Return to Locality: Making a Community and Its Members

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1. Introduction

"Community, we feel, is always a good thing," says Zygmunt Bauman (2001: 1). People are more concerned with community as they witness more social problems. They are eager to organize community actions and collective resistance to social problems. Community can be also seen as something that has been lost with modernity and as something that must be recovered. At the same time, community as a discourse of loss and recovery can be utopian and nostalgic (Delanty, 2003: 10-11).

However, community is not something we can easily obtain as we would like to believe. Bauman is especially critical of "myth" of community.

> We miss community because we miss security, a quality crucial to a happy life, but one which the world we inhabit is ever less able to offer and ever more reluctant to promise. But community remains stubbornly missing, eludes our grasp or keeps falling apart, because the way in which this world prompts us to go about fulfilling our dreams of a secure life does not bring us closer to their fulfillment; instead of being mitigated, our insecurity grows as we go, and so we go on dreaming, trying, and failing. (Bauman, 2001: 144)

Are we really failing? Is community nowadays another name for "paradise lost" (Bauman, 2001: 3) ? I would like to examine one case study in the State of Michigan, U.S.A., to explore strategies of making a community and its members.

To begin with, I would like to have a look at various definitions of the term "community." The term "community" is one of the most elusive and vague in social sciences. The concept is also one of the most difficult and controversial in modern society.

For example, Peter Worsley (1987) suggests three broad meanings can be identified within sociological literature, despite the difficulties involved in theorizing about community. The first is "community as locality." His interpretation of the term is close to its geographical meaning of a "human settlement within a fixed and bounded local territory." The second is "network of interrelationships." The third is "a particular type of social relationship, one that possesses certain qualities." It infers the existence of a community spirit or community feeling.

In Worsley's definitions, the difference between his second and the third usages are still vague. It seems

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that more popular, and more simple, interpretation of the term stresses two aspects of community. That defines community as social relationship that takes place within geographically defined areas and relationships that are not locally operative but exist at a more abstract, ideological level. There are several different dichotomous definitions of community; descriptive/prescriptive, real/symbolic, or territorial/non-territorial. The former refers to a group sharing a defined physical space or geographical area such as a neighborhood, city, village, and so on. The latter means a group sharing common traits, a sense of belonging and/or maintaining social ties and interactions which shape it in to a distinctive social entity, such as ethnic, religious, and professional communities.

In recent years, the tern community has been especially used to express sense of identity or sense of belonging. It can relate to certain geographical areas, however, it is often non-territorial. As globalization and/or modern technology develop, even new types of communities, such as "postmodern community," or "virtual community," have been emerging (Delanty, 2003). What people are seeking there is not necessarily territorial, but rather spiritual, or "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991).

Community can provide sense of belonging. This is one of the major reasons why people dearly hope to return to community in today's insecure world in the times of globalization. However, it seems that community does not seem to have enough power to resist the force of globalization. In many cases, alternative form of community today is no more than illusionary that is based on "communal paradise" (Delanty, 2003). Where is locality then? How do we need to reconsider the role of locality to examine community today? I would like to explore one case study in this paper.

2. Background

An English as a Second Language (ESL) program which will be studied in this paper is a part of Haslett Community Education of Haslett Public Schools, Michigan, U.S.A. The brochure of Haslett Community Education says,

> Haslett Community Education provides quality academic, recreational and leisure-time programs and services for all ages, from young children to senior citizens. By making use of the entire community, its facilities and human resources, Haslett Community Education strives to meet the ever-changing needs of the residents. We encourage citizen participation to build a sense of ownership of schools by involving many residents in year-round school program and activities. Opportunities are designed to enrich and improve the quality of life in our community. ("Community Education")

As expressed in this brochure, they provide variety of programs to its local residents. Their programs are "Kids Connection program," "Senior citizens program," "College Extension program," "Aquatics program," "Recreation program" and "Adult Education program." Adult education program has several programs, such as "Adult High School Completion" and "Vocational Education." The ESL program which will be discussed here belongs to this Adult Education program.

The general aim of this system, Community Education, is to serve the local community. Their brochure says, "YOUR SCHOOLS SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY!" in bold letters ("Community Education").

The aim of the ESL program is also serving the community and adult education.

As for the ESL program itself, it is founded in the University Methodist Church in Michigan in 1978. Although being located in the church, the program does not have any relations with the church. They are paying rent to the church for the place. It is also located just next to the local university's apartment houses. Therefore, they can target the international students of this university.

