Taiwan Journal of TESOL
Vol. 7.1, 1-27, 2010

GLOBALIZATION AND GLOBAL ENGLISH: PANACEA OR POISON FOR ELT IN TAIWAN?

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the interrelationship between globalization and English education in Taiwan. First the differences between internationalization and globalization are examined, using trade, law, people, and culture as examples. The differences have fundamental implications for ELT in Taiwan. With the distinctions between globalization and internationalization in mind, the meanings of English as a (the) global language, or Global English (GE), are then discussed. Different theoretical perspectives on GE include the rightist/functional perspective that conceives of GE as a disinterested means used for any end and the leftist/critical perspective that casts GE as a pernicious means used for political (often exploitive) ends, as well as the perspectives of those who conceptualize GE in other ways between these two polar perspectives. The focus then turns to the impact of globalization on Taiwan's ELT. While some ELT teachers, scholars, and policy makers expect globalization to solve some major problems in Taiwan's ELT by providing a motivating linguistic context for learning and teaching, others fear that GE may have detrimental effects on students' English proficiency and identity development. The argument here is that globalization should be the catalyst to facilitate the transformation of Taiwan's English education, mainly by incorporating the concepts in global education.

Key Words: globalization, global English, EIL, global education

INTRODUCTION

Globalization as an overwhelming social phenomenon has transcended the nation-state boundaries that limited us to think within the framework of national societies. Without a doubt globalization has fundamental impacts on the English Language Teaching (ELT). For example, as a counter-reaction to the universalistic globalization, local cultural subjectivity

becomes more important in Taiwan's ELT (Chaung, 2002), and since globalization has dramatically altered the global landscape, ELT worldwide is also undergoing revolutionary transformations. This paper aims to address one of the five major issues in applied linguistics, namely the global spread of English (see Seidlhofer, 2003) in a conceptual manner. The issue of English becoming an international or global language has also drawn much attention in Taiwan (for example, Liao, 2005), and this paper intends to contribute to the discussion. First, using trade, law, people, and culture as examples, I examine differences between internationalization and globalization, which have fundamental implications for ELT in Taiwan. The central theme of this paper focuses on discussing the meanings of English as a (the) global language, or Global English (GE). The discussion contrasts the rightist/functional perspective that conceives GE as neutral means without particular ends with the leftist/critical theories that cast GE as pernicious means for political ends. Those who conceptualize GE in other ways between these two polar perspectives are also presented. The impact of internationalization and globalization on Taiwan's ELT is addressed in the following section. Some English teachers, scholars, and policy makers may expect internationalization and globalization to help Taiwanese students learn English better because they will have more opportunities to use English as they travel abroad more frequently, more foreigners will visit and stay in Taiwan, and information and knowledge encoded in the English language will permeate their surroundings. Others fear that the changing roles of English may lead to detrimental effects on students' English proficiency and identity development. Both scenarios are expected to occur, but the concrete suggestion here for educators is that we should see globalization as a catalyst to elevate Taiwan's English education to a higher level by incorporating global education.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Many people use internationalization and globalization interchangeably. In public discourses these two terms are often lumped together, exemplified in terms such as 'the era of internationalization or globalization' and 'internationalized or globalized perspective'. One website even translated globalization as 'guojihua (internationalization)'[1]. In fact there exist fundamental differences between them. Some even regard them as situated in two different paradigms (Kishun, 1998). Most discussions

focus on the changing roles of nation-states and the emergence of a single global economy. Here a historical perspective is adopted to delineate the progress from modern nation-states to internationalization and onto globalization before the distinctions between these two omnipresent phenomena are discussed.

The first point we should bear in mind in distinguishing globalization from internationalization is that modern nation-states are a recent invention. Before the rise of modern nation-states, the world was arguably even more integrated than now because nation-states set up invisible and visible boundaries to develop their internal solidarity. Modern nation-states created national societies, in which national languages, cultures, and identities are developed. Modern bureaucracy and institutions swept the world after the Second World War as newly independent nation-states emerged. This post-war period was characterized as the nationalization stage. The focus was the national society, so international interactions and communications were limited.

As nationalization produced more coherent and integrated national societies, international trade and communications began to intensify after the 1960s. Not only did the quantity of such trade and communications explode, but the domains and essence of the international exchange also diversified. This was the booming era of international trade, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, which preceded World Trade Organization) began to have worldwide influence as more nation-states participated in the associated agreements (26 countries in 1960, 62 in 1964, 102 in 1973). Internationalization often denotes the intensive and extensive international interactions and relationships while these interactions and interrelationships are based on the framework of the nation-state. As internationalization accelerates, the boundaries between nation-states gradually collapse and this leads to the emergence of so-called globalization. Some scholars use 'transnationalization' to represent the interrelationship that transcends the nation-state (Ong, 1999). Transnationalization could be seen as a transitional stage from internationalization to globalization, as well as an essential aspect of globalization.

Globalization soon became a catchword after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. The physical boundaries of nation-states still exist, but the invisible ones are, as most nation-states come to realize, increasingly difficult to maintain, and they start to disappear as nation-states integrate themselves into the global economy and global village. When

international interactions occur at almost every level and in every aspect, invisible national boundaries start to overlap, creating spaces that belong to more than one nation. In the process a global awareness steadily develops within human consciousness. Human beings come a full circle to realize that our life is interdependent and interconnected with everyone else on this earth. There are all kinds of definitions for globalization, but for me, in line with Robertson (1992) and Gough (1999), the most significant dimension of globalization is the subjective (and sometimes spiritual and ontological) facet that has fundamental implications for our social world.

