Spring 2017

English language education in Honduras: opportunity, adventure, or empire?

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN HONDURAS: OPPORTUNITY, ADVENTURE, OR EMPIRE?

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree in Teaching and Learning
in the Graduate College
of the University of Iowa

May 2017

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The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To
Elsa P. Moreno Izaguirre
Peggy J. Kedley
Patrick J. Kedley

Tír gan teanga, tír gan anam.

A country without a language, a country without a soul.

Un país sin idioma, un país sin alma.

Pádraic H. Pearse
The Spiritual Nation (1916)

It is thus impossible to deny,
expect intentionally or by innocence,
the political aspect of education.

Por lo tanto, es imposible negar,
esperar intencionalmente o por inocencia,
el aspecto político de la educación.

Paulo Freire
Literacy and the Possible Dream (1976)

Acknowledgments

I am fortunate, and full of gratitude, to have generous individuals around me,
and institutions I benefit from,
in Iowa,
and in Honduras.

Funding Sources: the Maureen Medberry Snell Scholarship and the Margaret A. Sloan Scholarship supported the semesters in which I wrote this dissertation; the Stanley International Travel Grant and the T. Anne Cleary International Dissertation Research Fellowship provided funding for travel to and extended stay in Honduras for dissertation fieldwork.

Doctoral Advisor: Dr. Amanda Haertling Thein, for having patience, sharing insight, building confidence, expressing pride in this project, and preparing me well for the field.

Committee Members: Dr. Renita Schmidt, Dr. Bonnie Sunstein, Dr. Meena Khandelwal, and Dr. Michel Gobat for guidance and expertise from the comprehensive exam phase of my doctoral studies to the present. Additional thanks to Dr. Gobat for allowing me to audit two seminars on Latin America before I was a graduate student, which gave me the confidence to apply to graduate school.

Faculty in the Language, Literacy, and Culture Program: Dr. Carolyn Colvin, Dr. Linda Fielding, Dr. Amy Shoultz, and Dr. Rossina Zamora Liu.

Friends and Colleagues at the University of Iowa: Carrie Aldrich, Richard Barajas, Andy Branan, Will Coghill-Behrens, Tifani Daly, Dr. Heather Draxl, Dr. Aniruddha Dutta, Jeannette Gabriel, Amanda Galloghy, Dr. Stacy Haynes-Moore, Dr. Meg Jacobs, Dr. stef shuster, Dr. Mark Sulzer, Dr. Jen Teitle, Maggie Tietjen, and Laurel Zmolek-Smith.

Friends and Colleagues in Honduras: Néstor Alemán Cáceres,, Dr. Jorge Alberto Amaya, María Argucia, Leonardo Bautista, Rosario Berríos, Dr. Paola C. Bulnes García, Jeffry Fabricio Cardona Borjas, Melissa Castro, Diliana Cho, Juan Carlos Cruz Andara (R.I.P.-Q.E.D.P.), Linda Francés Donaire Portillo, Karina Flores, Santiago Garay, Doris Gutiérrez, Oscar Orlando Hendrix Escalante, Karina Henríquez, Tere Leyva, Margarita López Ardon, Suyapa Oneyda Majano Orellana, Karen Mejía, Ruth Mendoza Rosales, Pavel Núñez, Víctor Hugo Ordoñez Navarro, Karla Lizeth Paredes Sarmiento, Norma Yanina Paredes, Freddie Pérez, Dr. Eloisa Rodríguez, Raúl Rodríguez ,Carlos Enrique Román, Karen Spring, and Gerardo Torres Zelaya.

Organizations in Honduras: Casa del Pueblo, Colprosumah, El Equipo de Reflexión, Investigación, y Comunicación ERIC-SJ, Escuela Internacional La Lima, Escuela

Internacional Sampedrano, Fe y Alegría Honduras, Radio Progreso, and the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Valle de Sula (UPNVS) English Department.

For the social support and academic encouragement…
Jenna Spiering
Dr. Stacey Moultry
Dr. Renu Pariyadath

For the late-night texts, last minute translations, and a decade-long friendship in Iowa and Honduras…
Marisol Guerra Cubas

For the impetus to be bold and be better…
Dr. Suyapa G. Portillo Villeda

For the café, homemade meals, friendship, chats, and for always planning a meet-up…
Lia Alfonso, Margaret Bernstein, Teresa Cubas de Guerra, Francisco José Guerra Cubas, Vicky Lardizabal, Marla E. Banegas-Panayotti, Claudia Ramos-Olivieri, Dr. Enrique Romero

Por explicar matices sutiles, desafiar mis entendimientos, por la confianza, el compañerismo, y el tiempo…
For explaining subtle nuances, challenging my ideas, for the confidence, companionship, and time…
Héctor Efrén Flores Asiego

Por abrir su hogar y su vida, ofrecer sus historias y su espacio, y compartir los cipotes…
For opening your home and life, offering your story and space, and sharing the boys…
Elsa P. Moreno Izaguirre and Arnulfo Licona Dubon

For excitement after my successes and encouragement after my failures, and for meals/rides/yard work/laundry and everything else that got done when I wasn't doing it…
Patrick J. Kedley and Peggy J. Kedley

For evolving into equal parts son and friend…
Boris A. Licona Moreno

For reminding me not to be so contrary and for keeping me entertained…
Kaiser Kedley-Bergmann

For taking fourth grade off and serving as my research assistant…
Malachy C. Kedley-Bergmann

For keeping my feet warm…
Nube, Noche, and Día

Abstract

Research suggests that teaching in international settings fosters professional growth and promotes tolerance for working in multicultural and linguistically diverse classrooms for U.S. teachers upon returning to the U.S. to work in schools. These studies portray teaching abroad as an unproblematic and neutral project, and narrowly focus on the benefit to the individual teacher during their temporary stay in a foreign country and when returning home to the U.S. Absent from these studies are two groups: 1) teachers from the U.S. who work in non-governmental organizations and private school settings abroad, but have no pedagogical training, and 2) host country citizens (unless they serve a purpose for the U.S. teacher, such as providing growth, teaching cultural nuances, etc.) These studies also lack an analysis of how international teaching, especially in bilingual and English-language contexts, affect the local community outside the bounds of the study's setting. Scholars of transnational feminist theory suggest consideration of how these relationships shape not just the people who travel across nation-state borders, but also those who are affected in the local context. Scholars of critical pedagogy remind teachers that education is not only pedagogical, but also political and ideological. Grounded in these two theoretical frameworks, as well as Critical Discourse Analysis, this study examines English-language education and teaching in the Central American country of Honduras. The findings suggest that host country citizens express reservations about these partnerships. Although U.S. and international teachers second-guess the utility of English-language education in Honduras, they justify their presence teaching there because of their ability to speak English, and they define what success means in the future of their students.

Public Abstract

Research suggests that when teachers from the United States live and work in a foreign country, the experience itself fosters the teacher's professional growth and prepares them to teach in diverse classrooms when they return to the U.S. These studies focus narrowly on the individual teacher, and not the local (host country) or international context. Missing from these studies are two groups of teachers: 1) teachers from the U.S. who work in international non-governmental organizations and private school settings, but who are not trained as career teachers and who don't have experience working in schools, and 2) host country teachers. It is also unknown how these teachers and their schools affect the community around the school in the host country. This study examines English-language education and teaching in the Central American country of Honduras. The findings suggest that host country Honduran teachers are sometimes wary about these partnerships and the reason behind their presence. Furthermore, U.S. teachers also second-guess the usefulness of English-language education in Honduras, but find ways to justify their presence there.

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List of Abbreviations

Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA)
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)
English as a Second Language (ESL)
English Language Arts (ELA)
Escuela Internacional La Lima (EILL)
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (FNRP)
Fundación para la Educación Ricardo Ernesto Maduro Andreu (FEREMA)
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
Instituto Hondureno de Educación por Radio (IHER)
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI)
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ)
No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB)
Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)
Organization of American States (OAS)
Programa Hondureña de Educación Comunitaria (PROHECO)
Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (SAT)
Southern Accreditation of Colleges and Schools (SACS)
Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
Tela Railroad Company (TRR)
The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
United Fruit Company (UFCo)
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras (UNAH)
Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazán (UPNFM)
Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Valle de Sula (UPNVS)

Chapter 1: Introduction

We walked from the *Manuel de Jesús Valencia* – a public elementary school on the North Coast of Honduras – to the *barracones*, where we lived. A woven *sombrero* shielded my face from the sun, and my shirt stuck to my back with sweat. Malachy – my ten-year-old – jumped over bicycle ruts on the dry dirt path, formed in the mud on an earlier, rainier day. We were in La Lima, Honduras, the epicenter of where the Tela Railroad Company (TRR) once reigned. A subsidiary of the United Fruit Company (UFCo) – or familiarly, Chiquita Banana – the region's culture, economy, political sphere, and education are profoundly influenced by the present-day and past presence of the U.S.-based banana corporation. U.S. writer William Sydney Porter (writing under the pen name O. Henry) coined the term "banana republic" to describe Honduras in a 1904 novel entitled *Cabbages and Kings*. More than a century later – in 2015 during the fieldwork for this dissertation – the business of bananas was widespread and its influence markedly evident in everything from the naming of schools, to the home I lived in. Manuel de Jesús Valencia – the namesake of the elementary school – was a schoolteacher for the UFCo in the 1950s and a (controversial) leader of the legendary 1954 banana strike in Honduras. A few years after the strike, he was murdered in a banana *campo*, or field, near the school which bears his name. Los *barracones*, or bunkhouses, are UFCo worker homes built in the 1930s and 1940s. Originally, they housed eight *bananeros*, or banana field workers, who slept in rows of hammocks hung across the second floor of the stilted wood-structures (see Appendix A for an image of the *barracon*). The *barracon* I lived in sits in a semi-circle of ten, and is owned by a family whose patriarch migrated to

the North Coast region of Honduras in the 1930s to work for the UFCo, moved into the home in the mid-1960s, and later purchased the structure and property.

As Malachy and I approached the community's soccer field, two girls skipped past. Their pony tails bounced and their hands grasped at the pleated skirts of their school uniforms. They were about seven years old, and a middle-aged woman followed behind holding an umbrella to block the sun. *Buenos días*, I said as we passed, and she nodded in return. And then: *disculpe* – "excuse me." I turned around and she called after the girls to wait. "Are you the *gringa* teaching English at *Manuel de Jesús Valencia*?" *Sí*, I replied. After my first visit to the school a month earlier, the teachers asked me to give English "lessons" to four sections of fifth and sixth graders. These visits to the school offered a fantastic insight into how an open-air classroom feels when the temperature is 106° Fahrenheit, what you can do with forty-five ten-year-olds in that oppressive heat and humidity, and the ingenuity involved in designing lessons with limited materials and no electricity.

The mother continued: "I talked with parents of my daughter's classmates and we want to ask if you can teach English to the second-grade class in the mornings…" She explained further that there was no other way for their children to learn English, but she and the other parents thought it was essential for their children's futures. "Every parent agreed to contribute twenty *lempiras* (20L, or about $0.90) if you could come a few times a week…" I thanked her for asking and for offering the money, but explained I was supposed to be doing a project with teachers. She interrupted, *Por favor, piénsalo*… "Just think about it…"

This story illustrates the anxiety Honduran parents expressed to me as they sought a better future for their children, and as they linked a "better future" to English-language skills. The more time I spent in Honduras, the more frequently I was asked to teach English, help with English homework, tutor children and adults in English, or chat in English. Any perceived reluctance on my part resulted in reassurances and explanations that English was the answer the Honduras' economic issues, individually and collectively. At the same time, I saw a disconnect between the purported link and the reality for those who spoke English in Honduras.

To learn about English-language education and teaching in Honduras, this study explores how teachers in various Honduran educational settings used language to represent and construct their experiences as teachers, and how they described their understandings of English-language education in transnational contexts. The ethnographic record for this project includes three data sources: interviews, participant-observations, and cultural artifacts. I situate the findings within the political and ideological, the global and local, and the transnational educational context of Honduras. The benefits of possessing English-language skills were closely linked to and could not be separated from other forms of cultural, political, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). I conducted a thorough examination of the ways English-language skills were useful in Honduras, and how English-language education was related to power, teaching, and learning.

Overview of the Study

This study uses the language of teachers from a variety of educational contexts in Honduras to analyze how they represent and construct their realities. My interest is in

exploring the understandings these teachers had about English-language education in Honduras, particularly related to the opportunities they believed an English-language education did or did not offer Honduran communities, and the rationale and justification they used that drove the demand for English-language education and their role in filling that need.

I link the teachers' language use to global and local hierarchies, in terms of access, authority, privilege, and power, and I situate the teachers' language use within the pedagogical, political, and ideological educational contexts of Honduras. This study offers a comprehensive illustration of the central phenomenon of this study – English-language education in Honduras.

The research about education in international settings celebrates the benefit of teaching abroad for the individual U.S. or international teacher. The cross-cultural and momentary experience itself is the setting for the research, and not the transnational or host country's context. Bryan and Sprague (1997) determined that through the experience of teaching abroad, educators "gain an immediate appreciation for the feeling of being a minority in a culture" (p. 199), and Erickson and Kulinna (2012) highlighted the "tremendous opportunities… for employment and for learning and appreciating diverse cultures" (p. 30) teachers had after participating in international teaching exchanges. Hoare (2013) indicated that the "ambiguity encountered during offshore teaching" facilitated professional growth for pre-service teachers in international contexts, and increased their home university's human capital (p. 561). Outcomes beyond those related to the individual teacher – such as the politics of international English-language instruction, or the opinions of host country teachers – are unexamined, even though

English is not the official language in most of these settings and by design, these teachers occupy the host country's educational setting only temporarily. There is an unspoken assumption in the scholarship that international teaching, typically with English as the language of instruction, is a universally positive endeavor.

Unless the host country's teachers fulfill an opportunity for the international teacher, they are absent from the literature. When host countries' citizens are mentioned in the research, they are brought up relative to the international teachers. Malewski and Phillion (2009) described a pre-service teaching exchange in Honduras and found that "teachers' most profound understandings of social class came from relationships they formed with poor and working class children and youth [in Honduras]" (p. 58). In this study, like others, the host country's citizens (or the "poor and working class children and youth") were relevant to the study, but only because they offered an opportunity for the individual international teacher's personal and professional growth.

Likewise, the understandings that host country teachers have of English-language education in their countries, and their feelings about the presence of international schools privately run or maintained by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in their communities is unknown. Willard-Holt (2001) claimed "there is little controversy surrounding the value of cross-cultural experiences for teachers" (p. 505) in international educational settings. Here, "value" is limited to what benefited the individual international teacher, and a narrow definition of "controversy" ignored existing transnational critiques of international education and language hegemony (see Ives, 2009; Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gournari, 2003; Phillipson, 1992).

Education is "a central set of institutions and processes through which we can understand the relations within and among the global and the local" (Singh, Kenway, & Apple, 2005, p. 9), and without a close examination of the global and local contexts, the conclusions researchers draw about the benefits and limitations of international English-language education and teaching abroad are incomplete. I suggest the knowledge and meaning constructed during international teaching experiences is not and should not be limited to the individual international teacher. Furthermore, to research international education exclusively to improve international teachers' professional craft is to ignore other implications inherent in such interactions. International teaching as a responsible educational project must consider the politics of language use and teaching in the setting to fully explore the contradictions, conflicts, and opportunities inherent in such a partnership or relationship.

