enrich their lives, to transform or hybridize their current identities, to enter into a new world of possibilities as well as relationships with other cultures and peoples in the world? To me, this is a life-long research and practice question to embark on. (Excerpt from Angel's story)

> I'm not sure how much or if my students are satisfied with my classes, but I've been learning a lot from teaching here. For example, since I came here, I've been more able to put myself in my student's place and to improve my way of teaching. I've been not only teaching action research but also using it for my classes. I'm carrying out action research not for my research or publications, but simply for my students; I want to improve my teaching so that the students will benefit from my classes more than they do now. … I'm beginning to feel that I can share what I've learned from my studies with my students and that I can learn from them. (Excerpt from Nobu's story)

> Ever since I started my job as a university professor, I have tried to help my students in all aspects to be good learners. I try very hard to create a sense of self-confidence in them and develop their potentialities. This, I understand, originates from my own experience as a learner. My students have come to know me as a caring teacher, an attribute that has occasionally received some criticisms on the part of my colleagues. I do my best to emancipate my students. I believe that human beings, of which students are the best representatives, are capable creatures with complicated and marvelous minds in need of help to flourish, and language plays a very important role in this process. My classes follow a collaborative mode in that not only do we improve our learning of English as an academic subject, but a we also try to discover and construct our "selves" in relation to ourselves and people around us. (Excerpt from Mehdi's story)

Critical reflexive analysis of our collective story--Identities without guarantees

In writing our autobiographies to present at the 2001 TESOL Conference (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, & Riazi, 2001), we have both at times reproduced the dominant storylines of Self and Other and at other times attempted to put forward alternative subject positions for ourselves. Echoing Hall (1996)'s notion of "Marxism without guarantees", we realize the limitations in trying to carve out new subject positions and identities using old discourses. For instance, while attempting to resist being positioned as an inferior copy of the "master's voice", we reproduced at times the dominant storyline and the essentialized and hierarchicalized categories of "native speakers" and "non-native speakers" (e.g., "*All the*

teachers were fluent speakers of English, though not native speakers."—excerpt from Wendy's story). Can the subaltern really speak (Spivak, 1988)? Can we speak only through the "master's voice" or speak only as a "domesticated Other" (ibid)? Is there any way of finding our voice, re-making our identities, re-imagining our storylines, re-working the dominant discourses, and re-visioning the field?

The storyline of our collective story is a familiar one: "EFL learners" who aspire to master the English language, work extremely hard on it, have been helped by some special teachers/schools, have gained a considerable degree of success, have climbed up the socioeconomic ladder partially using this success with English, and find a bilingual self both culturally enriching and psychologically liberating, as if finding a "third space" (Hall, 1996). Then the storyline of two of us (Angel as a colonial subject in pre-1997 British Hong Kong, and Wendy as a Chinese immigrant in Canada) gets an anti-climax, which is still a very familiar one. For instance, such an anti-climax is found in the storylines of biographies of former colonials like Ghandi, who encountered experiences of being Othered as "coloured people" in South Africa despite his British education and fluent English (Ghandi, 1982).

Yet, in producing our stories, it is as if we subconsciously wanted to re-position ourselves in a re-imagined storyline found in idealized stories of cross-cultural encounters, i.e., an encounter between equals, a peaceful friendship-building and mutually enriching meeting of different peoples and cultures on egalitarian footings of mutual curiosity and respect (e.g., as found in movies such as *Extra-terrestrial*, versus movies or TV dramas such as *Aliens* or *X-file*).

Our re-imagined storyline also says something else: we wanted to gain ownership of the cultural tool of English, to find our place and identity, to define who we are and what we shall become, in a quest for expanded selves. Again, this is a familiar storyline--the quest for wider significance and expanded identities, socialness and human mutuality, what Willis (1993) feels to be a quest that is part of the experiences of being human.

Can our idealized, re-imagined storyline be realized? Can we overcome those binary, essentialized, and hierarchical categories that saturate our language (e.g., "native vs. non-native speakers)? Can we appropriate those "first world" theories to understand and analyse "third world" experiences (Spivak, 1990) while at the same time trying to rework and destabilize those categories? And in what ways can our local stories and lived experiences contribute to the knowledge and discourse of the discipline? It is to a discussion of these issues that we shall turn in the next section.

CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE TO THE DISCIPLINE: SOCIOCULTURAL SITUATEDNESS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING, TEACHING, AND USE

> Any episode of human action must occur in a specific cultural, historical, and institutional context, and this influences how such action is carried out. (Wertsch, 2000, p. 18)

While many sociocultural and critical researchers have pointed to the sociocultural situatedness of language learning, teaching and use (Canagarajah 1999a, 2000; Pennycook, 2000a, 2000b; Wertsch, 2000), mainstream TESOL methodologies are still mainly informed by studies and experiences situated in Anglo-societies such as the U.S, Canada, Australia, or Britain. This Anglo-centric knowledge base constitutes the canons of the discipline and often gets exported to periphery countries as pedagogical expertise to be followed by local education workers. Drawing on our own lived experiences in different sociocultural contexts, we shall discuss the value of local knowledge to the discipline with reference to the questions of (a) what counts as "good pedagogy" and (b) investment and language learning.

What counts as "good pedagogy"?

Our local stories and lived experiences tell us that such a question should be rephrased as: What counts as good pedagogy *in specific sociocultural contexts*. For instance, consider Mr. Qi's bilingual teaching strategy and Wendy and her peers' code-mixing and code-switching practices which have helped them gain both confidence and fluency in using English for meaningful communication (see Wendy's story excerpts above). These bilingual teaching and communicative practices are likely to be devalued or frowned upon under current Anglo-based orthodox pedagogies of the discipline, which have not had the benefit of gaining a socioculturally situated perspective that Wendy and her contemporaries had. Reflecting on these locally highly viable learning and communicative practices, Wendy writes:

> One of the tenets of communicative approach is to use authentic materials, which are often mis-defined as those written by and about native-English speakers. In the early 70s when I was learning English in an intensive English program, the only 'authentic' material that was available for use was Linguaphone. A challenge of learning to speak English back then was to practice speaking English for meaningful communication. To speak means to speak to someone about something that is relevant to our lives. The Linguaphone materials we learned in class, though authentic perhaps for overseas English speakers, were not usable for oral communication in the local context. China was experiencing a social and political turmoil then that affected our lives in one way or another. Our conversation practice often started with friendly exchanges and quickly moved to current issues, and yet few of us were equipped with the language needed to carry out our conversation. We were in desperate need of vocabulary to express our feelings and thoughts that were of our immediate concern, yet the much-needed vocabulary was nowhere to be found in the "authentic" materials. The gap between the language we found in the materials and the language needed for relevant and meaningful communication turned every opportunity to speak English "a creative process of transforming the sign system of English to represent a discourse alien to it." (Canagarajah, 2000, p. 125). We often laughed at each other as we created new words to express ourselves. We were clearly aware that we were speaking Chinese-English, yet in our local context, nothing could be more authentic than that.

Consider also Nobu's encounter with his mentor, Mr. Okuhara. The text reading and translation teaching method of Mr. Okuhara will hardly receive any commendation from current methodologies of the discipline. However, it was precisely Mr. Okuhara's teaching that had turned a little boy around and aroused in him great interest and motivation to learn

English, and more importantly, to enter into a new world and learn about that world through English (more on this in the next section).

We believe that the discipline needs to be informed and reshaped by much more such local stories as told by different learners, teachers, and researchers situated in different sociocultural contexts. Often found in the discipline are problematic implicit claims to context-free knowledge about ELT methodologies. However, any relevant pedagogical knowledge has to be locally produced and negotiated in different sociocultural contexts (Canagarajah, 1999a, 2000; Pennycook, 2000a, 2000b; Lin, 1999; Holliday, 1994).

Investment and language learning: Agency, identity, and ownership

From Wendy's reflection in the above section and her autobiographic excerpts, we can see that the question of pedagogy is closely related to the question of what fuels language learning—to the learner's agency and identity-making in appropriating English in her/his learning process (Norton, 1997, 2000). For instance, the bilingual discursive space that was creatively opened up by Mr. Qi and Wendy and her peers has helped these Chinese students experiment with and expand their identities—they felt liberated to comment on current sensitive social and political issues in this bilingual space and identity position that they temporarily created and occupied for themselves. In Wendy's words: *English became a language of dream and a language of freedom.* Furthermore, Wendy's aspired identity (as an interpreter) has fueled her language learning efforts. Reflecting on the question of what fuels her language learning, Wendy writes:

> In analyzing my earlier experience as an English language learner, I have come to realize that imagination was an important source of my motivation. With a dream of becoming an interpreter that I inherited from my parents and took it as my own, learning the English language took on a personal meaning. English was no longer a simple school subject; it was a tool for me to realize my dream, to become who I wanted to be. The prospect of becoming an interpreter, a highly desired position in China, continued to fuel my motivation and got me through all the difficult times and obstacles.

