

English Language Learning in the Margins: Toward a Movement to Help Service-industry Workers in Thailand

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Abstract—This paper examined the largely unexplored effects of exposure to foreign customers' language (e.g., English) as informal learning for service-industry workers, a pattern common in developing countries where resources to learn English were not widely accessible to lower-status workers in the labor market. It also pointed out the paucity of research on service-industry workers' language development in applied and sociolinguistic literature. This pilot study adopted two analytical tools, the magnet of trend's model and the concept of "quadrant," to highlight the English learning opportunities provided for the service-industry workers in a developing country, and explored how the development of their language abilities enabled them to expand and navigate more quadrants. Field visits and qualitative interviews were undertaken to gather data from the sample, consisted of 200 participants. Broad content analysis conventions were deployed to interpret interview data and field notes derived from observations, aimed at combining both emic and etic (interactional) data. The paper reported the role of English-speaking customers as informal tutors to facilitate these workers' English language development. This paper turned to different case studies of exemplar workers who reported following the English-for-customer (EFC) pattern, because they illustrated two themes common across the sample studied. The results revealed that, among these workers, (1) educational background and (2) exposure to English-speaking customers in an informal educational setting may contribute to fostering the learning of English.

Index Terms—service industry, Thailand, English as an additional language for work, English for customer

I. INTRODUCTION

The lack of previous research on the effects of English-speaking foreign customers on service-industry workers in developing countries is surprising, because more than half of developing countries have shown the benefits of this form of informal learning. English-speaking customers play a vital role in providing exposure to the English language for Thai service-industry workers in the labor market. The aim of this study is to examine the strategies Thai service-industry workers utilize to support the learning and the development of the English language in Thailand whereby the pattern of their language-learning-and-language-use (henceforth LLLU) is known as English-for-customer (EFC) and/or English-as-an-additional-language-for-work (EALW).

Sociolinguists have utilized the concept of "trends" to describe the association between everyday LLLU and globalization, regionalization and so forth. This article thus reconceptualizes the notion of "trends" by extending the notion of "magnets" (figure 1) and their implications to LLLU. Using this method, "magnets of trends [model]" (figure 1) along with the concept of "quadrant" (figure 2), this paper provides an analysis of the service-industry workers in Bangkok, helping understand how they approach the task of the learning of English.

Conventional research frameworks in language studies, and policies and practices in the language-education sector, have given little regard to language learning in the margins characterized as the dominant-language-speaking minority (henceforward DM) (for a similar line of study for the DM, of relevance to the concern herein, see Blommaert, 2010; Draper, 2010; Gal, 1978; Lee, 2013, 2014b; Smith-Hefner, 2009, to name just a few). Traditionally, scholars (researchers and language educators) and practitioners (language teachers) in their research and practices tend to emphasize global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language learning experiences of classroom students, indigenous and immigrant communities. The present paper attempts to contribute to scholarly conversations around one of the silences in the aforementioned research paradigm by reporting an alternative (theoretical and methodological) framework for a development plan that has been termed 'equalizing language learning or 'equity in language learning (henceforth ELL, as abbreviated throughout the paper) targeting learners labeled as ethnic and socio-economic minorities in developing countries.

Three pro-ELLers involved into the research team undertaking the present pilot survey and challenged traditional policies and practices in the foreign/second language education sector that widen the gap between mainstream foreign/second language learners including classroom students and their DM counterparts in non-educational settings. Pro-ELLers also point out one problem in the academic discourses that deal with applied- and educational- linguistic issues, which is that it has become increasingly non-dialectal with DM individuals and groups. They encourage a stance

whereby teaching global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages to DM is central to the research, policies and practices.

A defining characteristic of this paper is about broadening language repertoires for minorities as part of a movement termed ‘equalizing language learning’ or ‘equity in language learning’ (ELL) – what it is in the context of Thailand and how to do it with development strategy’s implementation by means of formal and informal (language) learning. This study commences with the premise that an equal access and more opportunities to global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages should be created not only for typical marginalized populations (e.g., aborigines and immigrants), but also for less typical ones (e.g., DM). By making such a claim, the paper examines informal (language) learning phenomena of the DM labeled as marginal (with particular reference to Standard Thai dominant speakers in the service industry including barbers, bargirls, bus fare collectors, massage therapists, restaurant waiters and waitress, street vendors, taxi drivers and street child/teen labors, among others) in Thailand. Meanwhile, it also reviews a vital issue of marginality and language learning neglected by mainstream language studies academia and classic language-learning literature by arguing that most scholars, either explicitly or implicitly, neglect the range of marginalized dominant-language speakers and of their issues in global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language learning.

II. SOCIAL CAMPAIGN (ELL DEVELOPMENT PLAN): A BOURDIEUSIAN FRAMEWORK

Inequalities and Equalizing Language Learning

This study approaches the term inequality as the resources, power and wealth held by the elites and the rich, thereby unevenly distributed. ‘Equalizing’ or ‘equity’ is a general term that describes specific actions of making “the quality of being fair and impartial” (Oxford Dictionaries).

It is truism that the capitalist globalization has widened the economic inequalities within the civil society, and in local- and international levels (Hobsbawm, 2007; also cited in Blommaert, 2010, p.153). “Inequality between the rich and the poor has reached its highest point in the past thirty years” (“inequality,” 2014 by OECD, as cited by ChannelNewsAsia and BBC World Service on December 9, 2014). Put directly, major population in a modern nation-state have little or no access to resources that provide opportunities for upper social and economic mobility, while the elites have such access for the pursuit of power (Hobsbawm, 2007; also cited in Blommaert, 2010, p.3). For instance, language learning across numerous modern nation-states and civil societies has been characterized by both the enduring discrepancies between the higher success of learners from wealthier families and the consistent under-achievement of learners from lower-income families both in mainstream schooling settings and non-educational settings (own fieldwork, 2007-2015). In other words, there is an issue of uneven distribution of language resources.

The study described herein was drawn from a social campaign vis-à-vis the author’s research network which begins with the slogan: Collaboration for equity in language learning in Asia Pacific. In line with the ‘equalizing language learning’ or ‘equity in language learning’ (ELL) movement, the campaign and the strategy move toward a comprehensive planning that addresses current foreign/second language learning opportunities and challenges marginalized populations are facing. As ELL stems from a Bourdieu’s tradition (1991), it inaugurates with a capacity analysis of language learning resources accessible to marginalized populations in individual and societal levels, and creating ‘symbolic capitals and powers’ for them by offering opportunities to learn more ‘capital’ languages, particularly English. ELL refers to the processes of activities and social premises involved in the facilitation of foreign/second language learning and implementation of intervention to individual and group language learners characterized as marginal. The paper is in an attempt to realize ELL research methodology and ELL strategic intervention as an alternative framework and paradigm from which pro-ELLers purport to improve foreign/second language learning outcomes for the marginalized populations. To do this, pro-ELLers enact as the research team and survey the pilot areas by examining DM’s access to prestige varieties of languages and prestige forms of multilingualism (e.g., international Standard English and Chinese) during the phase of capacity analysis.