This may sound too abstract, so in what follows I illustrate the evolvement from nationalization, internationalization, (transnationalization) to globalization in four aspects, namely trade, law, people, and culture. I use the term 'evolvement' instead of 'evolution' because I regard this developing process as neutral, not necessarily an 'evolution' that implies the change from a primitive prototype to a highly developed one as is often used in biology. In the next section, the fifth aspect, the English language—the topic of this paper—will be addressed. To simplify the analysis, I only use three stages, skipping the transnationalization stage and discuss the evolvement in a conceptual way. Exceptions to these concepts, i.e., real cases that contradict the evolvement, abound, but they manifest the complexity of social world in that it is impossible to have universal theories to explain the incidents in the human world. Another important assumption is that even though I characterize the evolvement into three stages, each stage does not replace the previous one. Instead, a lot of what happens in a previous stage also occurs in the next. New events and old ways coexist and accumulate.

Trade

After World War II, most nation-states engaged in a process of nationalization because they were relatively young as compared to those older nation-states in Europe. Most trade was intra-national, meaning that trade happened within the same nation. International trade was limited, mostly between developed nations. Then, as national infrastructure and institutions developed and transportation costs decreased, international trade gradually heated up. The GATT was formed in the post-war period, but it became relevant to most countries only after the 1970s when international trade started to boom. Such international trade agreements were in great needs because international trade intensified and diversified

during the period. Not only were goods traded internationally, but also a myriad of services and information. A considerable number of intergovernmental organizations were established in the meantime.

Generally speaking, after the 1990s international trade began to change its format and traits. Global manufacturing chains were established as the international division of labor became even more specified. More and more nations revised their regulations to attract foreign investment and include themselves in the manufacturing-cum-trade chains. Special areas such as export zones created a fluid environment for international trade. Unlike in the internationalization stage, when goods were produced in Nation A and exported to Nation B, most products are made of parts from several places in the world in the globalization era. These global production (and later marketing) chains, as they grow more and more powerful, force nation-states to compromise. In the internationalization stage, it was relatively easy to distinguish international and national trade, but in the globalization era the complex supply chains render most trade international in essence. A failure of a small local supplier may bring enormous global turbulence in a highly-specialized industry. (An oft-cited example is how Taiwan's 921 earthquake led to the soaring price of semiconductors.) International trade agreements that used to be negotiated based on national interests and international politics are increasingly influenced by the industrial power of the trading nations because weak nations may have a certain strong industry. A comparatively open global economy allows private corporations and organizations to thrive despite the bureaucratic regulations and restrictions from their respective nation-states.

Law

Law is another area that exemplifies the evolvement of global integration. In the post-war period, nation-states determined their own national laws that were applicable within the national boundaries. International laws were conceived, but were not effective. Of course most national laws were similar to a great extent because the system of the nation-state itself was a standard package developed in the West and adopted worldwide (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997). But idiosyncratic and culturally-oriented laws were common. As international communication increased, international laws started to exert an influence on the regulation of the international sphere. In this stage, international laws govern the international sphere while national laws apply to national cases. Then globalization blurs the distinction between international and

national, so international laws invade local/national laws in the sense that some aspects of international laws become applicable at the national level. The Human Rights Act and the recently-enforced Tobacco Hazards Prevention Act in Taiwan may illustrate the point. Plenty of new national laws can be traced to international laws. However, the process is two-way: in the mean time international laws are regionalized or localized based on local/regional cultures. Adjustments accommodating local traditions and cultures are inevitable.

People

A more interesting case concerning the evolvement is the movement of people. Urbanization characterized the nationalization stage. There was significant intra-national migration and relatively little international movement. Flourishing international trade brought not only border-crossing businesspeople, but also international tourists as transportation costs declined and basic infrastructure was built. International immigration grew exponentially, mostly from underdeveloped and developing countries to developed ones like the U.S., Canada, and European countries. International tourism showed the opposite direction: tourists from the latter countries visited other developed ones and other emigrating ones. With globalization, the flow of people is no longer a one-directional movement: there are immigrants returning to their homeland (who probably often travel between or spend equal time in both countries, for example, the returning Polish from the U.K. and the returning scholars in China and Taiwan), more diaspora communities in more nation-states (for example, Southeast Asians in Taiwan; Indians in East Africa; also see Cohen, 1997), and the emergence of global trotters (who never live in one place but travel and work around the world) and astronauts (Ong, 1999, meaning frequent flyers on international airlines). More people have more than one nationality, as nation-states are forced to relax its restrictions on nationality due to the demand from their increasingly mobile citizens and married couples of different nationalities. The myth of nationalism, or imagined community (Anderson, 1991) constructed by modern nation-states is gradually falling apart as postmodern ideas and new ways of lifestyle enabled by new technologies alter the life-world of modern people. That people are freer to move in the world and cross national borders is the result of both technological advancement and changes in regulations, which originate in the way people conceptualize the relationship between nation-state and individuals. Individuals and private

organizations continue to penetrate and challenge the national boundaries that were set up in the past. The movement of people is at the core of the transformation of culture and language, since human beings constitute the social world that breeds culture and language.