In all of our lived stories, it appears that issues of agency, ownership, and identity are closely related to the learner's investment in English. For instance, in Mehdi's story, his dissatisfaction with the position and social identity as a "low-level electronic technician" has led to his decision to invest in studying English and using his good performance in the English subject in the University Entrance Exam to enter the University and become an English specialist. The decision to shift from the identity of a technician to the identity of a university English major and later an English expert has kept his investment strong despite severe hardships, e.g., having to work to provide for his family and at the same time to continue with his university English studies.

In Nobu's story, the examination system seemed to have constructed a "failure identity" for him when he failed to enter a prestigious high school which his elder brother was attending. He lost all interest in learning and studying. His subsequent important encounter with the English teacher, Mr. Okuhara has turned things totally around for him. Nobu recalls:

> Mr. Okuhara's teaching style was quite old-fashioned, mainly grammar-translation based. We sat at a desk, face to face, and I translated sentence by sentence. With this traditional teaching method, which

is often criticized for its ineffectiveness and inappropriateness for second/foreign language learning, Mr. Okuhara opened up a new world for me. I read a variety of English books with him, such as the biography of Dr. Schweitzer, the adventure story of *Arabian Nights*, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's mysteries, George Gissing's *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, Bertrand Russell's *The Conquest of Happiness*, and so on and so forth.

Mr. Okuhara seemed to have validated in Nobu a sense of a worthwhile young person with great potential for learning all the different kinds of knowledge in the world: philosophy, biography, adventure, history; all kinds of worthwhile readings were opened up to him through the supportive interactions with Mr. Okuhara, who provided a scaffolding (the L2-L1 annotation format) for Nobu to see his own potential and to develop a new sense of self: He was no longer that failure student, an identity constructed by the examination results; he's a young person who's being treated with respect and trust by a supportive teacher who's leading him into a whole new world of learning, mediated by Mr. Okuhara's text-reading-translating teaching method. He began to know who he was, and who he wanted to become: to be an English teacher like Mr. Okuhara himself—a new identity totally different from that failure identity imposed on him by the examination and schooling system. He knows where he's going and who he could become and this leads to his investment in his English learning.

In Angel's story, her investment in learning English was initially fueled by her desire to pass the examination, to achieve good results, and to please her parents. However, when she entered into a community of practice in her circle of girl-friends, where it's trendy to write to overseas pen-pals, her investment in English was fueled by her desire to enter into a new world with a new self in English; she felt that she could express her feelings more freely, as if in a third space, free from sanctions of the Chinese adult world. Her adolescent bonding with her pen-pal, Gretchen, and her opening up herself in English to her overseas pen-pals, has led to a new sense of self for her—that English is not just a tool for getting rewards from adults, it's a tool for her to enter into different sociocultural groups, forming new friendships on an entirely different plane from her ordinary friendships.

All these stories witness the complex, intimate relationships among agency, ownership, identity and investment in L2 learning. We can see how learning a language both shapes and is shaped by one's way of knowing, being, and behaving in a specific sociocultural context. This seems to touch on the same point suggested by Canagarajah (2000) when he discusses local agents' appropriation of English in specific contexts. In this regard, stories of language learners situated in different sociocultural contexts can make valuable contribution to the knowledge and discourse of the discipline. Much of conventional SLA research seems to have been written by strangers who tend to simplify the worlds of their subjects, consciously or unconsciously. Personal stories (which are simultaneously sociological and political) told by the agents themselves unfold the complex and multidimensional nature of mastering and appropriating English in different sociocultural contexts. We believe it is time to re-vision the field and propose an alternative storyline and research program for the discipline.

RE-VISIONING THE FIELD: FROM TESOL TO TEACHING ENGLISH FOR GLOCALIZED COMMUNICATION

> Rather than a coercive monologue by the industrialized world, contemporary international cultural relations appear more like a dialogue, albeit unbalanced in favor of industrialized countries, but a dialogue still. … "Glocalization," by accounting for both global and local factors, is a more appropriate conceptual framework to capture and accommodate international communication processes… the concept originated in Japanese agricultural and business practices of "global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions." (Kraidy, 2001, pp. 32-33)

In the preceding part, we see that just as Wendy and Angel were beginning to feel that English had become part of their identities, they were confronted with processes of Othering which made them feel like an "imposter" (Bourdieu, 1991), an illegitimate speaker of English, mainly because of their local "accent"—their voice not being heard as an "authentic English voice". It seems to be no accident that only Wendy and Angel's stories told of experiences of being Othered. Unlike Iran and Japan, Hong Kong was a British colony. As for Wendy's experiences in Canada, it is likely that the immigrant speaker can be subject to processes of subordination and Othering, a bit like subjects in colonies[ii].