In this study, I deliberately include the host country teachers' perceptions as a significant part of the data set. In this case, this is the perceptions of Honduran teachers. International teachers are also included as participants in this study. I incorporate a significant contextual element in this study to construct a comprehensive understanding of English-language education in Honduras, beyond the pedagogical outcomes relative to U.S. teachers. By actively acknowledging the political and ideological dynamics of the international English-language teaching experience – particularly in transnational contexts where English may be contested as a subject and as a language – this dissertation uniquely examines teaching and English-language education in Honduras.

Statement of the Problem – Commonplace and Contradictory Conversations

In Honduras, discourses about and conversations in English are commonplace. I am discernably white and was always positioned as such, and people often assumed correctly that I am from the United States. When people in Honduras saw me in public or heard me speaking English, they frequently approached to practice their own English or asked me where I was from and what I was doing in Honduras.

The English language was a perpetual topic of conversation during all aspects of my fieldwork and in my nightly fieldnote writing. To illustrate the English language's permeation in my daily life throughout this time, I offer a piece of data from fieldnotes. My first interaction with the English language in Honduras occurred minutes after arriving for dissertation fieldwork in February 2015. A child from the *barracones* (whom I've known for years) ran up to me excitedly, hugged me, and said*: Kate! Mi mama me dijo que cuando la gringa venga, puede darme lecciones en inglés*, or "Kate! My mom told me that when the *gringa* comes," she said, using a term that typically refers to a white North American, "she can give me lessons in English."

This type of interaction was not atypical and descriptions of these anecdotes filled my fieldnotes. Another incident transpired during an interview with a teacher participant from the U.S. as we chatted at a crowded Dunkin' Donuts. A Honduran mother approached our table and asked the U.S. teacher to secure their child a coveted spot at the local bilingual school he worked at. The mother insisted her child was especially intelligent and well-behaved, and wouldn't let go of the teacher's forearm until the teacher promised to consider the child's admission to the local bilingual NGO school. U.S. and international teachers re-counted similar stories in interviews. For example,

Laura (U.S., NGO school) took her sick colleague to a hospital, and while she waited in the lobby, Laura was approached by several local parents who asked for advice on how to gain admission to the bilingual school where she worked.

During an interview with a Honduran public-school teacher at the back of an elementary classroom, the teacher interrupted himself mid-sentence and proposed I conduct an impromptu English lesson with his students at that very moment. I must have looked reluctant because he urged me on: "Just twenty minutes, the kids will love it!" So, we learned the names of a few body parts, used them to play "Simon Says" in English, and students requested the English words for their favorite animals. When I left the schoolyard later that day, the students yelled after me: "Shark!" and "Head!"

English-language education was frequently suggested as commonsense answer to poverty, violence, drugs, gangs, immigration, and unemployment – for individuals, for communities, for regions, and for the nation. Once English-language fluency was achieved by Honduran children, it was said, they would help their families get ahead economically, and eventually contribute to stability in Honduras. This narrative was present in the promotion of English-language education as well. An NGO bilingual school advertised a fundraiser on Facebook, and the flier claimed that support for the school would "end violence + poverty in Honduras." I also saw a pamphlet for a private bilingual school taped to a wall in a bus station. The school advertised teaching positions that would give the "life-changing gift of bilingual education" to Honduran students. These narratives, coupled with the repeated declarations of teachers and educators regarding the extensive and endless opportunities an English-language education offers a

Honduran child, stood in contrast with the reality I witnessed and wrote about in fieldnotes.

To demonstrate this paradox: a neighbor in the *barracones* was Honduran and a February 2015 deportee from Texas, U.S.A., who lived over half his twenty-one years in the United States. His circumstance offered a clear exception to the narrative that access, opportunity, and success are linked (nearly singularly) with knowing how to speak English. Residents in the *barracones* lamented that Arturo was deported from the United States after all these years, but tempered his seemingly dire prospects with, *bueno pues, pero el habla inglés*, or "well, he speaks English." They surmised he would secure a job because of it and transition easily back into life in Honduras. For Arturo, this was not as easily done as said. Arturo applied for positions at telemarking calls centers and at the nearby international airport – two places where English-language speakers were said to be in high demand – but was turned away because he had no computer or technology skills, and he has several visible tattoos, respectively. Tattoos are presumed to indicate gang activity, and depending on the context, a tattoo can result in detention by the police or military, or incite violence from gang members. It excluded a person from securing employment almost anywhere in Honduras. After a year of unemployment, Arturo decided to return to the United States. The last I heard, Arturo was in Mexico, somewhere, waiting for an opportunity to re-cross the U.S.-Mexico border.

To demonstrate this paradox further: Another English-language speaker I met was Osman. Osman was also Honduran, and like Arturo, was a deportee who lived for decades in Florida and Puerto Rico. He received his high school diploma in the United States and spoke English with a highly-desired U.S. accent. Since I am from the United

States and I was living and teaching in Honduras at the time (in 2007), a mutual friend introduced us. A week after Osman was removed from the U.S., we met at the fast-food chain Wendy's to get a burger and chat. Osman dressed crisply in a white button-down shirt, carried a portfolio, and was excited – and not dejected – about his prospects for living and working in Honduras, even though he left his children behind in the U.S. and hadn't been in Honduras for decades. He intended to look for a position at a bilingual or English-language school in the area and teach English. Two weeks later, I ran into Osman wobbling down the middle of a busy street. He hadn't found a job yet, obviously. He was barefoot, dirty, and incoherent, presumably high on drugs. A month later he was dead, murdered and thrown in a ditch on the outskirts of his city. The ability to speak English alone was not enough to secure a stable economic future in Honduras for Arturo or Osman. Addiction, violence, class, gender, relationship to the United States (and likely, method of return to Honduras, voluntarily or otherwise), tattoos, and varying levels of optimism and hopelessness, and energy and apathy, mediated and shaped the opportunities of Arturo, Osman, and other Hondurans who spoke English.

These encounters revealed to me, through practical real-life and everyday examples, that the ability to speak or to use the English language manifested itself differently for people in varying circumstances and social positions in Honduras. English-language skills did offer a plethora of opportunities for teachers, children, families, and communities in Honduras. However, these opportunities were heavily dependent on local and national politics, prevailing narratives and ideologies, and innumerable other variables. "The ability to speak English" was shaped – often powerfully – by location,

gender, race (or skin color), citizenship, neighborhood, class, region, accent, history of travel, parentage, technological literacy, and tattooed skin.

Finally, there were significant numbers of Honduran teachers and educators who saw English-language education – especially when taught by North Americans or when they felt it undermined public education – as problematic in how it occupies space in Honduran education. The scholarship on international teaching projects doesn't interrogate the host country's citizens beyond how they are able to serve the international teacher, and untrained teachers teaching English are also absent from these studies. My study was designed to interrogate this problem in the scholarship and how it plays out practically in the Honduran setting.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to uncover the connection between language and power, specifically as relative to English-language education in Honduras, and to engage with not only the pedagogical, but also the political and ideological implications of English-language education and teaching in Honduras.

To do this, I examine how teachers in various school settings in Honduras talked about their experiences as teachers there, and how they described their understandings of the utility and perceived opportunities an English-language education offered their Honduran students. I situate the findings of this study within the political and ideological, local and global, transnational context of Honduras. To facilitate this process, I collected data in three forms: interviews, participant-observations, and cultural artifacts. A qualitative research design using ethnographic methods of data collection was suitable for

uncovering information and answering questions about the central phenomenon of this study – English-language education in Honduras.

The purpose of this study is not to judge or evaluate individual teachers or their choices, classrooms, or schools in terms of their day-to-day teaching or operation. That type of assessment is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, a fundamental philosophical belief I hold about education is that the (educational, social, cultural, and economic) context is vitally important in defining and measuring educational outcomes, and what an individual teacher or school does on a day-to-day basis is significantly less so.

The findings from this dissertation study are not generalizable or transferable. I did not seek to uncover a "truth" or prove that already existing "truths" were erroneous. Instead, I explored the "common sense" beliefs teachers had when they talked about English-language education in Honduras, and I looked for connections between their language use and systems of power, and the realities shaped by that link.

I contribute to three academic fields with this study: teacher preparation, multicultural/multilingual education, and critical pedagogy. First, this study contributes to the field of teacher preparation by examining patterns of language use, spoken by teachers about their students, their subjects, and their schools, and linking teachers' language use to systems of power. This is especially applicable in the preparation of teachers for culturally and linguistically diverse educational settings, in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Second, I offer an additional and alternative perspective – the viewpoint of host country or host community teachers – to the fields of multicultural and multilingual

education (including international education), and suggest that as insiders to these educational settings, in the U.S. and elsewhere, local teachers are equally capable and qualified to explore and comment on power dynamics in education.

Third, to contribute to the academic field of critical pedagogy, I employ a transnational feminist framework in the design and execution of this study. This framework provides a way to examine teachers' presence in cross-cultural educational settings, and teachers' relationships to the community and students. These interactions may result in subtle and unintended consequences for the school and region and contribute to inequalities if left unexamined. Transnational feminism also removes the U.S. and U.S. citizens from the center of this study. The U.S. and participants from the U.S. are often given primary significance in academic research and the generation of knowledge in scholarship. I do not assume the U.S. or U.S. citizens are central to this dissertation study.

Significance of the Study

Existing research on international teaching fails to consider local (host country) communities and host country contexts. This dissertation is distinctive in that to understand the central phenomenon of the study (English-language education in Honduras), to answer the research questions, and to address the problems in the existing academic literature, I interview a variety of teachers in the Honduran educational context, and I situate their language use in the social, political, economic, and transnational context of Honduras. To properly appreciate the impact of these teachers on local and global educational structures, a thorough exploration of the context is necessary,

including (and especially) the historical and continued U.S. influence on Honduran governance, education, culture, and society.

Three elements, otherwise absent in research on English-language education in Honduras, and international education generally, give this study its unique significance. First, I actively included participants in this study who are host country, or Honduran, teachers in addition to English-language international teacher participants. I looked at how these teachers used language to describe their teaching, motivation, opportunity, language education, and schooling in Honduras.

Second, extended time in the field and extensive participant-observations (and the resulting fieldnotes) offered a broad ethnographic record to use as I describe the Honduran context using thick and rich description (Geertz, 1973). Thus, I offer a nuanced look at English-language education in Honduras and its purported and actual association to better, future opportunities. Hondurans and foreigners alike participated in discourses that linked (and conflated) English-language skills with the opportunity for a better life in Honduras. In practice, however, this connection was much more complicated and decidedly more dependent on factors other than English-language fluency. By unlinking these concepts – often presented as one in the same, voiced in the same thought or breath, and conceived of in the same proposal or objective – the limitations of English-language education are exposed, and the opportunities can be better connected to practices that lead to the stated objective of a "better future" for Hondurans and Honduras.

Third, the extended time I spent in the field allows a thorough engagement with the central phenomenon of this study – English-language education – and its intersection with humans, employment, violence, immigration, media, geographical location and so

on. These aspects, as integral parts of the host country's educational context, are rarely examined thoroughly in academic research. Knowledge about the unique setting is essential for this study as it engages with the reality of English-language education in Honduras.

Background of the Study – Professional Experiences and Preliminary Research

In 2006, I took a job as a junior high English Language Arts (ELA) teacher in an elite international school (*Escuela Internacional La Lima*, or EILL) in one of the Western hemisphere's poorest countries: Honduras. The school was founded eighty years ago by the UFCo, whose Chiquita Brand bananas were a typical part of my childhood breakfast in Iowa, U.S.A. My students had access to English-speaking teachers, shelves of English-language books, and the latest technology; they were from Honduran upper-class families who owned condominiums in Florida and the newest iPhones, and they employed cooks, maids, bodyguards, and chauffeurs. The education students receive at schools like EILL is intended to teach them English with a U.S. accent and to prepare them academically for attendance at universities in the United States and Europe.

During the three years I taught in Honduras, I became familiar with other communities there – a women's basketball team and league in San Pedro Sula, and two LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex) groups. These new friends and acquaintances quickly pointed out how limited and narrow my understanding of Honduras was. The stores I shopped at, the restaurants I ate at, the Hondurans I considered my colleagues and friends, and my cultural immersion in Honduras was affected, shaped, and somewhat limited by my relationship to the EILL school community.

I rarely interacted with people outside the international school setting apart from the basketball league and the LGBTI groups. However, the average Honduran earns less than $200 a month (World Bank, n.d.), and access to an international school or English-language education is limited to a very small portion of children in Honduras: the extremely wealthy and the expatriate populations. My basketball teammates and friends from the LGBTI groups sent their children to Honduran public schools, or if they had the means, much cheaper bilingual private schools.

An education offered in a private school or in an NGO school is substantially different than what is available in Honduran public schools, which teachers told me are affected by inadequate resources, lack of funding, and limited public support. In 2012, only ten percent of Honduras' "poorest young people completed lower secondary school" or finished ninth grade (UNESCO, n.d.). At international schools, however, significant numbers of the children of the socio-economic elite attend universities in the U.S., Mexico, and countries across Europe.

I realized my personal and professional development in Honduras was closely linked to my relationship to the international school community, and my access to the social and economic elite. Any multicultural sensitivity or personal growth I exhibited was due to my position as an ELA teacher at an elite private school, but not necessarily because of my geographical, physical, and temporary presence in Honduras. My English-language fluency, coupled with my nationality and race, provided immense cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the spaces I frequented, and my lack of Spanish-language ability or status as a foreigner rarely affected my day-to-day life negatively.

In the summers of 2012 and 2013, I returned to Honduras as a doctoral student to conduct preliminary research about the experiences of teachers there. However, I did not limit my investigation to U.S. expatriate teachers or to teachers at international schools. To explore the larger context of education in Honduras, I met with professors at Honduran public and autonomous universities, interviewed Honduran public school teachers and parents, and toured public and private elementary and secondary schools. Given my limited exposure to education outside the Honduran international school setting, I was naively surprised at the level of activity and organization of the public-school system, and especially on public university campuses. At that point, I had nearly non-existent prior interaction with other forms of education in Honduras, and furthermore, the interaction I did have was limited to U.S.-based curriculum, English-language instruction, and international school pedagogy and politics.

These two preliminary research trips offered insight as to the paths teachers and educators in Honduras take to becoming teachers and working in schools, and the characteristics and identities that make some paths possible, and others not. U.S. teachers were in Honduras because they attended an international teaching career fair, or they had served as a Christian missionary in Central America and never left. Others were adventurers and backpackers. They were widely respected in their school communities as educators and as visitors to the country, and infrequently had issues securing classroom materials or problems funding activities or events. My arrival to Honduras in 2006 as a teacher paralleled those types of experiences: I attended an international teaching career fair at the University of Northern Iowa because I wanted to live in another country. I

haphazardly chose Honduras. I had no economic or familial ties to the country, and no long-term plans or interest in staying longer than the initial two-year contract.