As for the funding, they receive funding from the State of Michigan and the Federal Government. Because of these public supports, students can take this course free of charge. For a student who does not possess a high school diploma, the program is subsidized $4,200 and for a student who already has a high school diploma, the program receives $150. There is no public fund in summer, therefore, students who take this ESL course in summer have to pay $65 for a three-week program.

Since this program belongs to a public school system, anyone can register this program. In other words, the program must accept any local resident who wish to study English.

As for the student body, they have variety of backgrounds, such as refugees, immigrants, spouses of students and citizens, from all over the world. The majority of them are Asian housewives of the students of this local university.

The program has four levels of courses, from level I to level IV. As the number of the students of level IV is small, they are integrated into the level III.

As for the class hours, they have "the convenience of morning, afternoon and evening classes to fit into your schedule." ("ESL") For the convenience, child care is also provided "at a nominal cost."

The teachers are all female Caucasians, including the coordinator. According to the coordinator, you have to have a Michigan Teaching Certificate, either elementary level or secondary level, in order to be an ESL teacher here. Some states, such as California and Texas, even set up a special certificate to teach ESL, but there is not such condition in Michigan yet. All of the teachers of this program have had teaching or training experiences abroad. For example, Ms. M, the coordinator, received her ESL training in the International House in the United Kingdom. Ms. K, one of two teachers whom I observed, has taught English in the Philippines and Ms. I, the other teacher, was trained in Canada.

3. Observations

(1) The observation of the impact of the class to the students

Beginning to wonder about the structure of the program and how it can be studied, I had another discovery. It was "the students were not only studying English as a language, but also learning this society." One day they were using a newspaper article which reported about the local city council's decision about health insurance policy. This issue was "whether or not partners of city workers should get benefits of the medical insurance, even if they are not married, in this city." I found this issue included a lot of aspects of this society which the students needed to know. By using this material, they could learn political system, insurance system, family values as well as the language itself.

"How can I study impacts of the class on the students?" I started to focus more on the teachers influence to the students. There were several aspects which I needed to pay attention. One of them was the teachers' vocabularies. Through the interpretation of the teachers' words, I found the teachers were trying to connect

even a simple matter to something American. For example, for the word "strike" the teacher referred baseball and for "saddle" the teacher mentioned about a cowboy.

The topic of a class itself which the teacher used was another issue I paid attention. It was often about this society, either local or national. The above mentioned example of a health insurance issue was a good example. Holidays and events, such as the Presidential election, were also used in the class. I wrote down the teachers' words in explaining the issues and tried to interpret them to analyze what the teachers were really trying to teach to the students by using these topics and words. Since this interpretation was done in very subjective manner, it might contain my biases. I did not pay as much attention to the teachers' gestures as I did to their words. Although I still believed that words had more meanings than gestures, gestures could have been compensating what words did not tell.

I tried to observe the students' reactions to the teachers' words and the topics. Studying the teachers' words was not enough. It was necessary to examine how they were accepted by the students. To some of the topics which were really interesting to them, such as "diaper" discussion, the students showed very lively reactions. However, they often did not show many reactions the teachers when the topics were not very American. I do not think the observation of the students' reaction was as effective as I had expected. In order to study what the students thought about the topics, it might have been better to change the strategy, for example, to have more interviews with the students from earlier stages.

(2) The study of the structure of the program

As I continue to observe the students' interaction among themselves and with the teachers' words, I was becoming more comfortable in observing them. My continuous presence at the site, although just once a week, made myself less stranger to them. (The teachers also said that my presence did not disturb the students at all. According to them, the class was very "normal" even when I was present.) The clearer picture of this institute was gradually coming to emerge, although it was still rather abstract.

I also began to feel the limitation of these methods which I had been using. Only observing the surface phenomena, it was very difficult to know what were really in their minds. Even basic issues, like "how this program is operated" and "what their relationship with the State is," were not able to be pursued only from the observation. In order to understand more about the structure of this program, I thought I needed another method, which would be interviews. Schatzman and Strauss argues,

> In the short-term study, we pay particular attention to the interview. It is a special mode of inquiry, particularly suited to the study of human beings, and quite necessary where the actions of people are either unfamiliar or very complex." (Schatzman, 1973: 77)

In the last stage of the project, I considered interviews very important in order to compensate what I had not been able to see in the observation.