Culture

Nowadays many people still assume the connection between nation-state and culture, taking national cultures as granted when they use terms like Japanese culture and American culture. But before the construction of national cultures, which are products of nationalization, culture is associated with tribe and ethnicity. Therefore, national cultures are not natural, but artificial. Similarly, international culture (norms and values accepted internationally) is also a new construction that has come into existence with the birth of a world divided up by modern nation-states. When people engage in social activities, culture develops. Thus while internationalization intensifies, international cultures that provide social norms for international activities start to emerge. National cultures inevitably are influenced by other cultures due to the increasing intercommunications. What makes global cultures different from international cultures is that they go beyond international realms and into the local level. In a globalized world, there are no clear boundaries that separate social communities. People move around the world, thus leading to the mingling and mixing of different cultures. Concepts such as the global-local nexus (Kinnvall, 2002) and glocalization (Robertson, 1992) illustrate the interdependent relationship between the global and the local. Local cultures are globalized as they form a constituent part of the global cultural flows; global cultures are localized and customized to adjust to local contexts. Hybridity and creolization (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2004) represent another angle to conceive global cultures. In the past, culture was regarded as static and stable, something that changes very slowly. But now new environments in which the physical landscape alters at a tremendous pace make culture dynamic and fluid.

From Internationalization to Globalization

The above illustrations clearly point to the changing role of nation-states from internationalization to globalization. Nation-states used to be the social reference, even in the internationalization period. When we refer to ‘society’, usually it means our national society, not all humanity.

Nation-state was the default social reference and it played a dominant role in individuals' lives. What globalization brings is an impact on the roles that nation-states are expected or forced to play. In the framework of Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999), hyperglobalists argue a diminishing role for nation-state, while skeptics see no difference or an even more prominent role. The mainstream perspective in the discourse of globalization, that of the transformationalists, believes that nation-state will continue to play a crucial role but that it must accommodate forces from global, regional, and local actors. The monopoly that nation-state used to have over social affairs no longer exist. Invisible national boundaries become flexible and changeable under the pressure from both the global and local discourses. Increasingly the default social reference is the globe, the earth, or humanity, as opposed to the national society under the international framework.

This conceptual change is very important because it leads to the development of global awareness. In the internationalization discourse, we engage in intercommunication with others based on our national interests. In the globalization discourse, with a global awareness, we also consider global interests. We come to understand that national interests also depend on global interests. Actions come from thought and beliefs, and when the core concepts change, everything else changes as well.

The emergence of global awareness also connects to the rise of postmodernism and post-colonialism, two terms frequently associated with globalization. When people stop to differentiate between us and them, when humans start to embrace the idea of one earth, they also find that there are other ways toward progress, not limited to (social) science and technology (and nation-state), which feature modernization. Multiple perspectives translate into multiple realities, multiple identities, and multiple truths. When we approach the world seeing others as allies, centralized one-way top-down internationalization evolves into decentralized two-way bottom-up globalization. With nation-states as the main actors in the internationalization stage, those in the center dominate and exploit those in the periphery (as suggested by world systems theory; see Wallerstein, 2004). Center and periphery still exist in the globalization discourse, but comparatively more equal two-way interrelationships have made the landscape more open, diverse, and energetic.

If we see internationalization and globalization through such a perspective, it may seem that the world is moving in a positive direction: from neo-colonial internationalization to post-colonial globalization that

emphasizes democratic decision-making and emancipative empowerment at the individual level. However, when globalization is limited to an economic interpretation, the term connotes strong negative meanings, notably in its capitalist ideology that values free-market and deregulation. Marxists often define globalization as Westernization, Americanization (Taylor, 2000), and McDonaldization (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003), making globalization a process that standardizes the world following the path of modernization in the west or the United States. Undoubtedly globalization contains strong homogenization forces because people have a tendency to avoid being different from others. Also when more efficient and effective ways to achieve our goals are provided, naturally most people would discard their old methods and adopt the better ones. Without technological development, global intercommunications would still be a dream. Indeed, scientization and globalization also go hand in hand (Drori & Meyer, 2006). Taking such a perspective, it may be argued that "globalization emphasizes homogeneity and internationalization, diversity" (Kishun, 1998, p. 64) because national differences are preserved in the internationalization world.

If we take a more incorporative viewpoint, plausibly globalization is both. It contains both homogenizing and diversifying forces. It could be both oppressive and emancipative. For me, the key is what kind of global awareness we develop. In an earlier paper I argued that globalization implies converging (modern) means and diverging (postmodern) ends (Ke & Wu, 2007). Global awareness and consciousness are the sources that lead to our actions. If any awareness, consciousness, or even consensus is to develop at a global level, a global language definitely plays a decisive role. In the next section, I shift the discussion to the current global language, English.

GLOBAL ENGLISH

In this section I start with the same analysis of English in three stages, trying to differentiate between English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Global Language (EGL), or Global English (GE). Then the focus turns to elaborating what GE is and the distinctions between World Englishes and Global English. After clarifying the topic of the analysis, the rightist functional, the leftist critical, and in-between perspectives on GE are presented.