The Honduran public school teachers, as I soon found out, described their path to education and their reasons for teaching in Honduran schools in markedly different ways. Their viewpoints were not indicative of all public-school teachers in Honduras, but they did provide insight regarding a fundamental level of tension about the future of education in Honduras: should English-language curriculum be a part of it? If so, who has the expertise to teach it? Who is considered an authentic producer of English-language knowledge and who has the authority and legitimacy to teach English classes?

A significant proportion of Honduran public school teachers were and still are members of the *Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular*, or the FNRP (in English, the National Popular Resistance Front), a social movement that formed immediately after the 2009 coup d'état in Honduras (Cavooris, 2011; Krueger, 2014; Kuehn, n.d.). These teachers also organized in opposition to the Honduran government's educational reform plans. The teachers in the FNRP were instrumental in the formation of a new political party called *Partido LIBRE* (or the FREE political party, in English). Short for *Libertad y Refundacion*, or Liberty and Refoundation, the political party was made up of a coalition of those opposed to the 2009 coup d'état, with public school teachers forming a large part of the party's base (Krueger, 2014; Spring & Bird, 2011). Members of *Partido LIBRE* have "ideological tendencies ranging from the center left to the far left" (Main, 2014). Historically, and since the 2009 coup d'état, Honduran public school teachers have occupied sizable blocs of social movements while advocating for progressive educational reform (see Freeston, 2011; Gordon & Webber, 2011).

The Honduran public school teachers I interviewed associated the teaching profession as inherent to political activism and vice versa, and saw education as a means toward collective social justice as opposed to a means to earn more money. They critiqued English-language education in Honduras and suggested it met the needs of transnational corporations, but not the everyday Honduran. They did, however, recognize that without English-language skills, Hondurans were less marketable for jobs, including positions in schools or as teachers. One Honduran teacher with a graduate degree in math and education struggled to find a teaching position because of exactly that: he spoke no English. English-language skills were useful for Hondurans, but not always in the ways suggested.

Moreover, what Honduran public school teachers said about public schools stood in clear contradiction with what I thought I knew about public schools in Honduras from my time teaching there. The national media placed the blame for a poor public educational system on public school teachers, and the stereotype they held in the eyes of many was one of laziness, greed, ineptitude, and self-interest (Cuevas, 2011; Teachers, 2008; Thousands, n.d.) One U.S. citizen living on the North Coast of Honduras, who wrote anonymously on an online blog, went as far to call Honduran public school teachers "strike czars" (Honduran, 2009). The tension between the teachers' reputation and their self-description was intriguing.

Until I sought out these spaces through research, I was unaware of the political and ideological implications of my employment there as an ELA teacher. That some might question the presence of teachers from the U.S. was inconceivable to me. These experiences and problems prompted this study, in its exploration of not just the

pedagogical, but also the political and ideological implications of English-language education in Honduras, and led to the design of this dissertation.

Empirical Grounding – Language Education and Policy

Residents of the United States are likely familiar, if informally, with debates about the English language. This discussion is thoroughly explored in academic research and is common in popular culture references and social media (i.e. the English-Only movement, or remarks about having to "press one to choose English" on the telephone). Parents, educators, and policy-makers have clashed for over a century in U.S. cultural and legal spheres over the appropriate language-of-instruction for classrooms in U.S. public schools. Once these debates formally made their way through the U.S. judicial system, landmark court cases dictated the future direction of language education in schools, including Meyer v. Nebraska, 1923 (Meyer, n.d.), Lau v. Nichols, 1974 (Developing, 2015), and Castañeda v. Pickard, 1981 (Elizabeth, 1981). These court cases underscore the long-standing tension surrounding access to English-language reading, writing, and speaking skills in educational settings within the geographical and national borders of the United States.

Even though English is considered the primary (but unofficial) language at the U.S. federal level, and the official language of over thirty U.S. states, policy on English-language instruction in U.S. public schools varies significantly. The state-by-state differences in regulating English as a Second Language (ESL) education (or lack of regulation, as is the case in twenty-nine of the fifty U.S. states) are striking, and highlight how relevant this topic remains (Gelb, 2001). Should those who are first learning English be "mainstreamed" into regular education classes within one year of starting school, such

as is the case in California? Or take classes in "sheltered" environments (or separate classroom spaces) with English-only instruction, which is the law in Arizona? Should students be provided ESL instruction by trained ESL teachers in a "transitional learning environment," as is the case in Iowa? Or offered bilingual education when there are more than twenty students "with the same native language in the district," as is the case in New Jersey? Academics, teachers, and parents continue to debate whether speedy transitions to regular classrooms help students learn English quickly and efficiently or if ESL education is de-facto segregation.

Complicating this topic further is that English-language proficiency in a practical sense serves as a gatekeeper for access to a range of social, economic, and political spheres in the United States. If we accept this as reality, should public schools primarily ensure everyone's access to academic English-language instruction? Or should schools and educators push society in the United States towards multilingualism or linguistic diversity, and challenge the English-only culture (so monolingual English speakers are not advantaged from the onset)? A still controversial part of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) was the elimination of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 (Obituary, 2002; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). Funding and teacher preparation for bilingual education was cut in favor of teaching English (only) as outlined in Title III of NCLB, or the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act (No Child, 2007; Part A, 2004).

Tension in English-language education is not unique to the United States. Lowe (2000) suggests families living abroad in countries outside of the United States find value in sending their children to international schools so their children can learn in English (as

opposed to the host country's language) and eventually attend English-speaking institutes of higher education, both of which reside "predominately within the Anglophone world" (p. 364). Furthermore, when international schools are available for families residing outside their countries of citizenship, they do not need to depend on public school systems in the countries where they live.

Honduras is not an exception, and in Honduras there are significant debates surrounding language education. What should the "second" language in Honduran bilingual education be? English? French? Arabic? An indigenous language such as Garífuna, Tol, Mayan Quiché, Pech, Ch'orti', or Miskito? Should second (or third, etc.) languages be called "foreign" languages or should classes be labeled bilingual or multi-lingual? Is English a "foreign" language in Honduras when tens of thousands of Hondurans speak it as their "native" language? These discussions are closely linked to debates about teaching: Who is qualified to be a teacher? A college graduate with pedagogical training? A North American who loves children and wants to make the world a better place? A traveling backpacker whose "most applicable skill" is their ability to speak English? An ex-corporate businessperson whose existential moment in the shower prompted them to quit their job, sell everything they owned, and live off the grid (in Honduras)? Beyond that, who has the authority to teach English-language classes? North Americans? People with North American accents? Is an Australian accent acceptable? A Garífuna accent in English? A Honduran who lived in the United States who returned voluntarily? Does it matter if they were deported or if they have visible tattoos?

Debates about language education, including who has the authority to teach English in Honduras and worldwide, serve as the setting for this study, and highlight a problem present in the academic literature and in the on-the-ground realities of teaching and education.

Preview of Problems in the Academic Literature

The literature about international teaching suggests that teaching abroad develops teachers' personal and professional competencies. These studies focus on the positive (and individual) experiences teachers gained from living and working abroad, including personal growth, cultural sensitivity, greater access to employment, and a broader perspective (Hoare, 2013; Jiang & DeVillar, 2011; Schlein, 2009). Teachers applied these characteristics when they returned to increasingly diverse classrooms in the U.S. and elsewhere. One study suggested that "literally all of the effects" of the participants' overseas teaching internships were long-term, positive benefits (Bryan & Sprague, 1997). Here, the term "effects" was limited to the outcomes for the international teacher in the international setting.

Beyond the pedagogical benefits for the teachers, fewer studies mention what political ideologies, perceptions, and customs U.S. teachers bring with them to international contexts, or how those ideologies might fit (or fail to fit) within the political and educational contexts of the countries in which they live and teach. The research that offers critical perspectives on teacher education and international teaching comes out of Canada (Hébert & Abdi, 2013; Mwebi & Brigham, 2009) or Australia (Hoare, 2013; Singh & Han, 2010). Missing are studies that explore beyond what benefits the individual teacher, studies that include host country teachers as participants, and studies that

interrogate the larger context of English as a language-of-instruction in international contexts.

This dissertation study addresses this problem with a nuanced look at the perceptions of English-language teachers in an international context as described by the teachers themselves. I situate the interview data in the political and ideological settings of Honduras and contextualize each theme using the knowledge I gained from spending extended time in the field. The addition of these elements to my study complicates the idea that international teaching results in one-directional or only positive outcomes. Furthermore, this study recognizes that the effects of international teaching experiences are not limited to the individual international teacher. By engaging both international and local (host country) teachers, and by situating their perceptions and experiences in a transnational (local and global) context, I address the problems that I describe as present in the academic literature.

Research Questions

A close examination of the beliefs teachers hold about English-language education and other types of education in Honduras, as indicated by their language use, reveals a complex dynamic. This dissertation study is guided by one central research question and two sub-research questions. I address these research questions and the findings this study offers as answers to these research questions in Chapter 5.

1) How do teachers in various school settings in Honduras talk about English-language education and teaching in the Honduran context?

a. How do Honduran teachers in various school contexts talk about their role and purpose (and the roles and purposes of other teachers) as educators in Honduras?

b. How do expatriate teachers in various school contexts talk about their role and purpose (and the roles and purposes of other teachers) as educators in Honduras?

Preview of Theoretical Frameworks

Three theoretical frameworks – transnational feminism, critical pedagogy, and Critical Discourse Analysis – informed the design of this study, the process of data collection, and the process of data analysis. I offer comprehensive descriptions of these theoretical frameworks and how I utilize them in Chapter 2.

Transnational feminism. A transnational feminist framework is a unique way to investigate teachers' understandings of education as they shared them in interviews, and to interrogate the way educators used language to describe living and working in Honduras. For the purposes of this study, I define transnational feminism as an analytic framework that connects "everyday life and local gendered contexts and ideologies to the larger, transnational political and economic structures and ideologies of capitalism" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 504). A project with a transnational feminist lens includes a nuanced examination of the local setting and the global setting, and situates the local and global settings individually and together in relations of power. This lens allows for a textured understanding of the perceptions and experiences of teachers in Honduras as the teachers themselves described them. It addresses the pedagogical, political, and ideological implications of English-language education in Honduras, and provides a way to situate

the data in power structures in terms of language (English and Spanish), nation (Honduras and the U.S.), and education (public, private, and the third sector, or NGOs), among others.

Critical pedagogy. Critical studies in the field of education often "fail to place schooling sufficiently in its social and political context," and avoid a nuanced and complex examination of the role of education plays in communities and societies (Singh, et al., 2005, p. 7). Educational institutions, schools, classrooms, students, teachers, and teaching are very much situated in neighborhoods, communities, regions, and nations, and cannot be removed from a culture's values or a society's norms. Schools "operate in accordance, either implicitly or explicitly, with their established roles in society" (Giroux, 2011, p. 41). A framework using critical pedagogy provides a way to situate the data I gathered in the context of Honduran education, locally, nationally, and globally, and within transnational power structures. The data is positioned in transnational flows of information between the U.S. and Honduras (and beyond), and within the social, cultural, historical, political, economic, and educational contexts to better understand the meanings and implications of these teachers' experiences as they used language to represent them.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I use Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2011; Gee, 2012) as a framework in the data collection process, and as a method of analysis during the organization, minimization, and coding of the data. Critical Discourse Analysis suggests that language is not simply a natural representation of a neutral reality. A critical examination of language-in-use (in this study, as offered by the teacher participants through interviewing) demonstrates that

power and access to privilege is distributed unequally. Furthermore, the ways language is used in these settings are active products of already existing power relations in society (Fairclough, 2001, p. 1). Once these power dynamics are uncovered through a Critical Discourse Analysis, the idea that the ideologies behind language use are natural or neutral is destabilized and weakened, and then can be challenged. By examining the language use of individual teachers in Honduras, this framework uncovers the deeply held beliefs of the larger society and the individuals who reside within that society. Because "language itself is… political" (Gee, 2011, p. 9), a discourse analysis includes a critical component that considers how language subtly builds and reproduces power structures, or, conversely, challenges and disrupts them. Because "ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible" (p. 71), a Critical Discourse Analysis of language-in-use is one way to make hidden power structures visible for contestation, and look for ways to build a more responsible project of English-language teaching and education in Honduras.

Preview of Methods

I selected a qualitative design using ethnographic methods of data collection for this study to seek answers to the research questions. In Chapter 3, I justify my selection of a qualitative study design, and explain how early research trips in graduate school informed my decision to use ethnographic methods of data collection. I define the hallmarks of qualitative research and show how this project meets those definitions. In a positioning statement, I share my personal and professional history and my educational philosophy.

In addition to two preliminary research trips in 2012 and 2013, I spent from February to August 2015 in Honduras gathering data for this project. I comprehensively detail the methods I used in collecting three types of data: interviews, participant-observations, and cultural artifacts. I spoke with over 170 interview participants, asked them to share information about their teaching backgrounds, motivations that led to teaching, and beliefs about education. I also sought information from about twenty-five informants who were not formally interviewed. I took fieldnotes daily and included observations of neighborhoods and communities in Honduras. Signs, pamphlets, Facebook posts, newspaper articles, and personal photographs, among other relevant items, serve as cultural artifacts. In this section, I reflect on the process of identifying a central phenomenon, locating a research site, and reaching out to participants.

The last section of Chapter 3 describes my process of organizing, minimizing, categorizing, analyzing, and presenting the data and the findings for this study. I show how I organized data in the field, and how the collection process itself influenced and shaped further data collection. I include figures that visually illustrate how themes and categories as they arose from the data, then narrowed and/or broadened, and resulted in the final three themes for this study.

Dissertation Organization

In Chapter 1, I describe the fundamental features of this study. I begin with vignettes and narrative – pulled from fieldnotes and teacher participant interview data – to illustrate how early experiences in the field and teaching in Honduras from 2006-2009 informed the study design. The background of the study and the statement of the problem highlight how my focus gradually evolved and narrowed as the data became somewhat

saturated and as time progressed in the field. I offer a brief educational context about the central phenomenon of this study – English-language education – as it is debated in the United States and in international settings, and I highlight problems in the academic literature in the field of international education. I propose that the purpose of this dissertation study is to contribute to three academic fields: teacher education, multicultural/multilingual education, and critical pedagogy, and this study's significance is that it fills the problems I identify in the academic research. I share three ways this study is unique in international educational teaching research: it integrates local (host country) teachers as participants (in addition to the international teacher participants), it situates the study within the social, political, economic, and transnational context of Honduras, and it uses extended time in the field to do so. I share the research question and two sub-research-questions that guide me throughout this study, and I offer previews of the three theoretical frameworks and the methods of data collection and data analysis of this research.

In Chapter 2, I conduct a literature review of the relevant academic literature to identify the problems in the research and at the research site, and I outline the three theoretical frameworks that guide this project.

In Chapter 3, I position myself in the research and I justify my choice of a qualitative study using ethnographic methods of data collection. I reflect on how I chose the central phenomenon (English-language education), the research site (the North Coast of Honduras), and the participants (teachers) for this study. I elaborate on the methods and types of data collection, and finally, I detail the process of data analysis.

In Chapter 4, I describe the educational setting in Honduras and contemporary issues in Honduras.