Understanding ELL development plan begins with issues in language learning dominant-language-speaking minorities (DM) are facing. Many of the world’s minorities have little or almost zero access to learn global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages. Although it is well-known that language learning affects one’s level of economic development, the association between them, and successful and unsuccessful stories of DM’s LLLU, have been largely neglected by scholars. It is not surprising that scholarly work on minority and language learning has been focused on typical minorities. It is likely that global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language learning experiences of 1). aborigines, 2). immigrants and 3). classroom students are key issues in the mainstream academic and policy-making fields, informed by applied-, educational- and sociolinguistic literature, among others. Less typical minorities –dominant-language-speaking minority (DM) populations– are often neglected. ELL development planning aims to better understand the current opportunities and challenges the DM language users face in the context of Thailand.

The research team, consisted of pro-ELLers, has not reached a consensus concerning the specific steps to realize ELL. However, there is an agreement of fundamental principles and basic steps in ELL. ELL is consisted of three-stage development plan: (i) (present) capacity analysis is an approach beginning with identification of existing capacity –

evaluation of multiple factors that affect current practices of LLLU (tools adopted for capacity analysis are, for instance, standardized English proficiency tests and informal assessment based on English-medium interview) – determining the maximum language learning outcomes, (ii) capacity planning and predictive (future) capacity analytics are process of determining the maximum capacity of language leaning outcome needed to meet the demand to compete in the job market, and (iii) implementation of capacity development).

It is unfortunate but true that pro-ELLers in the wake of ELL campaign are unable to ask for equal distribution of language resources among the rich and the poor in a society. However, pro-ELLers increase language resources minorities gain access to, particularly in respect to basic vocabularies and phrases needed to understand and/or for effective communication in global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Applied-, educational- and sociolinguistics on minority have been active disciplines and have drawn attentions for the previous decades around the world. The paper has been informed by the work of scholarship in language studies, primarily drawing on the disciplines of applied-, educational- and sociolinguistics, with particular reference to language education/learning, ‘development linguistics,’ or ‘language and minority [studies]’ (For lack of a better term, this is what the researcher of the present study might call). Over the past 50 years, scholars concerned with applied-, educational- and sociolinguistics in regards to global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language learning have shown growing interests in three particular researched groups, namely 1). classroom students, 2). aborigines and 3). immigrants. Thus, considerable pieces of fabric of studies consist in efforts to develop a body of work within the mainstream applied linguistics (e.g., Wei and Cook, 2009), educational linguistics (e.g., Hornberger, 1989, 2003, 2004) and sociolinguistics (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Fishman, 1991, 2001).

Yet, linguistic communications and issues in foreign/second language education of the aforementioned three groups have been explored by the dominant intellectual tradition in a variety of (theoretical, experimental and empirical) settings across the globe. Most prominent researchers stemming from these old (established) and new (emerging) traditions, to a more or lesser degree, emphasize the interplay between a country’s state language and indigenous languages (Coronel-Molina & Rodríguez-Mondónedo, 2012; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Hornberger, 1989, 2003, 2004; Romaine, 2009; Sallabank, 2013). Some explore the interplay between a country’s state language and immigrant languages (Blommaert, 2010; Cohen, 1987; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Hornberger, 1989, 2003, 2004; Lee, 2010, 2014a; Manosuthikit, 2013; Morita, 2007; Mukherjee and David, 2011). Others have been concentrated on the interplay between a country’s classroom students and their foreign/second languages (Abhakorn, 2013; Draper, 2012; Saksit, 2012, 2013; Wei and Cook, 2009). There is by now sufficient knowledge (generated by scholars currently informing the analysis in language learning studies) to understand the extent to which indigenous- and diasporic communities, and classroom students, cope with challenges in foreign/second language learning.

However, despite all this, less attention has been paid to address the inequalities for the dominant-language-speaking minority or DM to learn global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages. The lack of scholarly interest is that most DM, who are not labeled as aborigines, immigrants and students, have lived in linguistically homogenous communities and operated in the quadrant of localization (figure 2). As a result, there is no growing demand for the vast majority of them to acquire global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages. However, some DM language users who work in the service industry are highly expected to encounter effects of globalization and regionalization (figure 1), because they are often in direct contact with foreigners in the workplace.

Against the academic backdrop described above and in the sections that follow, the paper attempts to bridge this gap. To this end, the paper formulates two interrelated and correspondent theoretical–activity (integrated) models (termed the magnet of trend’s model and the LANGUAGES quadrant) of ‘development linguistics’ or ‘language and minority [studies]’ that are markedly utilitarian to understand the extent of issues in foreign/second language learning among marginal populations labeled as the DM language users.

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In parallel fashion, the two correspondent theoretical frames, of the magnet of trend’s model and the LANGUAGES quadrant were regarded as infrastructures for the ELL campaign. There was little fundamentally and principally wrong with the utilization of these two theorized models to help realize ELL. One would wish to argue that, for instance, Hornberger’s (1989, 2002, 2003) landmark continuum of biliteracy model (or other established models) were utilitarian to help the ELL movement. However, one would also find it difficult to argue that the two interrelated models, proposed in the paper, were not utilitarian given that they provide visual perspective, emphasize the local conditions of language phenomena, and they are self-explanatory and accessible to participants. More importantly, what pro-ELLers had of the two conceptual-activity models was a product of studies on a broad variety of contexts (e.g., globalization, nationalism, and urbanization) and informed by robust theories.

A. *The Magnet of Trend’s Model*

In the early 2010s, a conceptual framework termed ‘the magnet of trend’s model’ (For a detailed review, see Lee, 2015) was proposed and implemented in my fieldwork and classroom teaching, originally conceptualized to account for

the experiences minorities encounter in language contact situations and language use (practice). This model was accompanied by the LANGUAGES quadrant in the present paper. It should be acknowledged that both the magnet of trend's model and the LANGUAGES quadrant were not another attempt of formulating alternative framework to account for the existent traditions of scholarships in language studies but complementary to theoretical conceptions stemming from the emerging tradition ('sociolinguistics of globalization') started, in part, by Blommaert (2010), among others.

To be sure, the two interrelated and correspondent models (the magnet of trend's model and the LANGUAGES quadrant) that underpinned the study, as introduced below, can be seen as both conceptual frame (for analysis) and activity model (for implementation of planning, strategy and intervention) that were theoretically grounded and empirically derived model of scientific inquiry. They could be adopted as a thinking frame to help scholars develop more informed views of language contact, opportunities and challenges in language learning, and be used to intervene and build capacity of foreign/second language learning for individual and group minority learners.