I first did interviews to get a picture of broader structure of the program. In other words I did the interviews in "top-down" order, starting with the coordinator, then with the teachers, and finally with the students. I thought I first needed to understand broader framework before I start interviews with the students. I ended up with doing interviews with the coordinator, with two teachers, and finally with four students.

As for the interview with the coordinator, I did not think it was very difficult in terms of adjusting the schedule. She did not teach the class, therefore, her schedule was pretty flexible. She seemed to be very willing to be interviewed. We talked in her office. Before having the interview I prepared a memo, writing down issues which I was going to ask her, such as the general framework of this program, relation with the State and obligation, condition to be a student, student body, curriculum, and examination.

I discovered the more concrete structure which had been hidden before the interview. This interview showed me a lot of things which I had not found in the observation and it encouraged me to have more interviews with the teachers and the students. However, when I tried to analyze it, I realized I missed some information which was important, such as statistics of the student body. In the very moment of doing an interview I thought I was covering the issue well, however, later I realized I was not. It is very necessary to be well-prepared for an interview and I even thought it might be necessary even to ask extra things which might not be important to you at that point. You may find it useful later.

As for the interviews with the teachers, I did it during the class. They had other jobs after class, therefore, it was difficult to have interviews after class.

Ms. I, one of the teachers, was very talkative, rather outspoken. She even did not wait my questions and led the conversation at first. I tried not to interrupt her but kept listening, confirming the points of the topic from time to time. I think it was good strategy to pull out her honest idea. After she calmed down I started to take initiatives, asking more questions. At first, the researcher is "quiet honestly naive" and later "the researcher's questioning can be more aggressive" (Schatzman, 1973: 80-81).

Ms. K, the other teacher, was different. She said, "It's (the interview) gonna be just a few minutes, right?" I found she was not very willing to have an interview. Therefore, I thought I should not talk with her for a long time, and it was during the class hours. I asked her fundamental questions, i.e. questions about her philosophy about this program, at an early stage of this interview. She seemed to be formal. I think I should have asked her more "reportorial type of questions" first and ask more personal questions later when we increased "sophistication and interpersonal familiarity and comfort," in order to pull her real thought (Schatzman, 1973: 81).

Students were busy after class, too. I found many of them had to go back home for preparing suppers. Actually my requests of interview were refused twice by a Taiwanese student and a Cameroonian student by this reason, "cooking" which means preparation of supper for the family. I managed to conduct interviews with four students in the break time, during a pie-making demonstrations and with a student who was not in a hurry to go back home.

Having interviews with students was sometimes difficult because of the language problem. Their English was not as good as I had expected. There were misunderstandings and repetition of the same questions in different expressions to reach correct mutual understandings.

Before doing the interviews I was concerned if I could obtain their - the teachers' and the students' - real ideas. As for the "outspoken" teacher, I think I did, but as for the other teacher, I doubt it. Even if I changed the methods, I doubt if I could hear this teacher's honest opinion, unless I gain real trust from her. As for the students, I do not know if I pulled out their frank opinions. However, I do not think they are hiding something, because I was not a total stranger when I conduct the interviews with them and they even told me some criticisms about the program. If I had a longer period of time and could become closer to them, I could

get different responses.

4. Analysis

In this section, I would like to make three categories of analysis. They are (1) Philosophy of the program, (2) Teachers, and (3) Students. In "Philosophy" section, philosophy of the administration and the teachers to operate this program will be discussed. In "Teachers" section, roles of the teachers in this ESL program and their impacts on the students will be examined. In the last section, "Students," I would like to study what they were learning in this program and what they thought about the program.

(1) Philosophy

In the brochure "Community Education" Haslett Public Schools mentions their philosophy of operating the community education, following to the red and bold lettered sentence, "YOUR SCHOOLS SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY!"

The community Education philosophy is based on the following concepts:
* Learning is a lifelong process.
* School and community resources should be utilized to the utmost for the benefit of all residents.
* Community residents of all ages should be involved with the schools.
* Educational programs and facilities shall be the focus of the entire community.
* School should provide opportunities for everyone in the community that will enrich their lives.

It is very obvious that they are targeting the local community and trying to serve the community through education. Unlike normal schools they aim people of any age. Advocating education is simply important to everyone.