In Chapter 5, I use an hourglass shape (Murchison, 2010) to present three findings that arose from the data. For each of the three findings, I offer contextual themes that speak to broad issues relative to this study and offer contextualization to this project by using rich and thick description. These sections address the wider, global setting, mirroring the widened shape of the top of an hourglass. In the contextual themes, I answer the question: *What is going on here?* Then, I move to analytical themes. The analytical themes address day-to-day on the ground issues, and use practical and specific data samples to examine the local setting. The narrowing of the focus mirrors the narrow middle of an hourglass. Critical Discourse Analysis serves as the method of analysis I use within each analytical theme. In this section, I answer the question: *How can I best represent what is going on here?*

In Chapter 6, I again address larger contextual issues and answer the question: *What does it all mean?* I offer the implications of this research for teacher education and language scholarship. I share ethical considerations that came up during the research process. I outline the limitations of this study, and make suggestions for future research. Finally, I detail my plan for distribution of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In Chapter 2, I conduct a literature review of the relevant academic literature to identify problems in the research and in the research site. I share the theory behind a qualitative, ethnographic, critical, and transformative research project. Finally, I outline the three theoretical frameworks that guide this project in its design, execution and presentation.

Review of Relevant Academic Literature

In the review of the relevant literature, I focus on four areas. First, I summarize studies looking at international teaching experiences in general (but not specific to Honduras or Latin America, and not limited to a particular type of international school environment). Second, I look at literature relevant to international teaching experiences in Honduras. Third, I look at the record of U.S. reports (governmental, educational, academic, and otherwise) on the state of Honduran education. Finally, I examine literature that indicates the significance of the Honduran setting for educational researchers and educators from the United States. After summarizing the academic literature relevant to this project, I identify the problems in the literature and explain how this study address those problems.

International teaching experiences. The research on international teaching experiences overwhelmingly focuses on the individual teacher, and specifically, on the effects of the experience (i.e. being in an international, diverse, and multicultural setting) on the individual teacher. This literature centers on teachers from primarily English-speaking countries (the U.S., Canada, etc.) who travel to and teach in other countries, both English and non-English speaking. The host countries vary significantly (Italy,

Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, Turkey, United States, among others), as do the types and lengths of the experiences these teachers spent in the international setting. Some articles described teaching experiences in an "official" international school setting (Erickson & Kulinna, 2012) where the school in the host country was accredited by the International Baccalaureate program or through U.S. or European educational institutions. Other teachers and pre-service teachers visited and taught in less regulated or unaccredited schools.

Some researchers offered their analysis after visiting the local school in the foreign country's setting (Phillion et al., 2009), but not all. Studies varied in terms of how and with whom the participants travel to the host country site, such as alone and without peers or colleagues (Trilokekar & Kukar, 2011), or traveling and experiencing the exchange with cohort or a group of teachers (Pence & Macgillivray, 2008). After a trip to Rome, Italy with a group of students, Pence and Macgillivray (2008) discussed how to best supervise teachers abroad, and whether the responsibility lies with host country mentors or people from institutions in the U.S. A few participants partook in a typical traditional cultural exchange trip (i.e. including time for tourist activities and visiting local sites outside the school setting) along with the requirement to complete specific teaching duties (i.e. a study abroad for educators) (Willard-Holt, 2001). These students returned to the U.S. wanting to learn more about global issues and shared their experiences with colleagues, who also became interested in participating in future trips.

The amount of time participants spent abroad varied from a few weeks to more than a semester for pre-service teachers. A significant number of studies addressed international teaching as a career-choice and less as a pre-service or early in-service

teaching experience (Erickson & Kulinna, 2012; Martin, 2012; Schlein, 2013). The teachers in these studies spent significantly longer at the international site. Of the studies I reviewed, only one project examined a setting where any language other than English is a language-of-instruction; in this exchange, there was a "biliteracy" component where U.S. educators taught in Spanish and English at a school in Mexico. These teachers were bilingual or semi-bilingual before the project began (Quezada & Alfaro, 2007).

A few experiences teaching abroad were in "Western"[1] nations (Italy, Great Britain), but only one considered a project within the national boundaries of the United States as an international teaching project. This experience looked at teachers who traveled from Turkey, a "non-Western" nation, to Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, U.S.A. for a practicum experience to work with U.S. Midwestern educators (Sahin, 2008). The presence of international students helped local (U.S.) people to understand other cultures and gave them an interest in global issues.

Why send teachers abroad? The rationale for continuing, promoting, and creating teaching abroad programs is that these experiences give teachers (pre-service, especially) an opportunity to learn about multiculturalism and improve their pedagogical skills on multiple levels. Willard-Holt (2001) claimed "there is little controversy surrounding the

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[1] The terms *Third World* and *First World* have been contested for decades with the recognition that nation-state boundaries do not represent what is meant to be signified by *Third* and *First* world designation. Furthermore, there are pockets of elite classes in the *Third World*, as well as marginalized spaces within the *First World*. Labeling nation-states on a trajectory or a continuum is indicative of and has implications for power hierarchies (i.e. First/Third, or Developing/(Over)Developed) and ideas of what modernization should look like. *Western* and *Global North*/*Global South* are limited by geographical designation and are inaccurate for the same reasons that apply above. Esteva & Prakash (1998) suggest the use of "*One/Third World* (the 'social minorities in both North and South) and the *Two/Thirds World* (the 'social majorities')" (p. 295). For this study, I use these terms interchangeably and place them within quotes, indicating my understanding of their contested use.

value of cross-cultural experiences for teachers" (p. 505), and Bryan and Sprague (1997) asserted that "literally all of the effects of the [international teaching] internships have been positive" (p. 201). If these exchanges are "wisely structured, [they] can rectify misconceptions and reverse stereotypes (Walters, Garii, & Walters, 2009). Because many new and early career teachers' knowledge and experience with students from other cultures is weak, Jiang and DeVillar (2011) said that allowing teachers to engage in "a culturally distinct experience outside the United States… [will] develop, and even transform, their professional and personal perspectives" (p. 47). While abroad, the teachers "gain immediate appreciation for the feeling of being a minority in a culture, for the subtle and obvious behavioral differences associated with different classroom cultures, for the benefits of bilingualism, and for the advantage of democratic values" (Bryan & Sprague, 1997, p. 199).

What are the benefits of teaching abroad? A plethora of positive benefits came from participating in an educational teaching experience in a country other than one's own, and these studies concentrated on improving the teachers' pedagogical, professional, and career skills. Teaching internationally led to increased cultural sensitivity, personal growth, and multicultural awareness in the individual teacher (Bryan & Sprague, 1997; Erickson & Kulinna, 2012; Hoare, 2013; Jiang & DeVillar, 2011; Malewski & Phillion, 2009; Martin, 2012; Ozek, 2009; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Quezada, 2004; Quezada, 2011; Quezada & Alfaro, 2007; Savva, 2013; Schlein, 2009; Walters, et al., 2014; Willard-Holt, 2001). Other commonly cited benefits of international teaching experiences were improved attitudes towards students and second languages,

diversified curriculum choices, flexibility within the classroom, and career advancement in a domestic economic downturn (Erickson & Kulinna, 2012).

Partnerships with universities. It was noted that the university partner (when applicable) in pre-service teacher international placements also benefited from international teaching exchanges. Hoare (2013) suggested that "when transnational educators are prepared to learn from the ambiguity encountered during offshore teaching, they have the capacity to experience personal growth and add significantly to their university's human capital" (p. 561). Jiang and DeVillar (2011) suggested these types of university teaching placements supported institutions of higher education as they worked to give their pre-service teachers multi-cultural or multi-lingual experiences (p. 59). University education programs and professors should be attentive to the advantages of international programs, and dedicate sufficient time and energy in creating and promoting these opportunities (Bryan & Sprague, 1997; Erickson & Kulinna, 2012). English-language international teaching experiences were said to be the "key ingredient if the United States wants its future teachers to be culturally and globally literate to meet the challenges of this new age" (Quezada, 2004, p. 464).

One study from the U.S. suggested that among other positive benefits, teachers gained "a more critical attitude toward countries of origin" (Malewski & Phillion, 2009, pp. 52-53) and future teach abroad programs should adjust to "foster more critical awareness of relationships and outlooks that engender deeper understanding of the social, political, and economic forces that shape the contexts" (p. 57). Additionally, Walters et al. (2014) noted in a paper for the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association that "what is most important is to ensure that prospective teachers become

part of the communities they serve" (p. 17). However, these critical components were not built into study designs.

Assessment in these studies was limited to the identifying and fostering the pedagogical gains of the individual teacher. Beyond the benefit to the individual teacher, universities in the United States received a social good as they facilitated these experiences – their reputation as a producer of culturally and linguistically sensitive and prepared teachers. The local settings – host country teachers, schools, and residents – were left out of nearly every discussion about international educational teaching exchanges, both in terms of potential for engagement during the study, and in terms of possible outcomes after.

Critical perspectives and suggestions for future research. For future exploration in the field of international education, researchers suggested more studies that focus on the teacher while abroad and more time working with them upon their re-entry to the U.S. (Hoare, 2013; Malewski & Phillion, 2009). Several studies even suggested that a shortcoming of teaching exchanges was that teachers needed more immersion in the host country to maximize their experience (Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Walters et al., 2014). However, few studies outwardly proposed an added critical component to these exchanges or research studies. Hébert and Abdi (2013) noted that it is "vitally important to understand how knowledge is created, what is means to know, how it is shared, and to whose benefit and why" when participating in the "global conversation about knowledge" (p. 1). Mwebi and Brigham (2009) warned that "the burden to educate preservice teachers [should not] be taken up solely by non-white, non-Canadian, non-middle-class, non-European descendants" (p. 416). Both these studies came out of

Canada; other studies offering a critical perspective of international teaching came out of Singapore (Alviar-Martin, 2011), Australia (Hoare, 2013), and Turkey (Ozek, 2009). Furthermore, Mwebi and Brigham (2009) warned that the "implications for the host community" must be considered. They ask how:

> the host community/ies [can] be prepared for overseas pre-service teachers? How will their lives be affected in the short term and in the long term by these overseas pre-service teachers? How are the African students and cooperating African teachers affected? What is the learning gained by those in the host community? What is the rationale of international practicum experience? How should preservice teachers be prepared and educated about the communities in which they will serve and about broader social, political, and cultural issues in general? (pp. 424-425).

These types of questions should be considered in all international teaching undertakings if the project is to be beneficial to the world beyond the individual teacher (or their home institution). The stated positive outcomes of these studies were used to justify continued funding for overseas teaching placements and promotion of teaching abroad for career teachers. The narrow focus of these studies – limited to the individual teacher – obscures findings that may be illuminated with a broader focus that includes an examination of English-language instruction, host country teachers, and a close interrogation of the local and global context of each setting.

International teaching experiences in Honduras. Despite Honduras' reputation for high levels of violence and poverty, there are a significant number of studies that

looked at the experiences of U.S. teachers and students who traveled to Honduras as part of their education, preparation, and training to be educators.

Short-term study abroad. Four studies about international teaching experiences in Honduras drew from one data set of a summer study abroad program from a university in the U.S. The research cited similar positive benefits of international teaching experiences as earlier articles (Malewski & Phillion, 2009; Phillion et al., 2009; Sharma, Phillion, & Malewski, 2011; Sharma, Rahatzad, & Phillion, 2013).

During this teaching abroad program, the authors stated that the "teachers' most profound understandings of social class came from relationships they formed with poor and working class children and youth" in Honduras (Malewski & Phillion, 2009, p. 58). Participants acknowledged that instead of changing the lives of their Honduran students – as they thought they would be doing at the beginning of their visit to Honduras – their own lives were changed by the Honduran children and by exposure to the poverty in which the Honduran children lived and survived. Sharma et al., (2013) cited this as an example of decolonization (p. 372) because the teachers discovered they do not one-directionally bring knowledge to Hondurans and Honduras. Better on-site curriculum was suggested to "foster more critical awareness of relationships and outlooks that engender deeper understanding of the social, political, and economic forces that shape the context" (Malewski & Phillion, 2009, p. 57). However, Mwebi and Brigham (2009) remind researchers and teachers that the burden of improving the craft of teaching should not fall on the children and citizens of host countries during these multicultural exchanges. Although these studies called for more contextual understanding of the Honduran setting,

they lacked an in-depth exploration of the power dynamics inherent in the partnership, and relative to English-language education in Honduras.

Nursing programs in Honduras. Two studies about service learning nursing programs argued that an educational nursing experience in Honduras helped with increasing diversity in U.S. health care personnel. None of the medical professionals or students visiting Honduras spoke Spanish, and Honduran students from a local high school who were bilingual interpreted during the trip. The first study, as a "one-week intensive experience" for undergraduate nursing and nurse-midwife students, provided participants an international cultural experience, increased students' awareness of a variety of health issues, improved clinical skills, developed health materials in Spanish, and compared women's health as it pertains to obstetrics in Central America to North America (Atkins & Stone, 2006). The nursing students expressed that the week-long experience was "life changing" for them (p. 150) and throughout the trip, they gained a deeper understanding of themselves and others.

In the second study, which used pre- and posttest questionnaires, Green, Comer, Elliott, and Neubrander (2011), examined the outcomes of a medical brigade before and after the participants traveled to Honduras. The participants reported that the educational value in the trip was in "stepping outside their known culture into an unknown one," connecting with culturally different people, an awe of the "community" present in rural Honduran villages, and making due with limited resources (pp. 305-306). One participant remarked that "everyone should go to Honduras and see what we saw." She contrasted her experience in Honduras to her experiences with health care in the U.S., where she had known people to complain about a $20 co-pay for a doctor's appointment. In conclusion,

she believed the U.S. has an "amazingly comprehensive care" system in contrast to what she learned is available in Honduras (p. 307).

Trips to Honduras shaped nursing students' global viewpoints and gave them the chance to interact with a host community and culture, which in turn, provided them with the chance to personally and professionally experience growth. Like other educational trips to Honduras, the citizens of the host country – those from who the learning occurs – were not engaged with beyond their ability to provide experiences and growth for international travelers.

U.S. reports on the state of Central American and Honduran education. Commencing with Montgomery's (1920) survey on Central American education for the U.S. Department of the Interior, the United States and world development organizations in varying capacities have offered evaluations and reports on the state of and suggestions for improving education in Honduras.

The Cold War era. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) prepared a report on English-language assessment in educational spaces in the geographic area of Central America in the early 1980s (Crandall, 1985). The report recommended that teaching English in the region be intensive and include an "orientation to American culture" (p. 124), and focused on a well-known agricultural college in Honduras (the Zamorano Pan-American Agricultural School) that is partially funded by USAID. The years of these studies coincides with the same era the U.S. increased its military presence in Honduras due to conflicts in the neighboring countries of El Salvador and Nicaragua and the U.S.'s involvement in the Cold War. Wood (1993), writing as a U.S. military student, provided a snapshot of education in the early 1990s

and offered suggestions on how to improve education in Honduras, suggesting that informed citizens could ensure political stability. The World Bank more recently released a comprehensive study on higher education in Central America (Bashir & Luque, 2012). Comparing expenditures on primary, secondary and university level education, the authors looked at what variables contributed to better access to education at all levels, and suggested that financial considerations need to have a long-range and sustainable plan in mind.