Magnets, in this model, were utilized metaphorically as forces to create invisible magnetic fields that pull on language users from their first-language (L1) speech communities. In this model, globalization refers to economic, financial, geographic, political and societal drive for the global circulation, flow and mobility of capital, goods, human resources and knowledge (Lee, 2015). Global centers (e.g., developed economies and global cities) are magnets to attract capitals and foreign talents from global peripheries. In this model, globalization requires the increasing role of English as *Lingua Franca* within and across the three economies (e.g., English is utilized when Thailand exports canned fruits to USA).

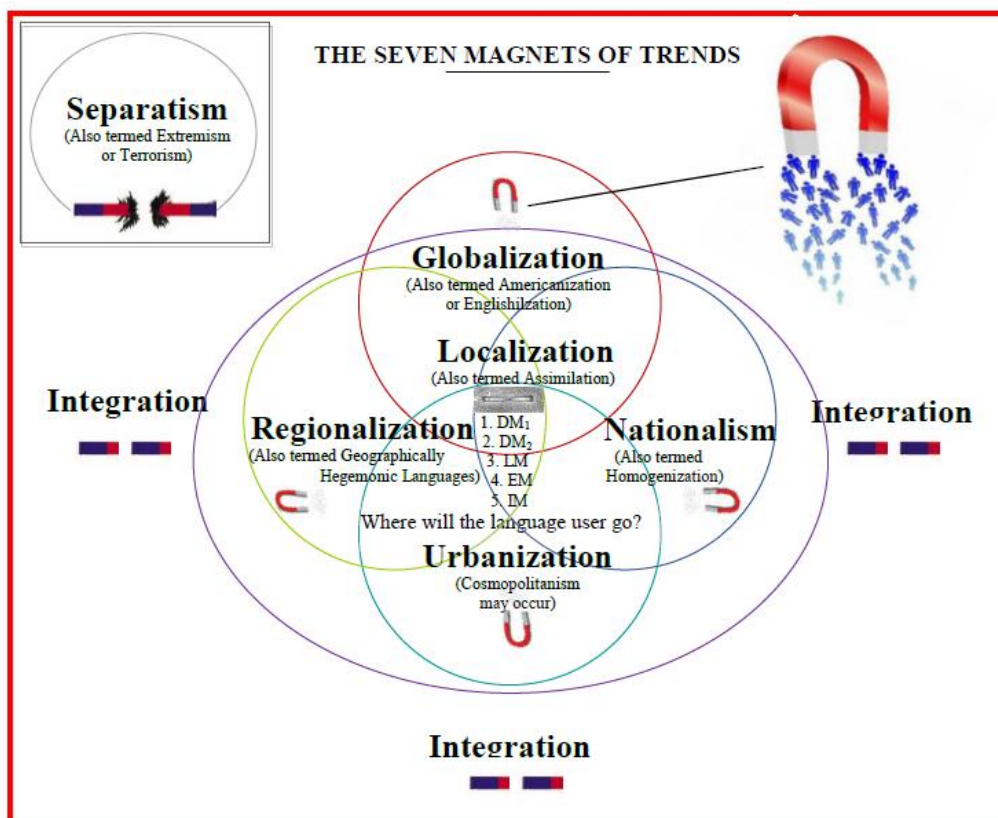


Figure 1. The magnet of trend

Sources: Expanded from Kosonen, 2008, informed by Kaku, 2012; p. 171; Fishman, 1998/1999; modified from Lee, 2015

Regionalization, in this model and in Thailand's context, refers to the increasing role of hegemonic languages from developed and developing economies in South-east Asia and/or Asia-pacific region, notably Chinese-Mandarin, Japanese and Korean. Regional centers (regionally strong economies and cities) are magnets to attract exports and foreign talents from neighboring countries.

Nationalism, in this model and in Thailand, refers to the increased use of the state language, Standard Thai. Urbanization, in this model and in the context of Thailand, refers to the increased use of urban languages. Urban centers are magnets to attract populations from semi-urban and non-urban areas. Localization, in this model, refers to people who are either not attracted by magnets such as global centers, national centers and urban centers or those who are attracted by these centers but fail to survive in these centers. Integration, in this model and in Thailand's context, refers to a regional economic integration, known as ASEAN Economic Community. Separatism, in this model and in the

context of Thailand, refers to community-based language users who intentionally separate themselves from magnetic fields created by these forces introduced above.

Minority

It is imperative to define what we mean by minority itself in Figure 1 and in the present study. This sub-section provides operational definitions of ‘minority’ (with a focus on ‘the politics of not belonging,’ ‘marginalization,’ ‘social exclusion,’ and ‘deficit thinking’) in the present research context. The word ‘minority’ or ‘minoritized’ has been defined in numerous ways throughout the decades. In its general sense, the term minoritized is most commonly deployed as shorthand to describe an unequal access to resources (causes) and consequences of growing social and economic inequalities in individual and societal levels.

The following literature refers to the power disparity and focuses on whether in the numerical (population size) majority or minority, many of these individuals and groups become subordinate and are subjected to oppression [and discrimination] by ideologies and activities derived from the dominant discourse, in that they continue to be socially excluded and pushed to margins in their respective state and civil society. In the utilization of the term minoritized, the paper applies the same understandings as Pickering (2001), Winlow and Hall (2013), and Shields, Bishop and Mazawi (2005).

Pickering (2001) employed the words to describe “the politics of not belonging” (“involves constructing and keeping in public view its negative counterpart of not belonging,” p. 107). From this view, the term ‘minority’ or ‘minoritized’ or ‘marginalized’ is defined by the social majority and the differentiation is based on some noticeable appearances and characteristics, e.g., ethnicity (ethnic looking), wealth, among others. Put it more directly, the term minority refers to those who have a sense of not being members of the dominant ethnic group within a nation state. It should be noted that Kammuang (Northern Thai) and Lao/Isaan (Northeastern Thai) language users are regarded as type I minority in the present study.

Further, Winlow and Hall (2013) adopted the term for social and economic marginality (“inability of the ‘socially excluded’ to access ostensibly ‘normal’ and routine services and aspects of our shared cultural life,” p. 20). Departure from this view, the term ‘minority’ or ‘minoritized’ or ‘marginalized’ is referred to collective rights or civil rights that are not equally accessible to some impoverished, discriminated and disenfranchised members in a society. It should be acknowledged that lower-status workers in the service industry and labor market are viewed as type II minority in the present study.