The discourses in the applied linguistics and TESOL literature tend to classify people into native English speakers and non-native English speakers. These categories also frequently appear in job advertisements for English teachers in Asian countries (e.g., "native English speakers preferred", "native English speakers only" found in the classified ads for English teachers in *the Korean times*, February 10, 2001) and "native" and "non-native" categories of teachers receive different kinds of treatment and status in institutional structures (Canagarajah, 1999b; Oda, 1994, 1996; Lai, 1999; c.f., Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997). These dichotic, essentialized categories are so pervasive in our consciousness that we even reproduce them in our own stories. Many learners of English in Asia themselves subscribe to the storyline that native English speakers are necessarily better English teachers than non-native English speakers. However, the world is increasingly witnessing "the decline of the native speaker", as Graddol (1999, P. 57) puts it:

> First, … the proportion of the world's population speaking English as a first language is declining, and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Second, the international status of English is changing in profound ways: in future it will be a language used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second language and for communication between non-native speakers. Third, the decline of the native speaker will be explored in terms of a changing ideological discourse about languages, linguistic competence, and identity.

Following in the footsteps of researchers doing important work in this area (e.g., Kubota, 2001; Canagarajah, 1999a, 1999b; Braine, 1999; Graddol, 1999), we continue with their work by attempting to further destabilize the "native speaker vs. non-native speaker" categories and proposing to erase the boundaries. The approach we take is to problematize the colonial *Self-Other/Master-Friday* storyline underlying these categories.

If altering the discourse can lead to doing things differently (Erni, 1998), what difference will it make when we develop new ways of talking about English speakers and English voices by acknowledging the various, non-hierarchicalized ways of being an English speaker? As a step towards such re-imagination and re-creation of discourses, we propose a paradigm shift from doing TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of *Other* Languages) to doing TEGCOM (Teaching English for Glo*c*alized Communication). One rationale behind this proposal comes from the recognition that the name TESOL already assigns dichotic *Self-Other* subject positions to teacher and learner: it implicitly positions the Anglo-teacher as *Self*, and positions the learner in a life trajectory of forever being the *Other*, and continuing the colonial storyline of Friday—the "slave boy" resigned to the destiny of forever trying to approximate the "master's language" but never legitimately recognized as having achieved it (de Certeau, 1984, p. 155). Such a storyline precludes an alternative storyline such as that proposed above.

If one is willing to shift her/his attention from the differential status of speakers (e.g., "native—non-native", "mainstream—minority", "first world—third world", etc.) to the mutual practice of communication itself (e.g., adopting an alternative storyline proposed above), then we see in the postmodern, glo*c*alized world today that there are increasing, legitimate demands for cross-cultural communication to be construed and conducted as an endeavour of mutual efforts on egalitarian footings. The "communicative burden" in cross-cultural, cross-ethnic interaction is increasingly conceived as something that should be shouldered more or less equally by all participants in communication, and not just the "non-native English speaker" (Goldstein, 2003; Lippi-Green, 1997). Both the name and discourses of TESOL assume that it is the "Other-language" speaker who needs to be subjected to "pedagogical treatment" (de Certeau, 1984, p.155)—to enable them to make themselves intelligible to "native English speakers". This lopsided storyline has its historical roots in the colonial era. However, in today's multi-polar world, we can imagine a TEGCOM class in which all learners are monolingual "native English speakers" who need to be instructed in the ways of using English for cross-cultural communication (e.g., cross-cultural pragmatic skills and awareness) in specific sociocultural contexts (e.g., for conducting business in Japan, China, or Iran). If we can start to re-imagine the storylines underlying TESOL and its discourses, we can perhaps rework and destabilize the hegemonic relations in different settings in the world.

Our lived experiences testify to the claim that it is when English learners have a sense of ownership of the language and are treated as legitimate English speakers, writers and users that they will continue to invest in learning and using English, appropriating and mastering it for their own purposes in their specific contexts (see discussion above). The answer to the question of whether an English speaker will serve as a good teacher or model is largely socioculturally situated (e.g., depending on the interactional practices that the teacher and her/his students co-create in the sociocultural context in which they are situated) and cannot be determined (or even predicted) apriori based on the person's plus- or minus-"native speaker" status. We, therefore, see these dichotic categories more as interested social constructions serving existing power structures (Foucault, 1980) in the TESOL field and industry than as innocuous academic terms with much theoretical or practical value.