Popular education. The academic literature in the U.S. on education in Honduras and Central America is limited (especially outside English-language educational settings in these countries), and that which does exist often parallels the rising popularity of Paulo Freire's educational theories, the Nicaraguan and Cuban state-led literacy campaigns, and popular education efforts world-wide. Chain (1974) examined three "Paulo Freire-inspired programs of literacy education," one of which was in Honduras. Arnove (1981) described the literacy crusade of 1980 in the neighboring country of Nicaragua. Fink and Arnove (1989) addressed contemporary issues in popular education in Honduras, and suggested that there is space for popular education programs to grow and link with macro structures where local participants could shape organizations outside of their community and country. The authors noted that popular education programs are typically short in nature in order to create the biggest impact and engage with the most participants, and suggested that permanent popular education should be part of a revolutionary society. Waggoner and Waggoner (1971) provided a broad survey of the state of education in the Central American region during the late 1960s, including a chapter for each country in Central America. Offering an historical overview of education and a report on access at

the different levels of education, Waggoner and Waggoner suggested that Honduras needed more university-level teachers, and they highlighted the problem of student drop-out in the early grades.

Radio. The intersection of radio and education plays a prominent role in Central American education historically and up until the present, as Latin America's "rich tradition of critical theory and radical social movements" frequently used the radio as a way of reaching and educating marginalized populations (Tamminga, 1997, p. 20). Three studies dealt specifically with the use of radios and how radios were utilized in rural or remote communities, and showed how radios served as alternative methods of delivering education for students and teachers in Central America and Honduras (Figueredo & Anzalone, 2003; Tamminga, 1997; Tilson, 1991). Spaulding (2002) and Marshall, Aguilar, Alas, et al. (2014) also examined radio use and suggested additional alternative programs to increase retention in middle school and high school for students in the program. Tilson (1991) suggested that radio instruction was more cost effective than textbooks or teachers, especially when financing was an issue for maintaining broad access to education.

Community schools and assessment. Three studies looked at parental involvement and community or locally run schools in Honduras (Corrales, 2006; DiGropello & Marshall, 2011; Honeyman, 2010) including the Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (SAT) program, which was one of the educational offices I tracked down and visited for more information during fieldwork. I first learned of the SAT program from its frequent appearance in these articles. Further related to the SAT program, five studies authored by Murphy-Graham (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010) and Murphy-Graham and Lample

(2014) examined the SAT program in the context of Honduras. These studies analyzed educational outcomes within the SAT program, and the author(s) assessed and evaluated levels of trust, women's empowerment in public spaces and in intimate relationships, and civic engagement after participation in the SAT program. They found the SAT was more successful than other similar programs in getting participants to think about how they engaged in social responsibility. Honeyman (2010) concluded that educational programs teaching social responsibility need to have coherence in their implementation, and participants need to see how they are connected to and shape their community for the programs to be successful.

Education and economic development. Once neoliberal global economic policy became prominent in the region and worldwide in the 1990s, discussions about Central American educational reform used more overt and direct economic discourses (Bedi & Gaston, 1997; Cameron & Thorpe, 2000; McEwan, 1999). These studies were designed and authored by economists and policy makers. Improved social justice was rarely discussed as motivation for providing wider access to literacy and increasing access to education in Honduras (Honeyman, 2010). The proposals included removing whatever "impediments to private-sector involvement" there were in an effort to deregulate and defund the public education system, and increase private sector involvement in Honduran education as a means of improving the overall situation in Honduras (Wood, 1993, pp. 24-25).

Increasing a Honduran individual student's economic "rate of return" from the education services they receive could create a demand for further educational investment (Bedi & Marshall, 1999, p. 669), which in turn would provide further human capital for

the Honduran economy. These studies pushed for national educational reform to "increase productivity, reduce poverty and income inequality," and neoliberal and free market terms, such as "productivity" and "expected gains," (Bedi & Marshall, 1999, pp. 657, 669), "rate of return" (Bedi & Born, 1995, p. 145), and "market oriented" (Pavon, 2008, p. 193), were liberally employed in the language of these articles.

While these studies provide important insight into different educational programs in Honduras in recent decades, most dealt with community, popular, and health education, and not language education, international education in the context of Central America, or the local public education system in Honduras.

Literature indicating the significance of the Honduran context. For over a century, the relationship between Honduras and the United States has revolved around the banana industry, humanitarian aid, tourism, migration, and the economic interests of *maquilas* (factories or sweatshops) in free trade zones (Ver Beek, 2001). This relationship affects the field of education in Honduras as access to education (especially English-language education) is viewed as a way for Hondurans to compete in the globalized restructuring of the job market and increase their individual human capital (Bedi & Born, 1995; Bedi & Marshall, 1999; Pavon, 2008).

On the other hand, these programs and the relationship between Honduras, "developing" nations, and the "West" is frequently critiqued for high levels of economic exploitation, military intervention, and cultural imperialism, with these relationships benefiting primarily the "West," the U.S., and U.S. citizens at the expense of local economies, cultures, and people (Apple, Kenway & Singh, 2005; Apple, 2010; Carnoy, 1974; Dorfman & Mattelart, 1971).

Additionally, learning English in Honduras was widely perceived to lead to access to better paying jobs for individuals. One Honduran teacher explained to me that if one doesn't speak English in Honduras, they're considered for all practical purposes on the job market, illiterate. For this reason, many bilingual, international, language centers, American, and English-language schools exist in Honduras, and many were staffed by English-speaking U.S. citizens who were regarded as authentic speakers of English in ways that Honduran English-language speakers were not. Anecdotally, if given the choice, parents chose for their children to learn English over enrolling them in a public school because they perceived that knowing English would create better access to jobs for them as they grew. Low-cost private schools that existed outside of government regulation and educational oversight were the schools chosen by these families for their children's education. This scenario was a result of the popularity of English-language education with the Honduran public, regardless of socio-economic class.

The rise of private and English-language schools was not universally perceived as positive. During preliminary research trips to Honduras in 2012 and 2013, I found that teachers working in Honduran public schools questioned the expansion of private, English-language, international schools, especially because of how schools turned a profit, which conflicted with the idea of education as a human right. They felt the increase in these types of schools was a response to the interests of transnational corporations, and not a response to what Hondurans needed, or what would truly improve the Honduran setting. Other teachers expressed a concern that English-language and bilingual education was forced upon them by the creation of a need for English-language

skills in low-wage jobs. This was applicable specifically to employment in the *maquilas* and telemarketing call centers.

Third, educational reform in Honduras has been historically shaped by international aid organizations, foreign governments, world banking institutions, and transnational corporations (Education, n.d.; Honduras: Enhanced, 2005; Honduras: Poverty, 2005), and the private sector and the government of the United States have had "rather fixed ideas of what the social order of Central America ought to be" in the field of education (Waggoner & Waggoner, 1971, p. 2). It was suggested that Honduran educational reform should "respond to the demands of the national and global world reality" and the national and global reality was used as rationale to overhaul education in Honduras in 2012 (La Gaceta, 2012) with a new plan entitled the *Ley Fundamental de Educación*, or the Fundamental Law of Education. The new educational policy is contested widely by Honduran teachers (Freeston, 2011) who perceive it to cater to U.S. business interests and suggest that it privileges private schools and English as a language-of-instruction, rather than Spanish or critical thinking skills.

Fourth, the United States and other foreign governments' involvement in maintaining control over Honduras through aid, loans, programs, and in terms of school curriculum, is a "flagrant example" of how the priorities of the United States and the elite take precedence over the needs of marginalized groups (Tamminga, 1997, p. 42). One noted example of this, from the 1960s, involved an extensive revision of the secondary education curriculum for the Ministry of Education in Honduras by the Consortium of Universities of the State of Florida, U.S.A. After assessing this program, Waggoner and Waggoner (1971) noted that "it is probably fair to say that, as so often occurs in the

relationship between U.S. advisors and Latin American educational institutions, the Florida proposal tends to impose a U.S. pattern upon Honduran secondary education" (p. 144).

Finally, Honduras' educational setting exemplifies the political nature of education and of teaching English. Morrell (2008) says that "Latin America and the Caribbean have offered some of the best examples of the relationships between literacy praxis and social revolution" (p. 58) but these regions' educational settings have otherwise been absent from critical and postcolonial discourses. Examining alternative models of education and literacy in Central America and the Caribbean disrupts the idea that U.S. models should be preferred models of education and literacy, that U.S. teachers are unilaterally positive pedagogical forces in overseas environments, and that international organizations should have a say in Honduran education.

The success or failure of these alternative models isn't as important as the fact that there are alternative models, which throws commonsense understandings of education and literacy into question. Because of the strong economic, educational, and historical relationship between the U.S. and Honduras, English-language education in the Honduran setting, given the political and ideological complexity, can hardly be thought of as limited to pedagogical or individual outcomes. This study builds on the existing research and addresses problems I identity within the scholarship. First, the studies lack a thorough contextualization of the host country's setting, and the growth U.S. and international teachers experience is related to their temporary stay in the host country, but not necessarily specific to the unique setting. Second, we do not know what local host country residents think about this dynamic, especially ones who are tangentially affected

by these relationships and partnerships, but who are not directly involved in the international or transnational school setting.

Theoretical Frameworks

The three theoretical frameworks I rely on for this dissertation study – critical pedagogy, transnational feminism, and Critical Discourse Analysis – are representative of already existing beliefs and assumptions I have about qualitative educational research.

Critical pedagogy. A major component of this study is a comprehensive interrogation of the political and ideological context of education in Honduras, beyond the pedagogical project of teaching internationally or English-language education. By using the tenets of critical pedagogy to guide this analysis, I conscientiously position the data set within the context of Honduran education and within local and global transnational power structures. A belief in critical pedagogy recognizes that education is situated in historical, cultural, geographical, and political contexts, and that "liberation, oppression, violence, freedom and education, are not abstract categories, but historical ones," and must be considered as they affect the real and practical lives of human beings (Freire, 1976, p. 69). Frequently, studies in the field of education "fail to place schooling sufficiently in its social and political context," and in doing so, avoid a nuanced and complex examination of the role education plays in societies and communities (Singh, et al., 2005, p. 7). Schools, education, and teaching are very much positioned in society, and cannot be removed from society's standards or cultural norms.

Critical pedagogy also suggests an element of social justice and transformation, or as Freire (1993) calls it: praxis. The purpose of a critical education is twofold: to foster an understanding of unequal social hierarchies and to offer the tools that can prompt action

upon those inequalities to transform them (Freire, 1993). Transformation of society is impossible without an understanding of unequal social hierarchies and a plan of action with tools to facilitate transformation.

Critical pedagogy is especially appropriate for a study with a setting in Latin America because of the history of revolutionary culture and literacy campaigns there (Morrell, 2013, p. 58). Alternative forms of education, including literacy education, literacy campaigns, popular education, and education via alternative methods of delivery such as radio usage, occupy important roles Latin America in terms of both education and political formation. Acknowledging the critical educational context and history of Honduras and Latin America is paramount to understanding the role of English-language education and teaching there.

Transnational feminism. For this project, I define transnational feminism as a theory that connects "everyday life and local gendered contexts and ideologies to the larger, transnational political and economic structures and ideologies of capitalism" (Mohanty, 2002, p. 504). A transnational feminist project includes a thorough investigation of the local context and the global context, and situates the local and global individually and together in relations and hierarchies of power. A transnational feminist framework doesn't simply address or acknowledge issues of gender, but includes in its analysis intersectional identities. In this study, nationality, educational level, language, and race are especially pertinent intersectional identities (Crenshaw, 1989).

A transnational feminist lens allows for a rich examination of the diversity of perspectives and experiences of teachers in Honduras as they described and represented them through language use, with an implicit acknowledgment of the transnational (and

not the international) context. The data collected in this study is situated in contextual power structures, in terms of language (English and Spanish), nation (Honduras and the U.S.), education (public, international private, and NGO), or local and global, but recognizes that these each of these categories are not easily defined by viewing them as binary opposites.

The local and the global. A transnational feminist framework calls for an exploration of the local and global (Mohanty, 2002). This is best described as the transnational relationship between language, education, knowledge, and people as it plays out (1) across and transcending national borders (the global), and (2) on the ground in Honduras (the local). These relationships do not exist hypothetically or abstractly, nor are they only beneficial or only exploitative; a transnational feminist framework complicates the stability of nation-state borders and provides a theoretical framework to explore on-the-ground realities, globally and locally (Mohanty, 2002). These relationships are inherently complex and contradictory and are situated within multi-directional power hierarchies and dynamics.

Defining transnational. I use the term transnational (as opposed to international) because I presume that the dynamics of education transcend and are not sufficiently defined by national borders or nation-states (Lock-Swarr & Nagar, 2010; Mohanty, 2002; Mohanty, 2003).

To exemplify this concept, those that are physically and currently present within the national borders of Honduras, and those that are physically and currently present within the national borders of the U.S., are not homogenous enough groups to be defined as either national or international. National borders represent legal barriers for some

people in terms of travel, migration, or relocation, but are quite permeable for others. In the context of this dissertation, national borders represent opportunities for some participants, while they represent limitations for other participants. For example, U.S. citizens and teachers can freely travel to Honduras without securing a travel or tourist visa ahead of time, and are frequently provided with free transportation to and from Honduras annually by their employer – they have few or no economic, legal, or logistical restrictions in terms of traveling to the country where they want to live and teach. All U.S. citizens can legally travel to Honduras, even though some U.S. citizens may have limited opportunities based on their economic means.

Alternatively, most Hondurans face legal and economic barriers to crossing national borders, including and especially entry into the U.S. Hondurans have limited opportunities to travel (legally or otherwise) to the U.S. (based on class, occupation, language, etc.) and even fewer opportunities to work in the U.S. legally. Hondurans must apply for a travel visa to the U.S. before traveling, pay approximately $120, and participate in an interview at the U.S. Embassy in Honduras. They must provide documentation of their economic and employment situation before being approved.

Thus, traveling between Honduras and the U.S. is not an international concept, limited or defined only by national borders. It is transnational, because national borders are not the only boundaries and restrictions that control the exchange of people and travel (and ideas, goods, capital, and so on).

In a transnational relationship, those who stay in place or don't move around geographically are just as much affected by transnational processes as those who move around (Grewal, 2005, p. 36). For example, Hondurans, regardless of their capacity or

ability to cross through national borders (economic, legal, or otherwise) are affected by transnational relationships, including the presence of U.S. teachers who live and work in their communities. Because those who don't move around are also affected by transnational relationships, the inclusion of Honduran teachers' perspectives is integral to this study.

People are not the only exchange in a transnational relationship. The exchange of language, information, resources, curriculum, ideas, media, technology, is not determined, shaped, or limited by national borders (Lock-Swarr & Nagar, 2010; Mohanty, 2002; Mohanty, 2003). The educational settings and the participants in this research project are not necessarily national or international. I avoid a U.S.-Honduras binary for this study by framing the context as transnational instead of international. Defining groups of people by national borders is not sufficient in terms of understanding even basic flows of people, and transnational is more appropriate term for this project.