Aligned with the above, Shields, Bishop and Mazawi (2005) utilized the term in formal educational settings (“how minority children are prevented from achieving their full potentials in schools when their lives and cultures are labeled as marginal”). In their writing, Shields *et al.* argue that deficit thinking is the ideology and the discursive practice of holding lower expectations of academic achievements for students with demographics that do not match the traditional school system (e.g., low-income, culturally and linguistically diverse students). In Thailand, out-of-school street child/teen labors are seen as type III minority in the present paper.

The tradition of scholarship in language studies has been focused on typical minorities such as aboriginal communities, underprivileged diasporas (migrants) in contemporary urban metropolis, and students in formal schooling settings whereby targeted occurrences are richly accessible to researchers.

TABLE I.
DEFINITIONS OF MINORITY

<i>Meanings of ‘minority’</i>	
Minority1: (aspects of ethnicity and race)	The politics of not belonging (one who has a sense of not being a member of the dominant ethnic group within a nation state) – ‘involves constructing and keeping in public view its negative counterpart of not belonging,’ defined by the social majority and the differentiation is based on some noticeable appearances and characteristics, e.g., ethnicity (ethnic looking), wealth, among others.
Minority2: (social and economic levels)	Social and economic marginality (‘inability’ of the ‘socially excluded’ to access ostensibly ‘normal’ and routine services and aspects of our shared cultural life) -- collective rights or civil rights that are not equally accessible to some impoverished and disenfranchised members in a society.
Minority3: (formal educational settings)	The extent to which minority children and teens are prevented from achieving their full potentials in schools or being forced to be out of schools when their lives and cultures are labeled as marginal in formal educational settings -- deficit thinking is the ideology and the discursive practice of holding lower expectations of academic achievements for students with demographics that do not match the traditional school system (e.g., low-income, culturally and linguistically diverse students, and out-of-school street children and teens).
Minority4: (value attribution of languages)	Marginalized in language learning -- inequality in a ‘symbolic’ linguistic ‘market,’ linguistic hierarchy and ‘linguistic imperialism,’ difficulty in foreign/second language learning, and language education (of prestige standard varieties) only accessible for elites.

Sources: Bourdieu, 1991; Pickering, 2001; Shields, Bishop and Mazawi, 2005; Winlow and Hall, 2013

Marginalized in Language Learning

Language learning’ is referred as a more general learning phenomena of global languages (e.g., international standard English spoken in US and UK), or prestigious standard languages (e.g., Beijing-accented Chinese), or geographically and regionally hegemonic languages (e.g., Arabic, Chinese and Spanish). Language education/teaching can be seen as an unequally distributed resource which, simultaneously and subsequently, produces, re-produces and sustains both old and new inequalities, inherently connected to dominant ideologies, political structures and power relations (own

fieldwork, 2007-2015). One cannot deny the fact that global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language learning is in relation to one's upper social mobility (Gal, 1978; Lee, 2012, 2014a; Smith-Hefner, 2009). At any given time, native speakers of the world's 600 + local languages learn a small number of global-, prestigious-, standard- and regionally hegemonic languages. The reason why one is marginalized in his or her foreign/second language learning process is in relation to a multitude of political, economic and sociological factors and the paper shall select three prominent ones (i.e., hierarchy and linguistic imperialism, difficulty in foreign/second language learning, and language education only for elites and mainstream/majority).

First, there is an issue of inequality in a 'symbolic' linguistic 'market,' language politics and 'linguistic imperialism' (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992) -- hierarchy among languages -- in that one may not speak a prestige language as his or her native language and sees a need to learn globally or regionally powerful languages. Likewise, in a similar vein, Bourdieu (1991) developed his business metaphor to view linguistic-and-communicative market whereby languages are seen as symbolic capitals and powers. In such a symbolic marketplace metaphor, some languages and their native speakers have more capitals than others to gain profits, whereas other speakers are aware of their speech as inferior, thereby the native speakers of low 'capital' languages are marginalized. Thus, one is marginalized during the process to learn a more prestigious standard language which is not his or her native language (L1).

Second, there are difficulties (phonological-, vocabulary- and grammatical difficulties) facing learners in any foreign/second language learning, from a theoretical point of view of contrastive linguistics (see Aarts, 1982; Di Petro, 1978; James, 1992 for fuller accounts) and second language acquisition (see Ellis, 1997). That is to say, errors that have been made in L2 by L2 learners are often resulted from distinctly different structures of L1 and L2.

Third, the equal access to learn global-, prestigious-, standard- and regionally hegemonic languages is limited to elites and the mainstream, but is unfortunately not always accessible to the marginalized individuals and groups (own fieldwork, 2010-2015; Thumawongsa, 2011).

To tackle the aforementioned issues in language learning the minority is facing, the ELL campaign and field of study have evolved into its present form by pro-ELLers taking their leadership role and commitment in supporting the mission of ELL in Thailand and elsewhere.

Marginalized Language Users

Marginalized language users are the case in point. Among marginalized population around the world, some are first language speakers of local and regional (aboriginal) minority languages (henceforth LM or RM languages). Moreover, this paper refers to these non-national languages (stemming from abroad, some of which enjoy national state language status in foreign countries) as immigrant minority languages (henceforth IM languages). The term of IM is borrowed from Extra and Yagmur (2011, p. 1173). In addition to all of this, the study refers to marginalized socio-economic minorities who speak dominant language variants as their first language as dominant-language-speaking minorities (DM).

TABLE II.
CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGE USERS

<i>Five sub-groups</i>	<i>'Language user' individuals and groups</i>
DM1	Dominant-Language-Speaking Majority
DM2	Dominant-Language-Speaking Minority
LM/RM	Local/Indigenous (or Regional) Minority
EM	(Century-old Immigrant) Ethnic Minority
IM	(New/Recent) Immigrant Minority

Sources: Cook (2009); Extra and Yagmur (2011)

B. The Languages Quadrant

LANGUAGES or the LANGUAGES model (exemplified as a mnemonic) or the LANGUAGES quadrant is not a different set of conceptual and methodological toolkit, but a conceptual companion to the magnet of trend's model (figure 1). It is another attempt by pro-ELLers to articulate what it is meant to broaden one's repertoires by operating among and across numerous quadrants. In this model, a language user achieves more economic and social benefits in s/he is operating (learning and using languages) out of more number of quadrants. This framework is what pro-ELLers opt for a conceptual model, as well as an activity model for the LANGUAGES quadrant, constructed in the present study. It is also a device to facilitate the recognition and labeling of macro-level forces and ideologies that govern and operate language contact, language choice and language use (practice), among others. The acronym, L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E-S, is developed with letters in each quadrant to represent (L for) localization [and indigenization], (A1 for) Americanization, (N for) nationalism [and standardization], (G1 for) globalization, (U for) urbanization [and cosmopolitanism], (A2 for) assimilation, (G2 for) geographically hegemonic (or powerful) languages, (E for) Englishization, (S for) separatism [insurgency or terrorism]) under which language users are categorized within nine quadrants.