As for the philosophy of this ESL program, their philosophy is "serving to the community" and "adult education." What should be noted here is that "the community" also includes visitors and temporary residents as well. These two ideas can be the sum of the above philosophy of Community Education. Their aim is to be creation of a better community through education. In order to create a better community everyone in the community should be involved, regardless nationalities or origins.

The fact that these English courses were free of charge could tell you something. They even provide this education to "temporary residents" who would be back home after a couple of years. My questions were "why can they do that?" and "what will they gain in return?" In fact, I had been a little skeptical about their philosophy, although it was an admirable philosophy as an ideal. As the coordinator said, even if they are not citizens and would be back home even someday, "they are the members of this community as long as they are here." Therefore, in return for the "free education," they receive a good and secure community which is very important to them.

The reason why I had the above questions was I had a preconception of "the program is only giving something but receiving nothing." However, returning to their original philosophy, it can be said that they are also receiving important thing which is "maintaining a good community" or even "creation of a better

community." If such a lot of international people live in this community without any knowledge of English nor local rules of this society, it is not only their disadvantages to live here, but also native residents of this community must face social conflicts. In this sense they do gain something, which is a maintenance of a good community with less social conflicts, in return for offering free English lessons.

Since this course is free of charge to students, it costs the community. However, the costs probably deserve to maintain community's securer. They even had a billboard which said "FREE ENGLISH CLASS" outside of the church to recruit students. In the brochure "ESL," sentences such as "Free Classes" and "Refugees, immigrants and foreign students welcome!!!" are written down. Giving free education even to temporary residents and non-citizens is worthwhile to create better understandings among all the community members here. They are making efforts to make a better community. These are their costs and benefits.

As for the teachers, they do not necessarily share a common philosophy. Ms. I said she did not know what philosophy the state had on such language matters. She works there because she likes caring people and she wants to "open the door" for people. Although she did not seem to be caring philosophy very much and said "this is my personality," it seems that she also has her own philosophy. Her motivation seems to be a combination of their philosophy and personal interests.

Ms. K did not really tell me her philosophy. She mentioned foreigners need to know the language not to be intimidated in this society. This perspective is from foreigners' side, but it can be also interpreted "foreigners need to know the language to avoid making troubles here." This can be similar to the administration's philosophy. Although the teachers' ideas about this program are not necessarily identical with the administration's, they seem to share rather common ideas as well as their personal interests.

(2) Teachers

I observed two teachers, as I mentioned. I would like to discuss their roles in this institute here.

Ms. K has taught English in the Philippines and seems to have consciousness and concerns on global issues. In her classroom, there are a hanging picture of a Chinese woman, post cards from abroad and a world map made by the United Nations which is different from a regular map in terms of showing exact ratio of each country's land area. She also hangs a map of the United States and posters of Michigan's apples and birds. It can create both global and local atmosphere in the classroom.

Ms. K has been working in this program for eight years. Her teaching domain is politics, big news, events and holidays. She always starts her class with crossword puzzles and she often connects the words with something American in teaching new vocabularies. For example, "tackles" with football, "strike" with baseball and "antler" with hunting. In this manner the students can learn new vocabularies and American life-styles simultaneously.

She deals with holidays and events as well. For example, she taught about Halloween, spending quite a time. Knowing the detail of its legend would not be very necessary for students' everyday life here, however, it can make the events not a mere commercialism, but more meaningful one for the students. Although this kind of lesson usually deals with happy events, however, it can be a lesson of negative side of this society, such as Devil's Night in Detroit. It would be necessary to know the both sides of this society since the students are residents here. The lessons can be practical warning, too, such as "do not let children open the Halloween candies." This is a very practical information which these theses students should know.

In addition to these big topics she also dealt with everyday-type of topics, such as diaper, washing, kids' allowance, shopping and so on. These topics are as important as big national news for the students to live here.

Ms. K also stresses international issues. Teaching such diverse students, she believes that through the ESL program people can break prejudice among themselves, understanding each others' cultures. She knows there are conflicts even among students and referring to international issues, she is trying to create mutual understandings. The topics are not necessarily broad. It often is a comparison of something among different cultures, such as pronunciation of "Rome," family values, toilet training, diaper, and palm readings. These can be good examples to show that in order to understand different cultures, you do not have to be an anthropologist, but need to understand and to be tolerant of everyday-issues of different cultures.