Defining feminism. Feminism is an ideology that advocates for liberation for women in terms of social, personal, economic, and political representation and equality. Mohanty (2013) clarifies that feminism must be a "political analysis and practice to free all women. No woman, because of her race, class, sexuality, age, or disability, is left out" (p. 290). Although I label this project feminist, a feminist project is not limited to studying, researching, or working with the category of those who can be defined as "woman."

To illustrate how I use the concept of feminism for this project (relative to transnational feminism, but not limited to social justice or liberation based singularly on gender), I offer an example using the primary research instrument in this study, or me. I

was labeled female at the moment of my birth. But my status as a white U.S. citizen afforded me benefits in Honduras that many Honduran women did not often have access to. Furthermore, my access to material resources – a result of growing up in the U.S., possessing U.S. citizenship, the socio-economic class of my parents, and my educational history – permitted me additional freedom and access to spaces in Honduras. It wasn't simply that I faced sexist oppression as a person labeled woman at birth. I was also a beneficiary of a racialized, national, class, and language hierarchy that privileged me in multiple ways while at the same time it oppressed other women and communities of women. Johnson-Odim (2013) suggests that many women worldwide "find that the source of their oppression cannot be limited or perhaps even primarily attributed to gender alone" (p. 319).

A feminist project is concerned with equality for and the liberation of women. However, feminism cannot be and is not limited to gender or sex. Relatedly, Gilliam (2013) suggest that for some women, "machismo and [U.S.-based] feminism are two sides of the same coin, because U.S. feminists have not integrated the political and economic aspects in their analysis of women's issues" (p. 232). Those who believe in transnational feminist solidary projects must avoid the dangers of research and teaching that assume the category of "woman" is the same for every woman everywhere, and integrate an analysis inclusive of other identity categories. A feminist analysis includes an analysis of class, race, nationality, sexuality, and language, among other intersectional identities.

Defining difference. A transnational feminist framework offers a way to think about seeing and then labeling "difference" as it is uncovered through research and

analysis. Difference is certainly acknowledged and analyzed in cross-cultural and transnational research, but it shouldn't be acknowledged in a way that "women in the Third World bear the disproportionate burden of difference" and "Western" or "first-world" is considered the norm or standard (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997). Frequently, research projects conducted in transnational settings identify and label "difference" and then only allow it to "unfold according to external standards and within an external frame of reference" (Lock Swarr & Nagar, 2010, p. 4). In uncovering and analyzing "difference," the researcher must challenge dominant values and acknowledge (and contest) the inequalities inherent in the relationships of people transnationally. Alternatively, dominant understandings of citizenship, family, gender, race, class, work, beauty, etc. should be destabilized and challenged in a perpetual and never-ending critique of self, community, and project.

To illustrate "difference," I offer an example using the beliefs U.S. teachers had about education and schools in the U.S. and Honduras. U.S. teachers arrived to Honduras believing that the standard for education and the "normal" way of educating and teaching was what they knew from their experiences as a student (and teacher, when applicable) in the U.S. This included, for example, a recess after lunch, the chance for students to work in pairs, or a colorful classroom with student artwork on the walls. When these U.S. teachers noted differences in the Honduran educational system, or saw the different ways Hondurans taught and learned, the U.S. teachers referenced it against what they already knew and believed about U.S. education as "normal." The difference they perceived in the Honduran educational system or the Honduran way of educating was then perceived to be different and thus, lower on the hierarchy.

The public, the private, and the third sectors. What does a transnational feminist framework specifically offer this study in its mission to interrogate English-language education in Honduras? In a neoliberal global economy, the responsibility of national governments (or the *public sector*, such as state-run institutions) to provide for the common welfare and well-being of their citizens is ceded to two other sectors: private enterprise (or the *private sector)* and volunteer organizations or NGOs (or the *third sector*) (Corry, 2010).

The private sector is any industry or business owned privately by a corporation or individual. For example, during the UFCo's reign in Honduras, and especially after the 1954 banana strike when workers demanded improved working conditions and benefits from the UFCo, the UFCo (or the private sector) provided health care, education, entertainment, and so on to their workers and their workers' families (Bucheli, 2008). The government (or the public sector) was not responsible for funding and maintaining schools or for building clinics and hospitals in the region or for their country's citizens. UFCo employees frequently mentioned the benefits they had decades ago from their private sector employer, including bowling alleys, dance halls, and movie theaters, and even fully decorated Christmas trees delivered to their home at the beginning of every December.

In the United States, health care is somewhat linked to the private sector (there are private hospitals and one's health insurance is typically linked to one's employment), but there is also a public sector element (Medicaid, Medicare, and to some degree the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare). Schools and education are the responsibility of the federal, state, and local governments (or the public sector). Although the public school

system in the U.S. is decidedly more comprehensive than any other type of educational system in the U.S., there are educational institutions run by private individuals and corporations, including religious parochial schools and some types of charter schools. The private and public sectors work side by side.

The third sector is comprised of NGOs, volunteer organizations, and charitable foundations and was first defined as such in the 1970s (Corry, 2010). In Honduras, the third sector is ever-expanding. A trip to the international airport on any day of the week provides an encounter with groups of thirty or forty young mission trip members wearing colorful matching t-shirts with slogans relative to their two-week trip to Honduras and their church group or volunteer organization. A drive into the Honduran countryside includes meeting four-wheel drive pick-up trucks with the logo of their respective NGO on the license plate or as a decal on the door, driven by foreign engineers and doctors. A stay at any large hotel in San Pedro Sula or the Honduran capital city of Tegucigalpa offers access to conferences and panels and meetings and sessions and reunions, organized and attended by people (Honduran and international) working for various NGOs from the U.S., Canada, Europe, and Japan. Beyond educational services, the third sector provides other types of financial and logistical support to countries around the world – environmental protection, clean water, economic development, gender empowerment, etc. The third sector exists in the U.S. as well – there are a plethora of non-profit, non-governmental (but not private), and volunteer organizations working in communities alongside the private and public sectors. In Honduras, as is the case in the U.S. and worldwide, the third sector is not free from critique or conflict (see Buffett, 2013).

In the present neoliberal global economy, the free-market (private sector) is preferred over state-run institutions (public sector), there is a persistent push for deregulation that frees capital, material resources, and money, and moves resources away from the control of the nation-state or government. The neoliberal state frequently relies on feminist NGOs and other organizations to do the work otherwise expected from governments (Mohanty, 2013, p. 972). In Honduras, NGOs and privately run schools, many of whom claim to have progressive, feminist, anti-imperial platforms, provide education and educational services in Honduran communities and to Honduran children. The Honduran government is doubly considered the reason behind the presence of these organizations. First, the Honduran government is considered incapable of providing a quality public education, and the private and third sectors must fill that gap. Second, because the Honduran government is incapable of providing education, they shouldn't be allowed to manage it. In other words, the private and third sectors are considered to be more capable of providing a high-quality education in Honduras, and it is suggested that their reach should be expanded and not limited (USAID, 2009; Wood, 1993).

Ziguras (2005) suggests that education in a transnational context (such as English-language education in Honduras) "challenges the modernist, industrial conception of public education as a central function of the nation-state because it is neither national nor provided by the state" (p. 103). I interrogate what it means for Honduras and for Hondurans when the responsibility of educating is no longer seen as a task for or the responsibility of the Honduran government, and relatedly, when the Honduran government is not seen as capable of providing a quality education for its citizens.

Furthermore, in the specific case of Honduras, many "international" schools are not officially international schools beyond their own self-description. Therefore, the educational setting also challenges the idea of what it means to be involved in an international education project. These schools, particularly schools run by NGOs and staffed by U.S. teachers, aren't typically national, nor are they typically international.

The transnational feminist framework moves this research beyond the binary that suggests teachers move back and forth between two international environments, and that their experience in the second environment allows them to return to the first environment as a new and improved teacher, with increased cultural competencies, improved pedagogical skills, and without other complications or complexities.

The individual, the social. Mohanty (2013) says "if all experience is merely individual, and the social is always collapsed into the personal," critical critiques may appear irrelevant (p. 971). The international teaching project (participating in English-language education abroad, and immense professional and personal growth) is presented as having "little controversy" (Willard-Holt, 2001, p. 505). In this vein, the experiences of the teacher are relegated to the experience of an individual, and the political and ideological implications of these experiences are collapsed into the personal and pedagogical. The value placed on the individual experience itself negates the value of interrogating the implications of English-language education beyond the individual, or that of U.S. citizens traveling and teaching for adventure or an opportunity. Given this narrative, English-language education in international settings is seen as solely and simply an activity that offers individual benefits (to the international teacher and presumably, the local and future bilingual student). When the individual teacher or

student is the primary emphasis of the study, a critical critique appears irrelevant. For that reason, this study avoids focusing solely on the individual teacher as a concept.

A major component of this study is understanding the political and ideological context of education in Honduras, beyond the pedagogical and individual project of teaching and English-language education. Thus, a transnational lens in an educational study attends to "responses to engagements with, and expressions of global flows of trade, investment, wealth, labor, people, information, and ideas" and recognizes the permeability of borders and boundaries and how that affects relationships (Kenway & Bullen, 2005, p. 33). How are academic feminist projects describing "difference," or observing grassroots organizations? How do researchers view their participants and how do researchers reproduce the power dynamics they purport to challenge? The implication for "transnational feminist praxis" is that researchers need to invest time in thinking about how the research process or the project itself produces and reproduces hierarchies of knowledge and replicates power in social structures.

Critical Discourse Analysis. I believe humans socially construct ourselves and others through language use and practice, and are "linguistically mediated beings" (Morrell, 2013, p. 5). Words and language are used to build our social identities and the social identities of the people around us. The meaning that is constructed through language use is the result of "social interactions, negotiations, contestations, and agreements among people" (Gee, 2012, p. 21).

Language and language use are central themes of this dissertation on multiple levels. First, the central tenet of this study is English-language education in Honduras. Second, I collect as data the words and language of teachers through interviewing, or the

ways teachers talked about English-language education in Honduras. In the data analysis and presentation of the findings, I highlight links and connections between the language teachers used to describe their experiences in Honduras with the global social structures in which they were situated.

It is not possible to use language in a neutral way, and "ideology is pervasively present in language" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2). The language choices and the words we select to describe our lives and the lives of others is highly ideological, and language is used to represent worldviews and regulate the world around us. We build our identities, position others, and exert our dominance and power by using "subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable'" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 302). Our linguistic "construction of other is essential to construction of self" (Hall, 2001, p. 330). There is a relationship between how we represent people and ourselves, the difference we create in those representations, and power. Hall (2001) goes as far to say that when we stereotype others, groups, or communities, we enact symbolic violence against them (p. 338) by contributing to their unequal position in society with our language use. We represent other people and we represent ourselves, and we create difference between ourselves and others with those representations. As noted in the section on transnational feminism and in the discussion on "difference," difference is measured against a standard where one person and one person's culture is considered the norm, and the different or other person is lacking or deficient. The representation and difference we use language to construct appears to be "normal" and natural. This is an invisible "strategy designed to fix 'difference', and thus secure it forever" (Hall, 2001, p. 336).

Representations (and thus, difference as we represent it with language) appear to be completely normal, natural, and commonsense. However, difference is often constructed by individuals and communities in the dominant or mainstream classes, and it is its repetition over time by those in the dominant classes that make them appear to have an element of "truth" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 27). When language use is naturalized and regarded as "truth" it appears to lose its ideology (p. 76).

We use language to construct and represent difference. Then, from the difference that is constructed, we place people, objects, characteristics, and so on within hierarches of power – we label the good and the bad, and the deserving and the undeserving. Once the language appears to be normal, natural, and truthful, the hierarches also appear to be normal, natural, and truthful. We justify the unequal distribution of social goods and resources, such as status, money, materials, and access to power based on these hierarchies (Gee, 2012).

Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2011; Gee, 2012) is a theory that links "the relationship of language to power in national or local settings" (Fairclough, 2001, p. iix) and helps a researcher highlight connections which "may be hidden from people" (through the process described above, in which language becomes natural, normal, and truthful) unless these connections are critically examined (p. 4). Because language is not a natural representation of a neutral reality, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seeks to "pry open spaces to examine taken-for-granted assumptions" about discourses and language use (Rogers, 2011, p. xv). CDA uncovers the hidden ideologies that shape language use because we know language use is not natural or neutral. This

type of critical language analysis uncovers deeply held beliefs of the larger society and individuals in that society.

Because "language itself is… political" (Gee, 2011, p. 9) and language use is driven by ideologies in systems of power, a discourse analysis must include a critical component. A critical analysis of discourse addresses the ways language subtly builds and reproduces power structures, or, conversely, challenges and disrupts them. I use Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework to analyze how teachers used language to position themselves, others, and their experiences in English-language educational settings in Honduras.

When the political and social are ignored in favor of celebrations of the personal, critical lenses are believed to be unnecessary or irrelevant (Mohanty, 2013). Once the political and ideological elements of language use are made visible, these contexts no longer seem as universally uncontroversial as they are often presented, and the project opens itself to critical challenges. A consciousness of how language use constructs difference (how we represent ourselves with language, and how we represent others with language) is one step towards challenging and dismantling these power structures. Language only has meaning when it is linked to social practices, and many of these practices "leave us morally complicit with harm and injustice unless we attempt to transform them" (Gee, 2011, p. 12). Once we are aware of how language use justifies the unequal distribution of social goods (including access to education or English-language skills) we can actively look for ways to challenge and dismantle those inequalities.

This dissertation uses Fairclough's (2001) methods of Critical Discourse Analysis as outlined in *Language and Power* because "nobody who has an interest in relationships

of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language" (p. 3). I also apply Gee's (2011) concept of the "building blocks" of language use to examine how language is used to construct realities through representation. According to Gee (2011), language-in-use is built on seven areas of reality.[2] For the purposes of this project, I limit my focus to two of the seven: significance and politics.

By focusing on the "significance" building block in a critical analysis of language use, I demonstrate how certain goods (events, people, capital, ideas, etc.) were constructed as significant through language use, and how others were constructed as insignificant (explicitly by description, or subtly by omission). Ascribing a value of significance to a speaker's words involves more than simply looking at the way the language is used. It involves analyzing "not only what is present in the text, but what is absent" (Rogers, 2011, p. 15). Language use in all contexts, including the language use of teachers in varied educational settings in Honduras, ascribes and takes away significance. CDA allows for an evaluation of what experiences and beliefs are constructed as significant or insignificant, and what that says about the speaker's beliefs behind their word choice.

The "politics" building block deals with the unequal distribution of social goods. Social goods create or limit access to a range of opportunities in society. For example, status is a social good, as is authority, or reputation. Social goods are not distributed equally across communities or individuals, and are disturbed unequally based on other identities unrelated to the social good itself. For example, a person with an identity of

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[2] These seven areas are: significance, practices, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems, and knowledge (pp. 17-20).

"woman" does not have the same automatic "authority" in the field of car mechanics as men do. This has nothing to do inherently with a woman or a man, or with a woman's or a man's actual level of knowledge about cars, or the link between genitals and vehicles. However, prevailing stereotypes linking men and cars give men "authority" on mechanical issues, or an unearned social good of "authority" on this topic.