Different Quadrants, Different LLLU Groups

Sociolinguistically, one may operate out of one or more quadrants simultaneously or sequentially. Rather than discussing every quadrant in great details, I instantiate the L-quadrant and A2-quadrant speakers in the following:

L-Quadrant and A1-Quadrant Speakers

A speaker who is under the influence of localization (see figure 1) and operates linguistic communications in the L (localization) quadrant and the A2 (assimilation/integration) (see figure 2) is tied to a relatively stable and resident speech community, in which they live relatively autonomous, un-mobilized and un-globalized lives. Despite the fact that they are the most, if not fully, assimilated and integrated language users defined by the host population and their local L1 speech communities, they have little or no access to global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second language languages to the pursuit of upper social mobility. A language user operating out of the L (localization) quadrant and the A2 (assimilation/integration) might be little aware of that s/he speaks some indigenized varieties of global languages by incorporating code-switch/mix and truncated words (Blommaert, 2010) in a relatively monolingual speech, emphasizing that these un-local words are subjected to local speech styles and pragmatic norms. There is another notion of localization of language: “Localization is a self-expression and, at the same time, a response to the macro-level sociopolitical forces” such as globalization and nationalism (Lee, 2015).

A common theoretical and methodological approach to localization (see L quadrant in figure 2) of language and linguistic assimilation (see A2 in figure 2) highlight geographical variations (local variants and local practices) and consider language spread as a flow of unified linguistic-and-communicative systems and styles adapting to a new neighborhood in spatial and temporal levels. Some related interest in regards to L-quadrant and A2-quadrant speakers, as defined in the present research, are works of Pennycook’s (2010) *Language as a Local Practice – language as a situated social act* (see Pennycook and Makoni, 2006) and sociolinguists who principally deal with stratified language contact (Labov, 1972), static variation, local distributions of varieties, creoles and pidgins. The paper favors the view proposed by Pennycook (2010) that language is seen as a situated social act, but contests against the view that languages are simultaneously operated in both macro (global) and micro (local) level. The paper argues the view in favor of focus on language use (practice), at times, in micro (local) levels (local codes and rules prevail) without an involvement in macro (global) levels. In this view, languages, in spite of being ‘mobile resources’ (Blommaert, 2010), are likely distributed and spread in a micro (local) level within bounded speech communities where speakers enjoy higher degrees of autonomy. Let me instantiate a particular case in a rural village of Thailand where two central-Thai speaking interlocutors deploy local code, genre, register, and speech style, in the discussion of ‘how to get a papaya out of a papaya tree by means of a locally invented tool’ without a sense of operating out of the G1-quadrant (globalization of the English language) and U-quadrant (urbanization of city language) (own fieldwork, 2013).

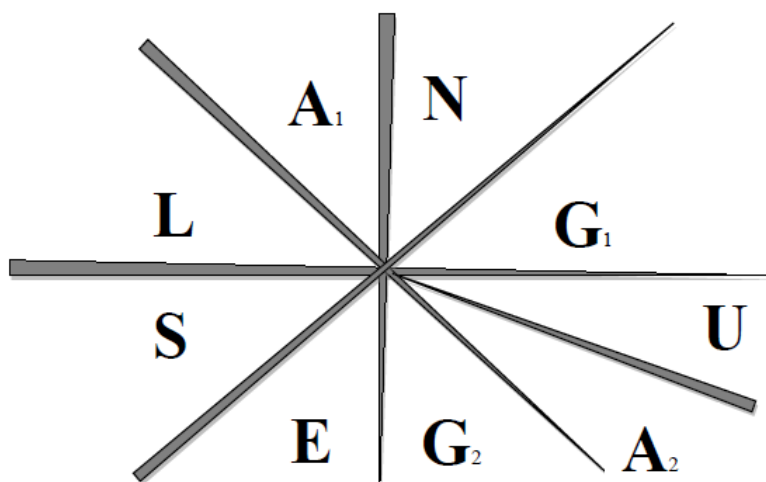


Figure 2. The LANGUAGES quadrant (L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E-S Mnemonic)

C. Informal (Language) Learning

Besides sketching the two parallel models (figure 1 and 2) in the preceding sub-section and in what follows, the paper shall highlight another prominent (albeit often neglected) view of education/learning – informal (language) learning. The ELL campaign invites individual language learners to broaden their language repertoires from their situated quadrant (figure 2) to occupy more quadrants by creating target language exposure and learning resources. I intend to take my observations (of informal language learning where service-industry workers learned English from foreign customers in their workplace) further to account for possibilities of increasing the number of quadrants, illustrated in The LANGUAGES Quadrant (figure 2). The point of view in question is articulated below by Blommaert (Blommaert and Velghe, 2012, p.1, also cited in Velghe and Blommaert, 2014, p. 89):

Learning processes of languages develop in a variety of learning environments and through a variety of learning modes, ranging from regimented and uniform learning modes charactering schools and other formal learning environments, to fleeting and ephemeral encounters with language in informal learning environments.

As stated earlier at the outset of formulating the two correspondent theoretical frameworks (figure 1 and 2) that individuals' linguistic communication, language learning, language use (practice) and language contact revolve around one or more macro-level forces (figure 1), as well as operate out of one or more quadrants (figure 2), where their flows and movements do not occur in an arbitrary manner but are processed and organized metaphorically by magnets (figure 1) and quadrants (figure 2). One of the major contributions of informal (language) learning is to expand individuals' language repertoire by creating availability and accessibility for minorities who have little or no access to receive formal language education.

V. METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methods were chosen for this study as a suitable method given a smaller number of individual case studies (not all 200 participants provided rich data) and the need for detailed descriptions from case studies.

A. Research Questions

Aligned with the ELL movement, there was a great temptation to search for answers to the research questions as I chose to position myself in the step 1 (capacity analysis) of the ELL steps.

RQ1: What approaches to language-learning-and-language-use (LLLU) were deployed by dominant-language-speaking minority (DM) language users to contribute to their foreign/second language learning, thus boarding their language repertoires (operating out of more quadrants)?

RQ2: What learning resources and learning process of global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages participants were engaged in formal or informal learning environments?

It should be noted that the second research question asked participants to reflect on the utilization of varied resources (on line or off line; receptive linguistic input or productive linguistic out; structured or unstructured learning activities) to foster language learning (both in- and out-of-class).

B. The Site and the Sample

The paper considered how to achieve comparable language data and decides that participants recruited should not be excessively discrepant among themselves to ensure comparability with regard to their first and dominant language, and foreign/second language learning. With the comparability in mind, the study confirmed that all multiple sites under study were located within the Bangkok City and all participants were defined as the DM language users and they shared fairly similar language repertoires (Standard Thai is their first/L1 and dominant language), except for the majority of bargirls who were native of Northeastern Thailand (type I minority) and a number of massage therapists who were native of Northern Thailand (type I minority).