Although doing this kind of work, Ms. K tends to express very personal opinions especially on political issues. She has put a political cartoon against President Bush by the blackboard for a long time.

As for the relationship with the administration, Ms. K said she did not have any problem. I do not know if she was hiding something, however, I only suspect that she was afraid to tell everything to me, an outsider.

Unlike Ms. K, Ms. I is different in terms of her role and ideas. Ms. I's teaching domains are grammar and reading, which she herself does not really enjoy. In grammar lessons I could clearly see that she did not like teaching it but had to do it. Ms. I tended just to read the textbook fast, using technical words, such as "simple past," "past perfect," and "past perfect progressive." Although some students think grammar lesson is good and very important, usually many of the students looked bored in the class.

Ms. I thinks the students need more practical lessons which would be useful in their daily life, rather than grammar, however, her proposal of changing the teaching styles was turned down by the administration and she seemed to have stopped challenging them.

In this sense she is very critical about the operation system of this program. She said it was "top-down management with no democracy." She even criticized her fellow teachers for their conservativeness. She was frustrated. She wanted to change the structure but had not been very successful. From the view of the administration side, it is very understandable that they need "security" of traditional-operation, which they had been "successful," to receive continuous public funds. This is a dilemma between the "improvement of the program" and "financial security." This dilemma shows us vulnerability of such programs in capitalism.

Ms. I is studying in a master's program in Adult Education at the local university. She wanted to be professional. I wondered how long she would be staying with this ESL program.

(3) Students

Although there were internal problems in this program, such as the conflict between a teacher and the administration, I found the students benefited from this program to a great extent. The most benefit to them, which the students really appreciate, was free cost of the lessons. This means a lot to them. If this program were not free of charge, many of them would not be able to receive such systematic English lessons here. And it could cause frustrations to them and misunderstandings among international and local American residents. The students do not seem to have many opportunities to get to know local American people.

The main purpose of the students to come to this program is to learn the language and it turns to be very useful in their daily life, such as in shopping and banking situations. As already mentioned, they were also

learning American culture and politics as well through the language lessons. They even make class trips, visiting local homes and having pie-making demonstrations to learn American culture. It seemed to be very helpful for them to understand this society. Language is important but would not be enough to be one of community members.

The more they know about American society, the more critical they can be about this society. A student from Cameroon was criticizing about food and the use of disposal diaper in America. One of Taiwanese students criticized that American food was not very healthy. These were their values which nobody could blame. The important issue here would be to know the facts of this society. To reject it or to accept it would be up to them.

The students also learn about other cultures from their fellow students. As Ms. K mentioned, it has a very important role to break barriers between students. It was a precious opportunity to be with such variety of people and each of them seemed to be representing their countries, being "private ambassadors." One of the Taiwanese students said, through this ESL program, she learned other cultures which her husband, who was a student of the local university, did not know.

The class is not only a place for studying, but for the students, it is a place for making friends and exchanging variety of useful information. For some of them, this purpose, making friends, could be even more important than learning the language. As a Bulgarian student and a Cameroonian student said, they, "housewives," do not have anything to do at home in a strange country. Making friends could be able to ease their tensions of being in a foreign country more than acquiring better English commands.

As foreigners and "housewives," they are having common problems and wish to share them with people. This information exchange is very practical to them, such as how to obtain working permit and how to make an appointment with a doctor. "You cannot learn these kinds of information at a university." In this sense this program is playing another important role for the students, although this purpose may not have been planned by the administration.

However, this program also has a negative side as well. I found some students were not fully satisfied with the level of the program because of its lack of rigor. The students who mentioned it wished to get academic degrees in this country someday. In order to pursue degrees, they said, this ESL program was not good enough. Even a student who did not plan to get a degree in this nation wished more rigorous lessons. On the other hand, they admitted that this was a good course for beginners.

The lack of rigor could be a creation by funding vulnerability of this program. If the program has its own abundant funding, they would be able to change the curriculum, buy more facilities and even train their own teachers. However, as this program was relying on public funds, it would have been difficult to do so.

If a student wants more rigorous program, they need to go to different program, probably paying much more, or they have to stay with this program. Since the purpose of this program is community service and this is free, it would be difficult to blame the lack of rigor.