We use language to convey expectations about how social goods should be distributed, who gets them, and why. We use language to support someone's or something's reputation, or we use language to ruin it. We use language to distribute authority, status, responsibility, and right and wrong.

Chapter 3: Methods and Data Analysis

In Chapter 3, I situate myself in the study by writing a positioning statement. I provide justification to support my choice in conducting a qualitative research study using ethnographic methods of data collection and data analysis, and I share how preliminary research trips to Honduras and the dissertation fieldwork inform this constantly evolving methodological choice. I reflect on the process of selecting the central phenomenon, the research site, and the participants for this study, and I elaborate on the methods and types of data collection and final data analysis.

Positioning Statement of Researcher

Academic research, particularly when conducted by a researcher of the Global North working in the Global South, "is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (Tuhwahi Smith, 2012, p. 5). I am "trained and socialized into ways of thinking, of defining, and of making sense of the known and unknown" (p. 127) because of my background as a white U.S. citizen, and as a doctoral student with degrees in English and in literacy education. As white researchers, "we must accept that we are privileged as white people, and through our actions and inactions we have purposefully (or not) participated in and benefited from race and class (if middle-class) privilege in this society" (Russo, 1991, p. 309).

As a teacher, I actively look for ways I perpetuate and reproduce "power, privilege and exclusion" in classrooms (Ochoa & Pineda, 2008, p. 45). I am new to researching, and the transnational feminist framework I employ prompts me to challenge myself and my role in global and local power structures as I design the study and as I

collect, categorize, analyze, and present the data. The primary research instrument in qualitative research (me) has "shortcomings and biases that might have an impact on the study," and instead of trying to remove bias from this study, or claim that I don't have subjectivities or biases, I identify them throughout the presentation of this research and monitor how they affect collection and analysis of data (Merriam, 2009, p. 15). Creswell (2013) suggests researchers openly acknowledge how their own background shapes interpretation of the data, and that researchers should "position themselves" in the research to show how the project stems from personal, cultural, and historical experiences (p. 25). For these reasons, I offer a positioning statement of who I am as a researcher within this study.

I am a trained and certified ELA teacher for grades five through twelve. My first teaching job was in Yuma, Arizona, U.S.A., which is in the southwest corner of Arizona on the border of California and Mexico. For five years in Arizona, I taught various high school English classes and coached cross-country, basketball, and track. I lived and taught in Honduras from 2006-2009, and moved back to the United States the same month – June 2009 – as the political and military coup d'état that ousted the democratically elected Honduran president, José Manuel "Mel" Zelaya Rosales.

While living in Honduras, I taught at an elite international school. It was founded in the 1930s as the La Lima American School for children of UFCo employees who were U.S. citizens living in Honduras. Eventually, children of UFCo Honduran management-level employees were permitted to attend. After Hurricane Mitch in 1998, which destroyed much of the UFCo's banana plantations in Honduras, the school was sold and is now privately owned and accredited by the Southern Accreditation of Colleges and

Schools (SACS) out of the United States. The Honduran teachers at the international school typically held college and graduate degrees from the U.S. and Honduras and were fluent in English, but they were paid substantially less than their U.S. and Canadian colleagues teachers because of their status as "local hire." The foreign staff also received free housing, free annual plane tickets to and from their home country, and a plethora of other economic and logistical benefits.

Upon returning to the U.S. in 2009, I began teaching at Kirkwood Community College as an adjunct in the English Department and in Kirkwood's program in the state prison for General Equivalency Degree (GED) and English Language Learning (ELL) inmates. I applied to graduate school at the University of Iowa with the intention of learning more about education in Honduras based on questions that arose from my experiences living and teaching there.

In Honduras, I was identified by others most closely as a member of a historically colonizing entity (the English-speaking United States, both militarily and economically). However, this identity rarely resulted in anything other than positive opportunities for me as an individual. I once had a well-paying job in Honduras and free housing in a gated community. The Honduran transit police (usually) let me go without penalty, even when I was guilty of breaking the law. I was shuttled to the front of the line in medical clinics and stores. Mechanics offered free help with my car and motorcycle, and I was allowed unchecked entry into hotel swimming pools and country clubs. As a researcher, I've been enthusiastically invited where Honduran scholars are excluded, yet in other venues I've been (half-jokingly) asked if I have connections to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

While living in Honduras, I joined various social groups and participated in several activities outside the school setting, including playing in a women's basketball league and participating in the activities of two LGBTI groups. In October 2011, I hosted a Honduran public school teacher, university professor, and *Partido LIBRE* candidate for office who was on a U.S. speaking tour. I facilitated and interpreted six speaking engagements in Iowa City and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, U.S.A. In February of 2016, I hosted another Honduran educator and activist who spoke on university and high school campuses about youth in Honduras as related to education and migration to the U.S. Again, I facilitated and interpreted events at three colleges and over the course of these events, we spoke with over 700 people, including meetings with Iowa state legislators and an appearance on a local radio show.

I am an outwardly vocal supporter of a strong public sector, including public schools and state-funded (but autonomous) school systems. I am a product of the public-school system in Iowa, from Kindergarten through graduate school. My dad was a teacher in public schools for thirty-six years, my mother was the city clerk for twenty-seven years in my hometown of 800 people, and my first teaching job was at a public high school in Arizona.

Living in Honduras from 2006-2009, I became knowledgeable about the political system there, including the ins and outs of Honduran political parties, ideological leanings, and candidates for office. Then, as I do now, I attended rallies and marches, and I politically aligned with many of the Honduran teachers in their support of the public-school system.

Paradoxically, there is tension in my solidarity with the Honduran public school teachers and the social movement there. My introduction to Honduras came about because I took a job at an elite international private English-language school, and my contact and eventual solidarity with the public-school teachers grew from that initial foray into Honduras. "There can, of course, be no apolitical scholarship" (Mohanty, 1991, p. 53), and by offering a glimpse of who I am as a person, teacher, and researcher, I acknowledge the privilege of these categories (among others), the ways in which I was afforded the opportunity to do this research, and the ways in which I continue to benefit from it.

Reflection on the Method of Inquiry – A Qualitative Research Study

There are eight common characteristics of a qualitative research study (Creswell, 2013, pp. 45-47), and this study actively aligns itself with each of the eight characteristics. First, the setting of a qualitative research study is a natural setting. I spent extended time in the natural setting of the central phenomenon of this dissertation: the English-language educational context in Honduras. I sought opportunities to observe teachers and schools over a period of months, and rather than relying on second-hand information through interviews or brief periodic visits to Honduras, I visited schools, classrooms, and other educational settings when possible. I also spent time in the natural setting of Honduras yet outside of the English-language educational context, to better understand the holistic natural setting.

Second, in qualitative research, the researcher is the primary research instrument. I (as the primary investigator) designed the study, and throughout its progress, made decisions in how, where, when, and from whom the data would be collected. As the

primary research instrument, I adjusted when necessary, including making decisions on which teachers to follow up with, organizing and managing the data, sorting and coding the data into themes and categories, and interpreting the data given the context. The meaning I gave to the data based on the context I position it in is filtered through the primary research instrument: me.

Third, qualitative data includes multiple methods of data collection. I collected three categories of data. I utilize interviews, fieldnotes from participant-observations, and cultural artifacts (photos of graffiti, classrooms, social media posts, etc.) to answer the research questions and to present the findings and themes as they arose from the data through analysis. Contextual positioning of the data is possible because of the extended time I spent in the field. I use rich and thick description to triangulate the data and support my findings.

Fourth, the analysis and findings in qualitative research should emerge from "complex reasoning through inductive and deductive logic" that comes from immersing oneself in the field, in the context, and repetitively in the data set. In Chapter 3, I clarify the methods I used to collect the data, and I detail how I narrowed the data set over time. I use specific examples from the data set to support my findings and I clearly show the logical processes I took to arrive there.

Fifth, the focus of qualitative research should be more on the voices of interview participants, and less on the researcher's interpretation of their voices. To this end, I frequently use participant interview data to represent and support the findings for this study. As necessary, I situate the data (i.e. the language use of the teachers) within the appropriate context. However, any interpretation of the data or conclusion I draw from it

is filtered through me because I am the primary research instrument in this study, and I select what examples of data to use, and how to interpret and present them.

Sixth, a qualitative project design evolves over time as the researcher works in the field and presents the findings. A qualitative study has an emergent design and an "initial plan for research [that] cannot be tightly prescribed." As I learned about the Honduran educational setting and became increasingly more informed about the local and global context of Honduras, the design of this study did, in fact, change significantly and often. I interviewed considerably more teachers than I initially intended to include, and casual encounters and conversations (with people on buses, gas station attendants, security guards, and cooks) became fundamental in how I understood what education was in Honduras. To add to the sixth characteristic of qualitative research, Merriam (2010) suggests that qualitative researchers need a "high tolerance for ambiguity" (p. 17). I do not think of myself as typically having a high tolerance for ambiguity, but I did learn to trust the changes that occurred and the direction the research took for this study.

Seventh, qualitative researchers are clear as they present the research in terms of who they are and what their experiences and knowledge surrounding the central phenomenon of the research are. To this end, I include a positioning statement in Chapter 3, and I offer my own personal, research, and teaching histories throughout this dissertation to "check" myself and my assumptions, or in other words: to be reflexive. This allows the audience to consider and assess my level of understanding as they review my findings.

Finally, qualitative research is holistic. Because I include a diversity of perspectives in the data set, and worked extensively to understand the social and

educational context of Honduras, I provide a holistic account of the setting related to the central phenomenon of this study. There are, clearly, issues I don't yet understand about Honduras and Honduran education. I am consciously aware of potential problems in my understanding, and I highlight them in this study when applicable. I continue researching to fill missing information.

Ethnographic Methods of Data Collection

After just a brief time in the field in February 2015, I recognized this project was suited to a qualitative study that uses ethnographic methods of data collection and the lens of culture (Merriam, 2009, p. 29) to collect and analyze data. An ethnography "focuses on an entire culture-sharing group" (Creswell, 2013, p. 90). For this study, I define the "culture-sharing" group at hand broadly, as people who teach in various educational settings in Honduras. This definition includes participants (or the "culture-sharing group") who are linked by shared professions (teaching) and geography (Honduras), although their culture-sharing with one another was somewhat limited.

Ethnography serves as a method of data collection and as the product of the investigation: this dissertation (Fetterman, 2010; Merriam, 2009). To appropriately situate the data and information gathered from interviews, participant-observations, and cultural artifacts, the investigator (or the primary research instrument) places the data "in a culturally relevant and meaningful context" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 1). An ethnographic framework offers a way to think about data collection, and it acknowledges that macro-understandings about the culture (or the context) of a study are as of equal importance to the data set itself.

English-language teachers in Honduras from countries other than Honduras very rarely had overlapping backgrounds, experiences, or stories – they ended up in Honduras for different reasons (missionaries, job fairs, and backpackers), and they taught at different types of schools (volunteer-based, private schools with U.S. salaries and benefits, NGOs). Honduran teachers, too, had such diverse histories and perspectives I wasn't sure how to limit the study to just a few participants and still uncover the information I hoped to uncover. Creswell (2013) suggests that a "hallmark of all good qualitative research is the report of multiple perspectives that range over the entire spectrum of perspectives" (p. 151). Including a diversity of teaching perspectives became a goal of this project. Furthermore, it felt incomplete to stop interviewing participants when I still had limited knowledge about language education in Honduras, and had much to learn from participants and informants themselves.

In Chapter 3, I offer more information about the narrowing of the focus of this study and how the data set became condensed. As I identified patterns and repetitions in the collection of the data, they became themes and categories. The shift towards a more substantial interviewing process during fieldwork informs the connections I make about nuances of Honduran education that wouldn't have been revealed to me with fewer interviews and participants. Fetterman (2010) refers to this as a "big net" approach to gathering data (p. 35), and suggests that an ethnography prompts the researcher to "discover interrelationships among the various systems and subsystems in a community or program under study – generally through an emphasis on the contextualization of data" (p. 19).

As I listened to the first audio-recorded interviews I conducted early in the data collection process, and as I sorted through and coded the data set, I heard myself asking questions to participants about the basic structuring of Honduran public schools, the types of English-language education available, and Honduran governmental policies. By 2015 I had a much better grasp of the concepts I asked participants about in 2012 and 2013. The broader interview data set also contributes to my own knowledge about facets of the Honduran educational context, and adds to the ethnographic record.

Preliminary research trips: 2012 and 2013. In the summer of 2012, I traveled to Honduras to explore the history of education there. This exploratory project included interviews with Honduran public school teachers, and a close examination of how these teachers gained popular support and influenced Honduran educational policy by working outside the schools through participation in social movements. I interviewed Hondurans about globalization, schools, politics, and the future of education in Honduras. Eleven of the participants taught in public schools in Honduras and were active in the FNRP. One was a certified teacher who spent three years as a Congressperson in the Honduran national legislature, and another was a certified teacher who is now exiled out of the country because of his work as an activist. Two participants were parents of school age children in public schools. One was a community educator and leader in an LGBTI group. I visited schools, attended organizing meetings, and observed classroom instruction.

I returned during the summer of 2013 and interviewed a small sample of North Americans teaching in English in Honduras. I was somewhat familiar with this group of teachers already, as I was a member of this category for three years. These teachers'

limited understandings outside of the international school environment, and their minimal contact with Hondurans beyond those whose work at their school (and occasionally a maid or taxi-driver) mirrored my own experiences from 2006-2009. Their views of Honduran politics and education reflected the beliefs of elite social class and families in the schools where they taught.

I designed a qualitative research study using ethnographic methods of data collection for my dissertation project because "qualitative social research investigates human phenomena that do not lend themselves, by their very nature, to quantitative methods" (Carspecken, 1995, p. 3). Through preliminary research trips, I became familiarized with one culture-sharing group that essentially included two groups of people with the same profession (teacher) who lived in the same geographical space (Honduras). However, these preliminary research trips also highlighted how the conversations these teachers had about education were significantly non-overlapping, and these two groups rarely spoke or interacted with each other, even as they often worked next door to each other. The answers to the research questions and my own questions about English-language education in Honduras were best sought after with a qualitative research study and ethnographic methods of data collection.

Dissertation fieldwork: 2015. During time spent in the field during eight months in 2015, I ambitiously took each opportunity that befell me to learn as much about education in Honduras and the natural setting of this research project. This is a hallmark of qualitative research (Fetterman 2009; Murchison 2010). Each time I ran across an educational program in Honduras I was ignorant of, whether I heard about it on the evening news report, read it in an academic article, or talked about it with a teacher, I

inquired further, made appointments with the relevant people, and visited their offices or classrooms.

For example, upon seeing a sign for an educational foundation painted on a concrete block wall in the country's capital city of Tegucigalpa, I returned home to the *barracones*, googled the foundation's name – PACASA, or *Papelera Capulas* – and made an appointment at their office to ask for more information. PACASA is a paper recycling factory that produces the notebooks sold in most office supply stores in Honduras and are used by most Honduran students nationally. The visit to PACASA's offices resulted in an invitation for a tour and field trip of their recycling facility with two groups of middle school students from a local bilingual school.