Yet, our proposal does not consist of merely re-naming the field and erasing the above-mentioned dichotic boundaries. We are proposing a re-thinking and re-visioning of the field from the perspective of sociocultural situatedness. This involves proposing an alternative theoretical orientation and an alternative research program for the field. We attempt these two tasks in the following two sections.

Proposing a theoretical orientation for TEGCOM: Sociocultural situatedness, postcolonial performativity, and glocalization

TESOL as a discipline and industry has traditionally seen its mission as that of developing the most effective technologies and pedagogies for the teaching and learning of English around the world (see the mission statement of the organization). Under this view, English is seen as a neutral tool for mediating science and technology and international, cross-cultural communication. Yet, the global spread of English has immense and complex sociopolitical implications that need to be addressed, and those who claim that they are not going to deal politically and ideologically with the spread of English are in fact doing what they claim they are not: they are taking a specific ideological position on the global spread of English (Pennycook, 2000b). The authors' lived stories seem to resonate with Pennycook's (ibid) notion of postcolonial performativity, which means:

> … first, viewing the global dominance of English not ultimately as an apriori imperialism but rather as a product of the local hegemonies of English. As Foucault (1980:94) puts it in the context of arguing for a notion of power not as something owned by some and not by others but as something that operates on and through all points of society, 'major dominations are the hegemonic effects that are sustained by all these confrontations'. Any concept of the global hegemony of English must therefore be understood in terms of the complex sum of contextualized understandings of social hegemonies. … but such hegemonies are also filled with complex local contradictions, with the resistance and appropriations that are a crucial part of the postcolonial context." (Pennycook, 2000b, p.117).

English as appropriated by local agents serves diverse sets of intentions and purposes in their respective local contexts, whether it be the acquiring of a socially upward identity, or the creation of a bilingual space for critical explorations of self and the society. Learning English in the new information age is increasingly oriented towards global, cross-cultural communication in multilingual contexts, and yet there also exist side-by-side local forces and structures which shape a learner's investment and understanding of what it means to learn English in the specific context in which she/he is situated (e.g., for making the grades, passing the exams to enter university, or for enjoying hip-hop music and raps, doing ICQ or playing games on the internet). The authors appropriate the term glocalization to refer to the interaction of both global and local forces in specific sociocultural contexts where local social actors are confronted with the (often, albeit not always, imposed) task of learning and using English, and where local social actors engage in different creative practices exercising their creative discursive agency (Lin, 1999) and strategies of appropriation (Canagarajah, 1995; 2000). While no sweeping generalizations can be made about such strategies and agency, the discipline as we understand it has, so far, not considered it among its central tasks to research on the sociocultural situatedness of TESOL practices,

and how the spread of English has impacted on the lives of local people in different parts of the world, for better or worse. TESOL as a field that is guided by its instrumental rationality, modernist project, of finding the most effective technology for teaching and learning English around the world has not concerned itself with the meta-analytical project of reflexively understanding its own implication in shaping the life chances, identities, and life trajectories of local people in different parts of the world. In its single-minded pursuit of the most effective technology of teaching English, it has, however, missed the point: the "good" pedagogy and "effective" methods of learning cannot be found without taking a socioculturally situated perspective, and without engaging with issues of agency, identity, creative appropriation and resistance of local social actors when they are confronted with the task of learning English in their specific local contexts (see discussion above). The authors' proposal of changing the name of the field is to provoke a re-thinking and re-visioning of the field taking into consideration the perspectives of sociocultural situatedness and the processes of postcolonial performativity and glocalization.

Proposing a research program for TEGCOM

To shift the research focus from the pursuit of universal, context-free knowledge about the most effective technology to teach English (which we believe has long misguided the TESOL discipline), the authors propose the following alternative set of central research goals for TEGCOM: (1) a deeper understanding of diverse local pedagogical practices and beliefs in their sociocultural situatedness, (2) a deeper understanding of issues of agency, identity, ownership, appropriation, resistance and English language learning, teaching and use in diverse sociocultural contexts, and (3) a deeper understanding of various kinds of cross-cultural encounters in diverse sociocultural settings.