The Bangkok City, home to more than 10 million DM language users, provided a case study on the ELL. A number of journeys to Bangkok's four districts, one market, two monuments and three roads were made to locate, recruit and connect with participants. It should be noted that these sites were selected mainly because they were accessible to me as I regularly visited them in daily routines. Two different data-sets were created. The 65 participants (first data-set) of barbers, bargirls, hair salon stylists, massage therapists, street child/teen labors and street prostitutes were chosen on the basis of my personal networks. Second data-set were gathered from the rest of 135 participants (e.g., taxi drivers).

TABLE III.
THE FIELD AND PARTICIPANTS

<i>Multiple Sites (Within Bangkok)</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Number of Participants (N=200 from two different data-sets)</i>
Asoke District	Barbers (Minority 2 & 4)	(n=10)
Bangkabi District	Hair Salon Stylists	(n=10)
Huamak District	(Minority 2 & 4)	
Phayathai District	(Issan) Bargirls	(n=20)
Khaosan Road	(Minority1 & 2 & 4)	
Ladprao Road	Bus Fare Collectors	(n=20)
Rachawa Road	(Minority 2 & 4)	
Tewet Market	Massage Therapists	(n=20)
Democracy Monument	(Minority1 & 2 & 4)	
Victory Monument	Restaurant Waiters and Waitress	(n=20)
	(Minority 2 & 4)	
	Taxi Drivers (Minority 2 & 4)	(n=28)
	Three-wheel Motorcycle	(n=5)
	Drivers (Minority 2 & 4)	
	Maids and Cleaners	(n=2)
	(Minority 2 & 4)	
	Motorcycle Taxi Drivers	(n=20)
	Street Vendors (Minority 2 & 4)	(n=20)
	Street Child/Teen Labors	(n=5)
	(Minority2 & 3 & 4)	
	Street (Adult) Prostitutes	(n=20)
	(Minority 2 & 4)	

Note. Please see Table 1 for references of types of minority, defined in the present study context.

C. Data Collection and Analysis

Informed by the two parallel theoretical frames (figure 1 and 2), the study also adopted an approach to data which combined and coordinated field methods and perspectives derived from traditions of ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2010; Schilling, 2013), educational linguistics (Hornberger, 1989, 2002, 2003, 2004), language education/learning. More specifically, this research adopted the qualitative approach in data gathering and data analysis (Merriam, 2009), due to the fact that the study did not obtain a large sample size and it will not be statistically representative and the results will not be generalizable to the target population of millions of Thai working class in the service industry and in the labor market as a whole. Empirical data on language and linguistic communication in its social context were at the core of the study. Thus, interviews and observations of authentic conversations were documented and transcribed. The data were collected with the assistance of a field-site translator, a native speaker of Standard Thai and a fluent speaker of English (certified as an advanced English speaker by the Intensive English Program, Indiana University, in August 2005).

The primary data for this study was taken from in-depth and face-to-face interviews, complemented by field observations, with an emphasis on methods in spoken language research (not multimodal and literate research). Interview is by far one of the most common types of qualitative research method and it is most likely the primary measuring instrument for the present study. The study included face-to-face semi-structured interviews with about 200 participants. The participants interviewed were aged between 15 to 65 years old. Interviews were held in their respective workplaces and residences, and lasts between 20 minutes to 1 hour. Furthermore, the data for the pilot study had been collected during a number of ongoing fieldwork periods in multi-sited communities and districts (inaugurating in August 2014). Instead of asking participants to provide concise information on particular language-use (practice) and language learning questions, interview questions were kept brief, and interviewees (participants) were encouraged to talk at length about topics of interest to them (Schilling, 2013, p. 7).

Field observations were made for participants conversing in a foreign or second language (e.g., Chinese or English) with one or more interlocutors. Besides the collection of interview data and notes from field visits (observations), important bodies of applied-, educational- and sociolinguistic literature (with a focus on language education/learning) (Blommaert and Velghe, 2012; Velghe and Blommaert, 2014) were also consulted.

There were multiple ways to measure the vocabulary knowledge, oral language proficiency, grammar awareness and reading comprehension/skills in English of participants. They were the informal oral test administered by me (author has lived in the US for in-and-out 10 years), interactions with me that required them to produce English (e.g., send a text message to my mobile phone in English) and their self-report on English language proficiency.

Analyzing LLLU patterns of the DM language users in Thailand was a challenge, due to paucity of reliable data drawn upon representative samples by previous studies. As far as the data analysis was concerned, the interview questions elicited the following data to provide answers for the research questions: (a) demographic information (secondary interview question), (b) the first/L1 and dominant language of the participants (secondary interview question), and (c) what learning resources and learning process of global-, prestigious-, standard-, foreign- and second languages participants were engaged in formal or informal learning environments (primary interview question that aimed to elicit the desired data to answer the research questions).

Broad content analysis conventions were deployed to interpret interview data and field notes derived from observations, aimed at combining both emic and etic (interactional) data. Triangulation (of interview data, field-notes derived from observations and literature), member-checks with participants and peer (referee) review by colleagues were measures adopted to ensure the validity of the study.

VI. FINDINGS

A. Overview of Results

The first research question investigated what approaches deployed by the DM language users that contributed to their learning of English (and other foreign/second languages). The results revealed that the globalization of English and the regionalization of East-Asian languages motivated participants to learn English and/or Chinese and/or Japanese. Moreover, formal classroom language instruction and informal interactions with English-speaking customers were two language resources utilized by the DM language users to develop their language abilities. As for what approaches deployed by the DM language users to foster their language learning, some participants reported that their physical attractiveness (e.g., the makeup they put on their face and/or the costume and dress they were wearing) determined their opportunities for interactions with English-speaking foreign customers. They also actively greeted customers by speaking simple English words and/or phrases, aimed to increase the interactions with them. As for what strategies were adopted when communicating with English-speaking foreign customers, some reported that they spoke some keywords in English sentences during their conversations. However, some relied heavily on senior Thai workers to translate from English to Thai and from Thai to English when needed for the effective communication with customers.

The second research question investigated what learning resources and process were utilized when engaged in formal or informal language learning environments. The data revealed that language learning was more effective in informal learning environments whereby the English-speaking (and foreign/second language-speaking) customers played the role

as informal tutors. On the one hand, informal tutors functioned as linguistic input providers – the DM language users received exposure to English and/or Chinese and/or Japanese. On the other hand, it was commonplace for the DM language users to repeat what their customers said and memorized the utterances of English and/or Chinese and/or Japanese from their customers.