English in the Era of Nationalization, Internationalization and Globalization

In the nationalization stage, English was a national language and a foreign language (ENL and EFL). When international communications occurred, several (regional) languages could serve as a lingua franca. As the result of the British and American hegemony, English became an international language. The internationalists, for example, tour guides, business people, and diplomats—those who deal with international affairs—use English. This could be seen as reflecting the political and economic reality; you have to learn the empire's language to survive. But when the world globalized, English started to evolve into a global language. Of course in a lot of cases it is still an international language, but gradually, compulsory education worldwide is including English in the instruction timetable. *Every modern citizen seemingly in the near future will be required to learn this global language.* English can be seen in all corners around the world: on consumer products, in textual documents, and in various cultural goods. Recognition of the twenty-six English letters has increasingly become part of *national* literacy. English has penetrated into modern life globally, at least in a symbolic sense, if not semantically.

English as an International/Global Language (EIL & EGL)

Since global English linguistically is almost the same as the English language, and aspects that are different are extremely difficult to pin down due to the capricious nature of language discourse, the language itself is not the main topic of discussion. The more interesting area is its socio-cultural implications worldwide, and in particular, in Taiwan. Linguistic controversies such as whether English is a better global language than, for example, Spanish due to its openness to foreign inputs are irrelevant to this GE discussion. In my opinion, that English has become a global language is solely the consequence of the British and American empires, whether through intentional policies as Phillipson (1992) claims, or simply as an unintentional coincidence as Crystal (2003) observes. Globalization makes English a global language, so GE is a historical product, not a linguistic one. Certainly becoming a global language has linguistic consequences for English, but in the following discussions, emphases are on the socio-cultural and politic-economic implications of the global spread of English and its roles at the global level. This phenomenon and its meaning for people in different parts of the

world are the focal points of the conceptual discussions.

Just like internationalization and globalization are often used interchangeably, EIL and EGL are usually confused. The underlying concepts are similar but some fundamental differences exist. First, for EIL, English is a language used in international realms, so only those who are involved in international fields learn the language (such internationalists are usually members of elite groups in society, thus EIL implies English as a language for the global elites). For EGL, not only do the internationalists need to learn English, but every modern citizen also has to learn it. The reason is more than to be able to take part in the transnational interactions in the daily life of lay people, but because English has become an indispensable symbolic tool in our everyday life. English is not only used to communicate with people who speak a different language, but also to enable individuals to function properly in modern societies.

Second, though for both EIL and EGL, English is no longer a national language with the norms provided by the inner-circle countries (the U.S., the U.K., Canada, New Zealand & Australia) and English does not belong to any nation, they have a slightly different idea about who shapes the development of GE. The evolution of the global language gradually depends on global users, for most of whom English is not a native language. While EIL still operates under the nation-state framework and believes that other nations can develop their own standards and norms and contribute to the GE development, EGL sees global users free from the nation-state framework. User communities that transcend national borders will be the source where norms and standards develop. Different user communities will generate different norms and standards. An analogy is the different chat groups in the Bulletin Boards (BBS), where users in different groups use English differently, and the used English language is dynamic and changeful as more and more new words and ways of expression are created by users around the world who carry diverse cultural backgrounds. Similarly, EGL carries global cultures, not different *national* cultures, which would be the major cultural contents for EIL.

Third, in the one-way top-down centralized framework of internationalization, EIL plays the role of a supreme international language overpowering other languages. Speakers of other languages learn English to communicate internationally, but English speakers feel little pressure or even none at all, to learn other languages. When communicating in English, speakers of other languages translate signified objects or ideas into English, usually finding comparable terms in English. In contrast, in the two-way

decentralized globalization discourse, the English language is no longer untouchable. Other languages start to make impacts on English as more new words in English originated from other languages appear. People stop trying to translate into English; rather, they use their own language to create borrowed words, for example, *buxiban* instead of cram school. Equal power relations also mean that non-English speakers worldwide abandon having 'an English name' such as John and Jenny and instead use their indigenous names. English speakers have to learn how to pronounce these non-English names. As overwhelming numbers of non-native English speakers start to use and converse in English in a more egalitarian context, new varieties, norms, and usages seem inevitable. English is transformed into Global English, a language perhaps sharing a common core with most major English varieties, but fluid and elusive to a degree that makes it necessary to distinguish GE from English.

World Englishes and Global English

The idea of 'Global English' (Graddol, 2006) or 'global Englishes' (Pennycook, 2007) developed from the study of World Englishes, the varieties of English (mostly in outer-circle countries), and is similar to the idea of English as a lingua franca (ELF). As part of a post-colonial movement, the idea of World Englishes calls for the recognition of the varieties of the English language. The much-publicized concentric model (Kachru, 1985) consisting of inner, outer, and expanding circles advocates for a contextualized conception of English. Seeing English as a British or American language or as a de-contextualized language neglects the historical, social, and cultural meanings and ramifications. Each English variety has particular significance for a particular group of people. While the field of World Englishes focuses on studying the varieties of English, Global English spotlights the common parts of these varieties, or the ELF core (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2004) along linguistic lines of investigation, and how this lingua franca influences the social and individual worlds (see Figure 1). Since most English varieties in the World Englishes framework are based on the nation-states in outer circles, (for example, Singlish for Singaporean English, Nigerian English, and Indian English), nation-state still provides the basic social reference, and thus it may be argued that World Englishes operates within the internationalization framework. The three circles are made up of different nation-states. As illustrated in the previous section, the movement of people in the globalized world has blurred the boundaries between the circles.