To achieve the above goals, we propose the following preliminary outline of directions for the development of a research program:

(a) Towards socially, culturally, historically, and institutionally situated perspectives in doing research on English language learning, curriculum development, and teacher education in a variety of contexts; foregrounding the social, cultural, and historical situatedness of human communication and activities:

It is important not to reduce sociocultural situatedness to merely "interpersonal" or "social interactional" (Wertsch, 2000). Many conventional TESOL studies have focused on social interactions in both instructional and non-instructional settings in an attempt to identify the optimal kinds of linguistic input and/or expert-novice interactional features for language acquisition to take place, for instance. However, few studies have studied these social interactions in their sociocultural situatedness. Nevertheless, it is exciting to find a few recent studies in the above direction, for instance, Ouyang (2000)'s anthropological study of a Chinese teacher who tried to apply the communicative language teaching pedagogy in her rural hometown in Mainland China.

(b) De-centering the production of the discipline's knowledge and discourse from Anglo-speaking countries to a diversity of sociocultural contexts in the world:

This direction is closely related to direction (a) above. It is when the discipline has a focus on the sociocultural situatedness of human activities that it will provide a space for the voices of local teachers, learners, parents, and communities situated in diverse sociocultural contexts of the world to be heard in the discipline's journals and knowledge validating arenas, and will give legitimacy to and value the local knowledge and discourses produced by studies situated in contexts outside of the traditional "English-speaking" countries. To date, such studies are still in the minority (e.g., Norton, 1989; Canagarajah, 1993; Lin, 1999).

(c) Drawing on anthropological research methods and interpretive sociological methods, including narrative analysis, discourse analysis, school, cultural, and critical ethnography, cultural studies, and autobiographic studies:

To study the issues of agency, identity, ownership, appropriation, resistance and English language learning, teaching and use in diverse sociocultural contexts, and various kinds of cross-cultural encounters in diverse sociocultural settings, we need to draw on the wide range of anthropological and interpretive sociological research methodologies. For instance, research studies in the literacy field have drawn heavily on anthropological and sociological methods (e.g., Street, 1995; 2001). The feminist methods of narrative analysis and autobiographic studies (e.g., Richardson, 1985; 1997; Pavlenko, 1998; in press) and methods of cultural and postcolonial studies (e.g., Hallam & Street, 2000) will also be needed, especially in research that engages with issues of agency, identity, appropriation, and cross-cultural encounters. A recent study in this direction is Lam's (2000) interesting study of a Cantonese-speaking immigrant boy's design of self and English literacy development through creating a virtual community of Japanese pop star fans on the internet.

By proposing an alternative name, an alternative storyline, an alternative theoretical orientation, and an alternative research program for the field, the authors are not merely flirting with interesting ideas or rhetorical moves, but are attempting to create alternative discourses and practices, to give legitimacy to local knowledge, to destabilize and re-work ideologies underlying current disciplinary discourses and knowledge production practices. A paradigm shift does not start with a single paper; there is certainly much, much more work to do. It is, however, with the modest hope that it can arouse some critical discussion and re-thinking of the field that this paper has been written. While the above outline of a research program is still preliminary, we can see that there have already been some exciting studies happening in these directions. We believe that as more and more studies situated in different societies of the world are given a space to contribute to knowledge production of the discipline, the discipline as a whole can be re-visioned and re-generated in the postmodern, multi-polar, glocalized world.

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Endnotes:

[i] The term "glocal" and the process verb "glocalize" are formed by blending *global* and *local*. The idea has been modeled on Japanese *dochakuka* (deriving from *dochaku* "living on one's own land"), originally the agricultural principle of adapting one's farming techniques to local conditions, but also appropriated in Japanese business discourse to mean *global localization*, a global outlook adapted to local conditions (Robertson, 1995).

[ii] Regarding the possible gender differences in this issue, consider Nobu's interpretation:

Let me make a small contribution to the discussion on the difference between Angel and Wendy, and Mehdi and myself. I am not sure about Mehdi's case, but at least in my case, when I started my MA program in USA, I had low expectations towards life in USA (my first study abroad). I don't recall any specific incidents where I felt discriminated, but even if I had been discriminated, I would have taken it for granted because at that time I felt that I was not fully communicatively competent in English. (I should say that I did have good grammatical competence and academic thinking skills). Maybe I had encountered such discriminatory occasions, with which Angel or Wendy would have felt annoyed, and I just didn't notice them. When I think back on my life in USA, I was just hoping to acquire more knowledge of TESL, to get an MA, and to come back to Japan. I didn't expect much. I fully accepted my identity as a foreign student from Japan, and therefore, maybe, I didn't care much about and paid little attention to my accent and the discrimination which my accent might have caused.