B. Globalization of English

Not surprisingly, a recent movement in the acquisition, learning and development of the English language among participants (service-industry workers) studied had been to shift away from learning English in favor of an interest in how to best speak, read and write it toward an interest in how to utilize it as a mere additional language for workplace only. For most participants studied and defined as type IV minority (table 1), the utilization of English as the language to operate out of the G-quadrant (Thailand's globalized tourism industry has been largely overlapping with its service industry) was a major obstacle. Thai bargirls and massage therapists were not alone in having informal tutoring from their foreign customers to improve their English oral proficiency. Likewise, taxi drivers, catered for FDIs, expatriates and tourists, as well as restaurant waiters and waitress working in restaurants catered for foreign customers, were jumping on the same band wagon.

I shall return to this salient finding in the proceeding section. And yet, I distinguished among three DM groups with respect to vocabulary knowledge, grammar awareness, oral proficiency and reading comprehension in English: (1) limited bilinguals (predominantly Thai with little English), (2) fluent bilinguals (despite speak Thai dominantly, English was fluent to function) and (3) Thai-dominant groups (predominantly Thai with nearly zero English). However, only fluent bilinguals among Thai service-industry workers contributed to fostering the acquisition, learning and development of English, gaining more economic and social benefits than their counterparts. In other words, limited bilinguals and Thai-dominant DM language users were not operating out of the G-quadrant (see figure 2 for globalization of English quadrant), but were operating out of the L- (localization of vernaculars such as Isaan (Northeastern Thai) and Kammuan (Northern Thai)), N- (nationalism of state language such as Standard Thai) and A2- (assimilation in L1 speech community) quadrants simultaneously.

C. Localization of Dialects, Nationalism of State Language, Urbanization of City Language

In this paper, the term first language (L1) was adopted to refer to the language DM language users were exposed to from birth and was used continuously at home. They were viewed as to be successful in the L quadrant (localization of dialects and vernaculars) as master of local language. For participants who were trans- regional migrants from provincial Thailand to the Bangkok City, their L1 was their regional vernacular. However, the majority of these trans-regional DM migrants experienced simultaneous acquisition and learning of L1 (regional vernaculars) and L2 (standard Thai) before learning the L3 (mostly, English). Thus, they achieved success in the A2- (assimilation in L1 speech community), L- (localization) and N- (nationalism of state language – Standard Thai) quadrants. By contrast, participants who have their origin in the Bangkok City or Central Thailand reported that they were monolingual Standard Thai speakers before learning English at schools and their second language (L2) was referred to English.

D. Regionalization of East-Asian Languages

A number of bargirls showed their growing interest to learn Japanese, because there was a growing number of Japanese business men and Japanese tourists to visit their bars. It was also because of that Japanese was a geopolitically powerful language (see regionalization in figure 1 for explanations) and Japan was the home country for a large number of FDIs in Thailand. Some bargirls and transgender bargirls also reported to learn Chinese as they worked in Hong Kong and/or Singapore and/or Taiwan. However, Korean language was least favored by these DM language users compared to Chinese and Japanese.

E. Two Themes

Although there were differences in LLLU practices, two main categories of approaches were identified across 200 participants. We looked at three different case studies of informal (English) learning to illustrate the two themes.

Theme 1- formal educational experiences

Fang's case – the massage therapist

In the first case study of the massage therapist Fang (pseudonym), a type I (Northern Thai native) and type II (lower socio-economic status) minority (see table 1), we saw how educational background provided a good basis for her acquisition, learning and development of the English language in informal educational settings. Fang, a middle-age Northern Thai woman from Chiang Rai who spoke Kammuang as her L1 and Standard Thai as her L2, although she simultaneously acquired and learned both L1 and L2 at home and in school. English has become her L3 as a consequence of her formal education (she did well in her English subject at school and undergraduate program) and informal learning with foreign customers. Besides learning English in her formal educational settings, Fang also loved to practice English with foreign customers. She was considered a fluent bilingual (Thai-dominant with English to function). However, tens of thousands of Thai massage therapists were facing obstacles in their L2 and L3 learning as type IV minority defined in the present study (table 1). Fluent English-speaking Thai massage therapists, like Fang, were very rare.

Fang worked at a Bangkok massage parlor where female massage therapists sit behind a glass partition to allow male customers to look at them before a selection was made. Fang's massage parlor was catered primarily for Thai-speaking male customers. Thus, she did not need to learn a L3 in her full-time workplace. However, her English-speaking ability enabled her to take part-time jobs as a freelancer to provide massage service in hotels for a number of foreign nationals including Japanese, Hong Kong, Taiwanese and Singaporean men.

Kaew's case – the waitress and bargirl in a bar restaurant

In a contrast, Kaew (pseudonym), a 24-year-old Issan L1 (type I minority as a Northeastern native) and Standard Thai L2-speaking bargirl of Bangkok (type II minority as in lower socio-economic status), was seen as a limited bilingual (Thai-dominant with little or no English speaking ability, but had become English-literate as a result of formal education), hereby she was also regarded as a type IV minority (facing obstacles in L2 and L3 learning). During her years of formal schooling (she was an undergraduate student who studied in a special weekend program at a community university), she had acquired English vocabulary knowledge and English reading comprehension (she was able to send a text message in English to my (author's) mobile phone), while her English speaking ability was surprisingly limited as a university student. According to Kaew, she learned how to read and write English from her schools, but cannot function in English oral communication. As a limited bilingual, she cannot access to the higher-end English-speaking service sector. Although she was English-literate (she was evidently being able to send a text message in acceptable English as well as non-standard English), Kaew only utilized her Thai L1 to work in a predominantly Thai-speaking bar, catered for Thai-speaking customers.

Also, when comparing Fang's case with Kaew's case, it was not difficult to see that fluent bilingual (Thai-dominant with good English oral proficiency to function) led to success to across from L and N quadrants (localization of vernacular and nationalism of state language) to G quadrant (globalization of English). However, reading comprehension in English made almost no difference in what quadrants (figure 2) these participants operated.

When comparing the quantity and quality of English instructions provided in Fang's and Kaew's undergraduate programs, Fang's relatively higher socio-economic status determined her access to more opportunities and resources than Kaew's. In other words, Fang's relatively higher financial standing was the underlying reason for her success in English. As a financially stable undergraduate student, Fang completed her studies within four years without interruption, during which she accessed to educational resources to learn English. Although they both were considered in lower social standing, Kaew's relatively lower income placed her in a disadvantaged position as she cannot continue to study from time to time. For instance, Kaew dropped out from her undergraduate program years ago and worked in Cambodia as a waitress in a casino before she took on the job as a waitress in the bar restaurant. Kaew was in need to work in the bar restaurant during weekdays, in order to pay for her undergraduate program in the weekend. As a result, Kaew did not concentrate on the learning of English because she focused on earning income.