Gradually GE gains fuel from the thriving globalization discourse to attract more attention than the concept of World Englishes. For GE, studies at individual, family, community, and organizational levels have transcended the nation-state framework. Without a doubt, nation-state remains an important social reference, but we should be aware of other social references when exploring relevant GE issues such as identity, ownership, culture, and most importantly, teaching and learning.

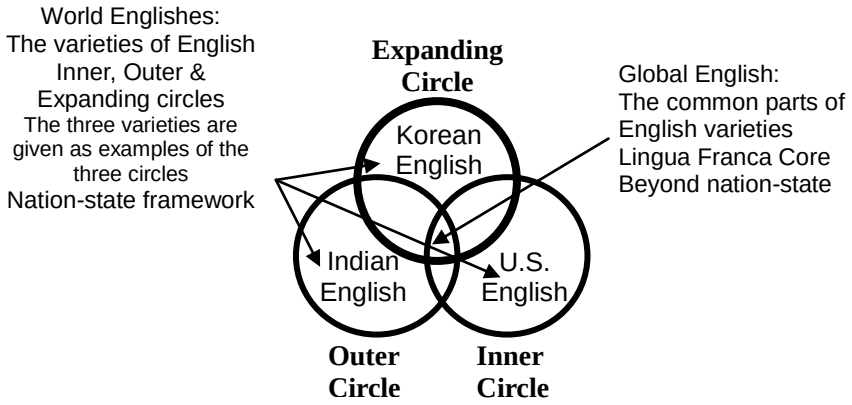

Figure 1. World Englishes and Global English

Interpreting Global English

In social science, most policies and decisions may be interpreted either from a conservative, functional, and neutral lens or a critical, cynical, and moral angle. The former is usually associated with the rightist, while the latter, the leftist. Within both camps various divisions reflect the complexity of the social world. Most scholars hold perspectives between the two poles of the continuum, acknowledging certain viewpoints from both camps. In the following sections I roughly outline both the functional and critical perspectives on GE, and also some compromise views that borrow concepts from both camps.

Functional perspective

That English as a neutral tool serves the communicative needs of peoples with different languages forms the foundation of the functional

perspective. This does not suggest that it ignores the colonial past of how English was able to achieve its global language status. On the contrary, scholars such as Crystal (2003) and Graddol (2006), two celebrated pundits on GE, who built their credit by analyzing its history and contextual factors, are well aware of English's notorious past. Crystal and Graddol take a functional, neutral, and objective approach to investigate issues around GE, and thus are classified as functionalists. For Crystal, English became a global language due to the political and economic power of the British and American empires, and this has become the consensus in the field. While recognizing its oppressive history, Crystal takes a more instrumental view of the current situation and focuses on the possible future development of GE (Crystal, 2004). He analyzes the possible scenarios for the development of GE without clearly advocating one moral stance. This neutrality characterizes the functional perspective, and Pennycook (1999) uses the term 'Laissez-faire liberalism' to refer to this theoretical camp. In a similar vein, Graddol (2006) also documented the evolution and social facts of GE, pointing out that intensified globalization played a significant, if not the main role in the process of the global spread of English.

Inching closer to the right side of the continuum, typical functional scholars would contend that a global lingua franca promotes mutual understanding, exchange and cooperation, and as a result, GE contributes to world peace and planetary solidarity (for example, Gimenez, 2001). This echoes the division of labor thesis that argues different languages for different functions (Fishman, Conrad, & Rubal-Lopez, 1996). For local communications, local languages suffice, while a global language serves global interactions. GE does not replace national and local languages in a multilingual world, rather it becomes a public property that anyone can have and use to serve their needs.

In addition, given that Anglo-American countries still have great influence at the global level, GE provides a cultural and economic resource for its owners. GE is more than simply a useful tool; it contains implicit socio-cultural prestige that brings economic benefits. For ordinary individuals, changing the unequal conditions seems less urgent than exploiting the possible benefits to be derived from mastering English. For functionalists, instead of resisting English, obtaining ownership and liberating GE from the hands of the 'haves' for the non-English speaking is a better way to improve the world. What is often implied in the functional perspective is that English is 'the language of progress'

(Lysandrou & Lysandrou, 2003, p. 220), bringing material development and thus better living standards. A global lingua franca dismantles the "barriers to trade and profit" (Kushner, 2003, p. 21), making the world progress in terms of economic output. This is where the critical perspective presents the other side of the coin.

Critical perspective

Historically associated with Marxism and conflict theories, such a perspective depicts GE as the ammunition of the powerful English-speaking Britons and Americans. People who sympathize with the claims of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) are worried about the domination of English over other languages, which results in the destruction and extinction of language diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998). They see detrimental effects in the global spread of English, which benefits those who use it, mostly elites, and further marginalize those who do not, mostly the underprivileged and deprived. English is not a language of progress, but one that dominates and leads to increasing global inequality, both within and between nation-states. English remains a colonial tool, the Trojan horse, the homogenizing language, and a key player in global capitalism (Imam, 2005). It is a means with vile ends, serving the interests of particular groups. A prominent example is the native-speakers in the ELT industry, who harvest the profit without a better qualification, simply because their mother tongue is a global language. They also bring their social and cultural norms and values to their students in other cultures, instilling their (western) ways of seeing the world.