In short, this program has very admirable philosophy and seems to be serving to this community very well in general. It gives good English and cultural lessons to the students. Moreover, the program provides a place of socialization, to make friends and to exchange useful information, for the students. However, internal conflicts between a teacher and the administration were observed and some students were complaining about lack of rigor of the lessons. These problems seem to be caused by their dependency on the public funding.

Although I think these negative aspects can be compensated by its positive aspects at a great deal, these negative aspects cannot be neglected in order to improve this program.

5. Data Quality

The number of the sample was very small in this research. They were one coordinator, two teachers, and about 30 students. These samples cannot be the representations of all ESL programs in this nation. It could be able to be said that the two classes which I observed do not even represent this ESL program as a whole.

This community is a very unique community. The ratio of international residents is probably much higher than many areas in this nation. Probably in other ESL programs, especially in bigger cities in the United States, they have more variety of students, e.g. immigrants, the United States citizens, foreign workers, including undocumented ones, and more male students than this ESL program. Many of the students of other ESL programs would live in this nation for a longer time, even forever. On the contrary, as mentioned already, the majority of the students in this ESL were "housewives" of graduate students, who would not live in this nation for a very long time. I assume that these differences between the communities could create different characteristics among ESL programs.

Even within this ESL program, the two classes which I observed would be different fro other less advanced classes. Because of the physical spatial reason of the classroom, I could never observe less advanced classes. Probably the less English students know, the less they are familiar to American society. If this is true, teaching methods, teachers' philosophy, class atmosphere, students' reactions, students' opinions about this program would be different in other classes. In this sense, I might have ended up with having different pictures of this ESL program, if I observed different classes.

If I observed other ESL programs in different areas, I would have been able to more generalize the role of ESL programs in this nation, or in this state. If I observed other classes even within this ESL program, I would have been able to get more general pictures of this ESL program. In other words, a comparative study would tell much more about general ESL programs.

Even though the time was limited, I could have improved the date quality by having interviews with male students. I may have been missing important contexts due to the lack of interviews with male students. More concrete statistics about students would have improved the quality of this study as well.

Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities.... Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn all languages. (Anderson, 1991: 133-134)

6. Conclusion

It would be possible to say that the United States is more separative than integrative today. People are arguing over diversity of the nation. For example, multiculturalism, as philosophy and practice, is one of the most important programs that should be promoted in educational and occupational areas. Affirmative Actions have

been very controversial issues that set fire to America's "culture war" (Delanty, 2003).

In such a society, people seek security and sense of belonging. But community that people are seeking is not necessarily non-territorial. In the case of this community in Michigan, it is very territorial. It is not ethnic community, nor virtual community, but very real community that defines physical geographical area.

Diversity or changes can invent new things. They can be energy for creating a different world. But, at the same time, they can be source of uncertainty of society and fear for people. People feel uneasy to have strangers as their neighbors, especially at local level. In order to gain sense of security, they have to be in community To be in community, the price should be paid in the currency of freedom (Bauman, 2001: 4). The ESL program examined in this paper functions to create community, including even "strangers" into the community, or rather making strangers community members. It also means they are excluding the others. They are doing so at the cost of freedom. They cannot bar themselves in their own ethnic, professional, or religious communities. Regardless of their will, they have to be members of this community as long as they live in this geographical area.

But things are not so simple. That does not mean these community members have given up their other sense of belonging, such as ethnic or religious. That does not mean they have been homogenized as local residents. They also live as members of other communities and many of such communities are non-territorial. While they live as members of English-speaking community, they also live as members of African or Latino communities at the same time. People live their lives as members of plural different communities simultaneously.

However, it does not mean that this is merely simple relativism of community. People are not just wantonly floating from one community to another that they belong to from time to time. People seek community because they need security. But "the world we inhabit is ever less able to offer and ever more reluctant to promise" security (Bauman, 2003: 144). In such social conditions, people are trying to bring locality back in. Locality is something real, something they can actually feel and touch.

This ESL program functions to making strangers to community members at very practical level. This function has possibility to connect locality to nationalism easily. In other words, making local community members could work to back up American nationalism in consequence. Locality is not independent of nationalism. Even so, as Delanty (2003) argues, revival movements of community have its roots in the crisis of locality and loss of sense of belonging. Globalized communication, unprecedented force of mobility beyond national borders, and global economy has surely given community new possibilities. However, such new communities are not more than hope for belonging or alternative to locality (Delanty, 2003). This case of ESL program and the local community suggests the fresh importance of relationships between community and locality.

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