Liang's case – the street teen labor and sex worker

Liang, a L1 speaker of the Standard Thai and did not speak any regional vernaculars, was defined as a type II minority (lower socio-economic status) and type III minority (out-of-school teen) in the present study (see table 1). Although she was also seen as a type IV minority, her inability to function in English was not seemed to be a major obstacle for her work as she claimed. I interviewed Liang (pseudonym) on the street where she worked as a street teen prostitute (she had changed her national identification cards (ID) multiple times and even the Thai police cannot verify if the information about her age in her ID was valid). When Liang wanted to speak English to foreign customers and did not know how to say English vocabulary, she claimed that it was because of the fact that she was never being able to complete any degrees in formal educational settings. She told me that she never completed her primary school and I doubt if she attended any classes at school. More than one occasion, Liang told me that she equated her failure in speaking English to her never-completed formal education. According to Liang, her prior schooling experiences were inseparable from her lower confidence to say a few words in English.

Liang also made a special case study. Although her operation was only out of A2-, L- and N- quadrants (assimilation in her L1 speech community, localization and nationalism of state language), she might have more interactions with foreign customers than other two aforementioned cases in the G quadrant (globalization of English). She explained that the overwhelming majority of her foreign customers were not sex tourists, but long-term FDI residents and they acquired the Thai language, hereby they spoke Thai to her.

Theme 2- the pattern of English-for-customer (EFC) and/or English-as-an-additional-language-for-work (EALW)

In the meantime, a large majority of participants revealed that their English-speaking interlocutors (customers and/or tourists) were functioned as their informal tutors (teachers). Although these English-speaking customers expected service provided by Thai service-industry workers (instead of teaching English), their speaking of English provided the needed linguistic inputs for these workers. As the study suggested that of all the components involved in one's learning of foreign/second languages, teachers played a crucial role on learner's success or failure. Data also demonstrated that informal tutors' qualification exerted a powerful influence on participants' learning of English and foreign/second languages. It should not be surprised that much data thus far have shown that informal (language) learning environments (e.g., streets and workplaces including bars and massage parlors) were more effective (to acquire spoken fluency) than (language) learning in formal educational settings, claimed by participants in the present study.

As observed from the current practices in Thailand, one of the most important features of the LLLU practices among Thailand's service industry workers was that English was seen as an additional language, termed English-as-an-additional-language-for-work (EALW). That is to say, English was primarily adopted in the workplace. The utilization of English did not go across a number of language domains such as family, government and public places. In other words, oral language proficiency in English was only required at the level of transmitting information by Thai service-industry workers to communicate with their foreign customers. This phenomenon was termed English-for-customer (EFC) in the present study. Nonetheless, it was also true that English as a foreign and second language learners generally saw a need to master more than 800 English vocabulary, in order to function in everyday conversation. This was not viewed as a serious problem facing participants in the present study, because they claimed that they rarely talked to foreign customers more than their job-related affairs. For instance, it was commonplace that Thai taxi drivers, catered for foreign tourists, needed to have knowledge of basic English vocabulary related to places their foreign passengers planned to go (e.g., hotels, department stores and sky train stations) and being able to say numbers in English (the underlying assumption was that these Thai taxi drivers were able to negotiate the price of the transportation fares).

Across 200 participants researched (regardless of their service sectors catered for Thais or foreigners or both), the majority of them was viewed as limited bilinguals (Thai-dominant speakers with little vocabulary knowledge, grammar awareness and oral proficiency in English, but some had reached a good level of reading comprehension) and Thai-dominant (with nearly no English proficiency) groups as type IV minority (facing major obstacles in L2 and L3 learning). They were successful in the L and N quadrants (see figure 2), operating out of localization of vernacular and nationalism of the state language (Standard Thai). Only a few number of Thai bargirls were seen as fluent bilinguals (who can function in English lexical and syntactic levels although they demonstrated worse grammar awareness of Standard English). Many Thai bargirls were operating out of the A2-, L- and N-quadrants (see figure 2) because their bars were catered for Thai men. However, some Thai bargirls had changed their quadrants from A2, L and N to G (globalization of English) working in bars catered for foreign customers (see figure 2), because changing quadrants were a big boost of their income.

VII. CONCLUSION

The data gathered for this pilot study provided insights into the fact that, on the one hand, individuals' educational background provided a basis for him or her to further development in his or her L3 (English) as evidenced in the case of Fang. On the other hand, the optimistic perspective of the realization of the ELL movement was challenged by the pessimistic case such as Liang's story. That is, a failure in prior formal education also resulted in less confidence to learn a L2 or L3 (English) as seen in Liang's case.

As mentioned earlier, informal tutoring by interlocutors (foreign customers) in informal educational settings resulted in expansion of language repertoires and the increase of the number of quadrants (figure 2) among the DM language users. Educational implications of these results were discussed herein. As noted above, we had seen evidence from participants that the English-speaking foreign customers were instrumental in their acquisition, learning and development of English as L3. Thus far I have not seen other studies that have questioned the advantageous effects of customers functioned as informal English tutors for service-industry workers in a developing country.

The informal learning from exposures to English-speaking foreign customers should not be the only available resource for English among Thai workers in the service industry. In the long term, formal educational experiences also played a key role for further development of English among a few number of fluent bilingual participants studied. Thus, better resources and possibilities were needed to fostering acquisition, learning and development of the English language for type I (those who were not seen as ethnic majority), type II (lower socio-economic status), type III (out-of-school street child/teen workers) and type IV (those who faced major obstacles in L2 and L3 learning) minorities (see table 1) in Thailand and other developing countries.

Our research team, enacting as pro-ELLers, concluded this paper with implications and suggestions for educational policy, planning and programing, corporate training courses for service industry employees and development agency. With regard to recommendations for the improvement of vocabulary knowledge, oral proficiency and literacy/reading comprehension in English among service-industry workers in the developing countries (where English is not the first language), the pro-ELLers of this paper proposed that a combined effort of educational background and EFC/EALW should be at the core of development planning and implementation. Specially, this paper considered formal educational experiences to have a long-term impact on service-industry workers' vocabulary knowledge, oral language proficiency and literacy/reading comprehension in English, by which they were enabled to operate out of more quadrants (figure 2) as a means to gain more economic and social benefits. Although many challenges were inherent, the educational sector and service-industry sector should envision and implement educational programs and corporate training courses with an emphasis on basic vocabulary knowledge, some levels of grammar awareness and oral proficiency in English needed to function as EFC and EALW for service-industry workers who spoke Thai as L1/dominant language. These educational policies, programming and corporate trainings, many of which aimed to realize ELL (particularly, equity in English language learning) for service-industry workers defined as type I and type II minority (table 1), opened up new possibility for them to operate out of more quadrants (figure 2) as a means of expanding language repertoires.

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