Moreover, critical scholars posit that you cannot separate language from the cultures and identities that it conveys. It is naïve to believe that a language can be used as a neutral instrument for communication. Inevitably British and American cultures are transmitted to English learners around the world, intentionally and mostly unintentionally. When English is a dominant language, the underlying cultural values and worldviews tend to dominate as well. Conflicts are expected in terms of the development of English learners' culture and identity, especially for young learners, who are easy preys for the evil lions. If the dominated peoples remain unaware of the hegemony, that is, the implicit total domination by those who collect all the gains and interests, the world inequality would only worsen. Those who gain from GE should make equal efforts to promote local languages and in the same time to preserve the ecology of language.

With the rise of postmodernism, the calls for contextual thinking become louder and louder. Pennycook (1999, 2007) uses the term 'postcolonial performativity' to interpret the phenomenon of GE. He argues that we have to understand the usage, appropriation and change of English in various localities, and approach it in a contextual manner. What is happening at the corners of the world has its particular historical, political, economic, social, and cultural traces. It is more than only a case of imposition and resistance; rather, in postcolonial societies, adaptation and appropriation blend the distinction between the two. It is not as simple as that the center dominates the periphery and the periphery resists the center. It has become a complex picture as shown in the second section of this paper, that globalization brings two-way processes and multiple channels. Creative ways to appropriate GE in local settings are emerging; the phenomenon is difficult to be coined by abstract theories or conceptual terms at the present.

Comparison

Here a brief comparison between the two perspectives is presented to clarify their assumptions and beliefs. First, the functional perspective conceives GE as a neutral means without any particular ends; it could have positive or negative consequences depending on how you use the tool. GE as a global lingua franca is useful and functioning well. In contrast, the critical perspective nullifies the idea of a means without any embedded ends. They argue that once you use the tool, you have to adopt the premises preprogrammed into the tool. You cannot use an electric mosquito-killer without its battery, even though you loathe the pollution resulted from the production of the battery. GE is a value-laden means with political ends that benefits particular groups. Second, the functionalists believe it possible for the non-natives to take over the ownership of GE. They even encourage them to transform GE, to take it away from the native as a response to the criticisms from the critical side. Once the have-nots obtain the ownership of the tool, they will be emancipated from the haves, so goes the argument. But the cynical remind everyone that this whole ownership idea is only a placebo, and to have ownership for the non-natives is only a pie in the sky that comforts the hungry and camouflages the unjust profits which GE brings to native speakers. 'Do you really own it? In what ways? Who created all the words and usages and who makes new usages?' Once you own it, which means that you convert to the native, you become 'the haves', the oppressing side, and you lose your cultural heritage.

That leads to the next distinction: identity. The functional perspective regards GE as strictly an instrument without any interference with one's identity. You are who you are no matter which language you speak. On the other hand, the critical perspective scoffs at the innocence. You are what you speak. What language you use indicates what kind of a person you identify with and often which group or community you belong to. Thus GE is harmful to youngsters' identity formation, producing a lost generation. Finally, in terms of culture, similarly, the functionalists think that GE can be culture-free or accommodate all cultures (Medgyes, 1999, pp. 187-188). 'Just bring all the cultures into GE!' GE is mostly used between non-natives, so each user has a unique cultural background, and that does not prevent communication. We can express our cultural values in any language, and we should teach English as an intercultural language (Sifakis, 2004). But the critical perspective doubts the clear disconnection between language and culture. In the English language, most usages still derive from those inner circle countries, led by the United States and the United Kingdom, whose cultures invade other cultures. Moreover, the global ELT industry is largely controlled by U.S. and British multinationals; the cultural content that most English teaching materials convey is still American or British. The Orientalist worldview (Said, 1978) that sees the Other as underdeveloped and passive inevitably infiltrates into the young minds of global English learners. The loss of local cultures and languages is regarded as closely related to the rise of GE.

In-betweens

Most scholars are not extremists; thus usually both perspectives are acknowledged. For most people in the ELT industry, including myself, the attitude toward GE is ambivalent: we appreciate its usefulness as a global lingua franca and the prosperous industry it creates that enables us to make a living while in the mean time its colonial connections and the embedded unequal power relationships bother our conscience and generate conflicts in our practices. As practitioners, we are constantly looking for the right balance to educate the next generation. Most ELT teachers are pragmatists, focusing on finding better and more moral pedagogies and leaving the theoretical controversies for theorists. The pragmatists recognize both positive and negative effects of GE, and make moral decisions on how to approach it based on the specific context in which they live. Some might be leaning closer to the right side (for example, McKay, 2002), emphasizing the shift from EFL and ESL to EIL and GE. The position of English changes with globalization as its roles and relevant power relationships are

ever-changing (Sifakis & Sougari, 2003). Others take a more active stance and encourage developing critical awareness to consciously fight against institutionalized inequality (Holliday, 2005). The middle ground, in my opinion, is a compromise view that proposes using this handy tool in creative and emancipative ways to resist the hegemony that English has constructed (Halliday, 2003). We have to have the means first before we can talk about any action at all. Currently very few people urge students not to learn English. The key is how to learn and use it. An interdisciplinary way to tackle the GE issue is provided by Lysandrou and Lysandrou (2003), who believe that we should let economists and politicians deal with global inequality, not linguists or educators. The complex social phenomenon of GE requires interdisciplinary cooperation and we as English teachers should not be too ambitious as to lose our sight on our main task: help students learn English. If we do our best to make GE an empowering tool that produces social justice, even though the reality might be unsatisfactory, that is sufficient.

GLOBALIZATION AND TAIWAN'S ELT

In Taiwan, globalization as an abstract concept and often an abused buzzword also arouses polar reactions. Pro-globalists welcome the opportunities that globalization brings. Mostly stemmed from the functional perspective, this line of thinking tends to project globalization as a panacea: students would be motivated to learn the global language due to higher needs, and they have more opportunities to use English; English is no longer a dead language for them because English can enter the students' life in various ways. In a word, the job to teach English is made easier by globalization. In contrast, the doubtful are troubled by the negative consequences which globalization creates. For both teachers and students alike, globalization may cause confusion in identities and conflicting cultural values, and particularly for English teachers, the liberalization of English may increase the misuse and abuse of the English language. The overall standards and proficiency level may go into a downward spiral as youngsters use English in informal (and sometimes confusing or even degenerate) ways. Globalization in such a perspective is a poison that would make ELT jobs even tougher.

The consensus is that changes in Taiwan's ELT are necessary in light of globalization (Li, 2002). Beyond repeating the postcolonial suggestions of critical pedagogy (Canagarajah, 1999) and functional empowerment

arguments, I believe that globalization could be a catalyst for Taiwan's ELT, which needs imminent 'energizers'. The dynamic environment provides us enough fuel to reposition the roles of English in our education system. For a lot of children, English instruction begins in kindergarten. For others, probably never. English is taught in myriad ways, reflecting its multiple roles in Taiwan. Sometimes these roles are in conflict, which creates messy conditions that do not benefit our children.[2] Undoubtedly English will take a different role than merely as one of the foreign languages, or even one of the school subjects. I think we can approach the repositioning from two junctions: one is the connections and relationship between English and other school subjects/ knowledge areas, and the other is the dynamics between English taught and English used in English education.

Globalization changes the way we see the world; that is, our epistemology and ontology change, too. Language as a medium and carrier of information and knowledge plays a significant role in how we conceive ourselves and the world. Students can get into contact with a more enriched world through more languages. Therefore, I think we should not intentionally prevent English from permeating into other school subjects. Instead, we should bring English naturally into other subjects. One feasible policy is to present translated proper nouns (the names of a particular person, place, organization or other individual entity) in textbooks bilingually. These proper nouns that students need to know or memorize should be accompanied by their English translation (translation unnecessary for English proper nouns) and if necessary, their original language.[3] We can start with a few selected names and terms in the high school textbooks. The reason to present proper nouns bilingually or multilingually is help students better communicate with the world in the future. Taiwanese students learn a lot about the world, but their conversations with others in English often fall apart due to their ignorance of certain key proper nouns which they only know in translated names. In geography (place names), history (names of historic figures), math, and science (in formulas, not only presenting "$s=1/2gt^2$ ", but also speed=1/2 gravity time^2), English can play a more important role. After all, one of the purposes for which students acquire knowledge is to communicate with others, and in the current world, quite probably they may need to use English to communicate with people from another culture.

English as an alternative (and also global) symbol opens an additional window when students try to discuss new concepts and knowledge with others. I am not arguing that we teach math or social studies in English, as

a lot of bilingual schools do, but rather, we should take a global view to acknowledge knowledge as globally constructed. In math and social studies, a lot of ideas originate or develop in a cultural context different from ours. When dealing with these global elements, we may use English as an additional medium to relay the concepts. When knowledge is presented bilingually or multilingually, students may become more aware of the embedded global dimension. Of course, simply presenting proper nouns bilingually does not guarantee students' global vision, as teacher plays an even more critical role, but at least it provides teachers a better tool.

This practice is connected with the idea that global education should be embedded in all school subjects, and that English can play a constructive role in it. Meanwhile, our local and national languages, as the roots of our culture and identity, should be privileged over English. As English permeates into other subjects, we may allocate comparably less resource and time to the English subject when students already have chances to use more English in other subjects and their daily life. Students who do better in their first language tend to perform better in the second language as well. So literacy in the first language is prioritized over learning English at younger ages.

For English education, I take a more contextual stance. It depends on the individual's context as to when and how to learn and teach English. Instead of top-down policy implementation, as was usually done in the past in regard to most educational policies in Taiwan, a bottom-up approach that starts with the adjustment in the attitudes of the practicing teachers should be more effective in the current environment. Teachers should allow the boundaries between English in classroom and English in real world to disintegrate as the surroundings evolve. The speed that the English language evolves corresponds to the pace that the world changes. More flexible standards seem inevitable, and teachers should help students see the connections between what is usually taught in class (formal and static language) and what is used in life (informal and dynamic language; for example, usages in the contemporary movies and TV programs students currently watch, or idiomatic expressions students see or use when they play online games or participate in discussion forums with international participants—inevitably students will have more and more opportunities to encounter English in their daily life if this GE trend continues.). Teaching such connections may be a higher priority than demanding students to master the formal rules and forms. One convenient way to connect real English with classroom English is using the framework

developed in global education.

GLOBAL EDUCATION

Many people assume that when one speaks fluent English, one's worldview is international. As a result, the pressure to internationalize and globalize education and educational institutions has mostly transformed or morphed into an English fever. However, speaking the global language is simply a threshold for becoming a global citizen. More important is the substance, such as global awareness and responsibility, rather than the proficiency level in the global language. Global education has increasingly gathered attention in teacher education with the ascendance of the globalization discourse (Lin, 2008). When our default concept of a society evolves from a national one to a global one, school knowledge should adapt to this change. Most students have an aspiration to be part of the world, which was taken for granted before modern nation-states territorized human's life. For English education it is even more important to use global education as one of its foundations because English has become a global language, a window to the world.

Global education is a term commonly used in the United States. In the United Kingdom, the term 'world studies' is used to refer to "studies which promote the knowledge, attitudes and skills that are relevant to living responsibly in a multicultural and independent world" (Starkey, 1990, p. 210). The central concept in global education is to develop 'worldmindedness' and global awareness (Merryfield, Lo, Po, & Kasai, 2008), which roughly denote "habits of the mind that foster knowledge, interest and engagement in global issues, local/global connections, and diverse cultures" (Merryfield, 2008, p. 363). The goal of global education lies in students' identification with the globe and humanity. It is a high task to achieve; after all, human beings have been 'othering' different peoples ever since human history began (Said, 1978). But total harmony and world peace is not what global education has in mind; rather, it is the consciousness and worldviews within individual students that global education focuses on. This global consciousness may be what distinguishes the current globalization from the past (Robortson, 1992), not the material developments resulted from science and technology.

Traditionally, global education was a subfield in social studies. As the world becomes more integrated, the call for infusing global education into every subject area in school (Yen, 2007) seems reasonable. But in reality,

almost every new field struggles to occupy a place in the school curriculum. Adding global education into the six major issues (namely, human rights, environmental, gender, career development, information, and home economics) in the Nine-Year Comprehensive Curriculum Framework does not seem to be feasible and presumably would have little effect. A more practical approach as proposed here is to integrate the spirit of global education into the English subject area in compulsory education. Two rationales support this proposal:

1. Curricular changes are easier for new subject areas

As a new subject area in the elementary education, the English curriculum is still in the initial developmental stage. After English establishes its place in the elementary education, changes at the junior high and high school levels are expected. The process of introducing English into compulsory education should take several decades, and tremendous revisions and modifications in its curriculum means that it may be easier to incorporate global education into the English curriculum along with other adjustments. Making changes to established school subjects is usually much more difficult (Cuban, 1992).

2. By conceptualizing English as a global language, the ideas of global education can be embedded into the English curriculum without major revisions.

Incorporating global education into English instruction may only involve some minor revisions in practice. Global knowledge and issues can be added to the contents of English instruction, which used to contain mainly materials from contexts in local (Taiwan) and English-speaking countries. These global contents can facilitate English teachers to foster skills in perspective consciousness and open-mindedness. Cultural awareness is increasingly an important part in teaching English to speakers of other languages (Brock, 2009), and when English is seen not as an American or British language but as a global language, naturally the curricular scope expands.

In language education, the opportunity to practice the target language is extremely important. More intercultural experiences, both in and out of the classroom, are also becoming commoner at all school levels. We may not be able to provide everyone meaningful intercultural experiences at

the institutional level, but experience will only be experience without absorption and internalization. Sometimes inadequate preparations for such intercultural events may result in unhealthy mentality such as xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Therefore, pre- and post-education for intercultural experiences are definitely necessary, though unfortunately most attention is only paid to the experience. Global English education may fill this need.

Only teaching cultural knowledge and literacy seems impractical because of the complexity and abundance of human cultures; one cannot know even one percent of contemporary cultural contents. High culture is outdated, and popular culture is overwhelming. It is cultural awareness (i.e., the ability to be aware of our own and others' cultural norms and values and adapt to the difference) that should be the focus of cultural instruction and global education. Cultural contents are only the media through which students' worldmindedness and intercultural competence are developed. Content knowledge serves as the vehicle to achieve this awareness. Creative ways to teach cultural awareness such as Chang's (2007) graphic approach deserve more attention and investment. To internationalize our education, we should not only learn the global language but also develop students' global awareness and vision, something more meaningful than just opening the window to watch the world.

NOTES

1. "Globalization competitiveness" is translated as "guojihua jingzhengli" Retrieved on May 5, 2009, from http://www.ee.ncku.edu.tw/nckueechinese/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50:2008-04-19-21-29-39&catid= 8:2008-04-17-07-51-08&Itemid=8
2. For messy conditions, see Chang's (2006) evaluation of the contemporary situations in Taiwan's ELT.
3. Such bilingual presentations are common in translated magazines (printed in Mandarin) such as the Harvard Business Review, and magazines that include global materials, such as CNA Newsworld, a new magazine published by the Central News Agency. They are expected to become more common as more Taiwanese become literate in English. Another advantage is that this prevents misunderstandings and conceptual gaps in translation.

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