Another occasion found me waiting at a stoplight on my motorcycle. The motorcycle next to me had a license plate that said: *MOTOMUNDO y yo apoyamos la educación*. MotoMundo is the name of a motorcycle shop, and the tagline said, "We support education." The initials "FEREMA" were also on the license plate: *The Fundación para la Educación Ricardo Ernesto Maduro Andreu* is an educational foundation named after the kidnapped and murdered son of Honduran ex-president Ricardo Maduro (2002-2006). The elder Maduro is (in)famous and controversial for his *mano dura* (iron fist) policies of being tough on gangs and violence. Again, I learned about this organization because when I arrived to the *barracon*, I googled FEREMA and read up on their work.

A Catholic educational program called IHER (*Instituto Hondureño de Educación por Radio*) uses the radio and alternative methods of material delivery to reach non-traditional students or those living in remote and rural areas. I learned about IHER when I

passed a pick-up truck on my motorcycle. The pick-up had a decal on its driver's-side door advertising an educational organization in the German language. I approached the pick-up, gave the driver my business card, and asked if I could stop by sometime and learn about what they did. They invited me to stay for an entire day, sit in on classes, and had packets of information ready for me when I arrived. Through similar methods, I became acquainted with the PROHECO (*Programa Hondureña de Educación Comunitaria*), a state-run and community based school system, and the SAT (*Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial*).

The schools in proximity to the schools directly relevant to this study were also places I sought more information. U.S. teachers frequently pointed out the nearest public school they knew of, and detailed the often violent and always negative rumors and anecdotes they had heard about the public school, its teachers, and students. This was typically coupled with a warning not to enter or pass by the public school so I could avoid its dangers. Each time this happened, I went to the public school and set up an appointment with the teachers or administration for an interview and tour.

From informants, participants, colleagues, and friends, I received invitations to teaching conferences, bilingual school conferences, national teacher union meetings, events at the universities, meetings with municipal officials, poetry readings, and school field trips. I was asked to translate documents on multiple occasions, and my editing skills were sought after for placards to be displayed in a national museum (in English).

While listening to and reviewing audio-recordings of interviews, I took notes and made detailed lists about programs, reforms, laws, regulations, and systems I didn't fully understand, and persisted in locating information until I had a sufficient grasp of each of

them. Any program, foundation, curriculum, or space I was not completely clear about, I sought out informants who could explain further. As I categorized and analyzed the data set, read newspaper articles, and communicated with colleagues, teachers, students, and friends in Honduras, it was a perpetual challenge to seek clarification and to confront my misunderstandings, even after officially stopping data collection for this project.

This study design – using three types of data, ethnographic methods of collection, and a "big net" approach (Fetterman, 2010) – ensures the trustworthiness of the data categorization, analysis, and presentation.

Critical and transformative qualitative research. This qualitative project is interpretive in nature, meaning that as the primary research instrument, I acknowledge that reality is socially constructed, and so are the findings for this study. There are "multiple realities, or interpretations, of a single event" (Merriam, 2009, p. 8), and the findings I offer are only one possible interpretation of the data I have collected.

Critical research "goes beyond the interpretation of people's understandings of their world" (Merriam, 2009, p. 9) and researchers conducting critical research "frame their research questions in terms of power – who has it, how it's negotiated, [and] what structures in society reinforce the current distribution of power." At power's most fundamental level, it is achieved through ideology and through the ideological workings of language (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2). Because language and the ways people use language contribute to unequal hierarchies of power, a central component of this research project is to explore the power dynamics surrounding English-language education in Honduras.

Considering the context of English-language education in Honduras, and throughout the data categorization and data analysis, I continually asked and re-asked

questions about how power was maintained and contested, what social structures and language use reinforced and challenged the unequal distribution of power, who benefited and who did not benefit from these power hierarchies, and so on. Critical scholarship and research reveals "the political, social, ethical, and economic interests and commitments that are uncritically accepted" as "normal" in educational lives, in what society and individuals believe education is for, and in what society and individuals believe education can do (p. 14). Social, cultural, economic, and political structures – often hidden and invisible – sort and categorize people based on intersectional identities (Crenshaw, 1989), geographical locations, technical skills, and so on. Power within these multi-dimensional and multi-directional structures is distributed unequally and often inconsistently to individuals and communities.

To illustrate the link between power and intersectional identities, consider the category of "woman" and the access to power "women" have in society – in the workplace, at home, to earn money, and so on. Women worldwide have limited access to a range of opportunities based on their gender, and there are significant cultural, legal, and historical restrictions placed on "women" and those who fit within the category society understands as "woman." However, the impact of these restrictions varies drastically between every individual "woman," and different communities of "women" based on geography, race, and a host of other intersectional identities. Even as a person who was assigned "female" or "woman" at the moment of my birth, my nationality (U.S.) offers me access to opportunities that many "women" worldwide simply do not have. Furthermore, my skin color (white) offers me opportunities in the U.S. that many women of color (who are U.S. citizens or who reside in the U.S.) do not have. As a critical study,

identifying and challenging power as it was used to privilege and oppress communities and individuals is central to this research project.

I intend for this dissertation to be "transformative." A transformative study offers a plan of action. Like critical research, transformative research inherently assumes that "knowledge is not neutral and it reflects the power and social relationships within society, and the purpose of knowledge construction is to aid people to improve society" (Creswell, 2013, pp. 25-26). To this end, in Chapter 6, I offer implications for teaching and educational practice. This study is not limited to the generation of knowledge, but includes thoughts and ideas for future action, change, and transformation.

From extensive reading in the critical fields of anthropology and feminist studies, I appreciate that the same research that benefits the researcher, the field, and the academy can be precarious to communities, exploitative and appropriative to cultures and ideas, and dangerous to participants. Research is not an "innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 5), and I have been "trained and socialized into ways of thinking, of defining, and of making sense of the known and unknown" in both higher education and in society (p. 127). Because of this, I acknowledge the implications of education beyond the pedagogical. I consider education fundamentally political and ideological, and I have an inherent understanding that this qualitative study itself – this dissertation with me as the primary research instrument – is political and ideological. A critical study is open and clear about "the many ways, a good number of them highly subtle, in which power corrupts knowledge" (Carspecken, 1995, p. 21) and all qualitative studies should include a critical examination of power relationships to discover who has

what kinds of power and how they acquired it, and conversely, who lacks power and why. My power as a researcher with academic training and as the primary investigative instrument in this study, as a white person from North America, as an English speaker, and so on – corrupts the knowledge I produce, reproduce, and present. I intend to be open to and clear about the overt and subtle privileges that corrupt the knowledge generated in this study.

Reflection on the Research Site: The North Coast of Honduras

Geographically, I limit this study to the North Coast of Honduras. Figure 1 is a map of North America and the Caribbean indicating the location of Honduras in Central America. This map also shows the geographical proximity of the Honduran North Coast to Miami, Florida and New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A. The main metropolitan area in the North Coast is San Pedro Sula, Honduras' second largest city of about one million people

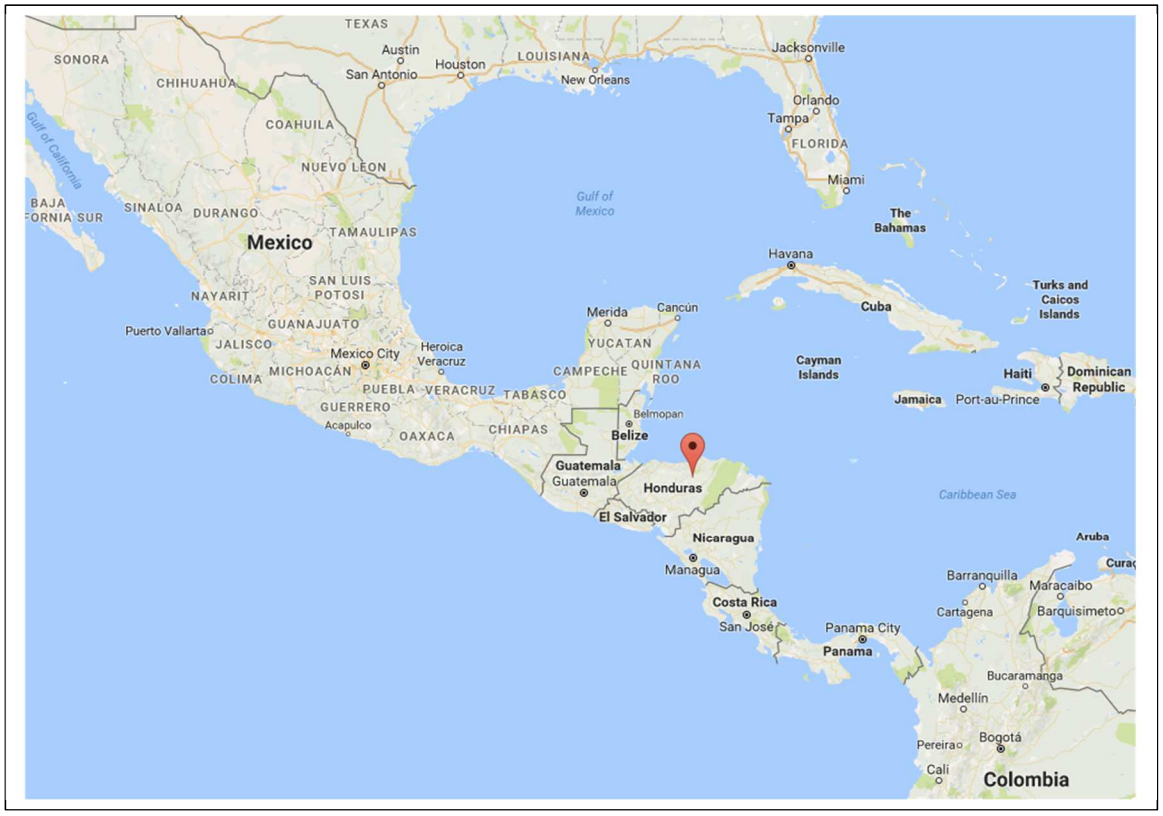


Figure 1. Location of Honduras in North America.

and its "industrial capital." I stayed in La Lima, which is a city on the outskirts of San Pedro Sula.

Figure 2 is a close-up map of Honduras. The location of each of the departments I visited during dissertation fieldwork are indicated. La Lima – where I stayed – is shown with a red and black bullseye. The North Coast of Honduras is at the top of the map, bordering the Caribbean Sea.

Figure 2. The North Coast of Honduras. Labeled are the seven departments where I visited schools and spoke with teachers during dissertation fieldwork in 2015.

English as a language of communication has a significant historical presence and economic impact on the North Coast, in part because of the region's geographic proximity and relationship to the U.S. (Soluri, 2005) and its "distinct economic and political culture" (Euraque, 1996) relative to the rest of Honduras. The abundance of English-language schools, telemarketing call centers advertising for potential English-

language employees, billboards promoting fast-food Double-Cheeseburgers and Whoppers, and signs for the nearest Car Wash, Open House, and Drive-In are evidence of the prominent use of English on the North Coast of Honduras.

There are five primary reasons I limited this study to the geographic North Coast of Honduras.

First, the North Coast was historically where U.S. corporations such as the United Fruit Company (Chiquita) and the Standard Fruit Company (Dole) had and still have extensive banana plantations. The exportation of bananas from this region in Honduras brought to the North Coast "the wonders of Yankee-style modernization: hospitals, electricity, ice factories, railroads, airplanes, radios, and imported foods, clothing, and music" (Soluri, 2005, p. 2) during the first half of the twentieth century. The UFCo even paid Honduran workers in U.S. dollars until 1954 (Portillo Villeda, 2011). The fruit companies' dominance on the North Coast resulted in English as the language of trade and of business in the area.

At one point in the early twentieth century, it was easier to travel by ship from the Honduran coastal town of Tela (on the Caribbean coast of Honduras) to New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A., than it was to get from Tela to Honduras' capital, Tegucigalpa, over land (Painter & Lapper, 1990). Today, Honduras' busiest international airport is in La Lima (and not in San Pedro Sula or the capital city of Tegucigalpa) because of the century-long presence of the UFCo banana company's presence there, as an effort to ease international travel for UFCo employees. *Limeños*, or residents of La Lima, described to me a community of Hondurans who spoke English, had close ties to the U.S., lived in a neighborhood of La Lima called la *Zona Americana*, or the "America Zone," and whose

grandparents or great-grandparents moved with the UFCo to Honduras decades ago, as *grindios*. The word *grindio* is a blend of the Spanish words *gringo* and *indio* (slang for U.S., white English-speaker and slang for Honduran local, or "Indian" respectively); these English and Spanish speaking families were of U.S. heritage and settled permanently in Honduras generations ago.

Second, during the late 1970s and through the 1980s, the North Coast of Honduras (specially, the Bajo Aguán region) served as a military training ground for the U.S. while the U.S. intervened in the neighboring countries of Nicaragua and El Salvador (Soluri, 2005). Since 2012, officers of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration have been present and involved in two separate incidents on the North Coast of Honduras, both of which resulted in the deaths of Hondurans including two pregnant women (Savage, 2012; Schwartz, 2014). There continues to be a significant and growing U.S. military presence in Honduras, particularly on the North Coast. In 2015, the president of Honduras – Juan Orlando Hernández – controversially announced that the international airport in the country's capital city of Tegucigalpa would close and a new civilian airport would open at the U.S. military headquarters in Palmerola (Honduras), sixty miles outside of Tegucigalpa (Sánchez, n.d.).

Third, since the 1970s, *maquilas* (sweatshops, or factories in free trade zones) are in abundance on the North Coast, and many of the *maquilas*, including the sweatshop involved in the Kathie Lee Gifford child labor scandal in 1996, have ties to U.S. business entities (Storm, 1996). Most of the goods produced in these *maquilas* (textiles, etc.) are shipped from the Caribbean North Coast of Honduras (primarily from the port city of Puerto Cortés) to Miami and New Orleans in the U.S. (Jackson, 2005).

Fourth, there is one region of the North Coast of Honduras where English is quite possibly used more than Spanish or any other indigenous language: the three Caribbean Bay Islands (Utila, Roatán, and Guanaja). The Bay Islands are a department of Honduras, but until 1861, the Bay Islands were controlled by Great Britain. At the time of the islands' transference to Honduras, "most business transactions and other social activities took place in English" (Soluri, 2005, p. 19). This holds true today; English as a language of communication is standard in the Bay Islands and in some pockets along the North Coast (Antoninis, 2014). Many residents of the islands and along the North Coast of Honduras belong to two Afro-descendent ethnic communities. Los *negros ingleses*, (translated literally, the "Black English") are "descendants of Creole and English-speaking people of African descent who migrated to Honduras from various parts of the Caribbean in the nineteenth and early twentieth century," and primarily speak English (Anderson, 2009; Soluri, 2005). Since this community speaks (and historically has spoken) English, members of *los ingleses* were highly sought after for work in the U.S.-owned fruit companies decades ago. La Ceiba, a city on the Caribbean coast of Honduras where the Standard Fruit Company (Dole) is headquartered, has a neighborhood called *Barrio Ingles*, or the "English Neighborhood," indicating the historical presence of communities of English speakers.

Two Honduran women of African descent whom I interviewed during fieldwork said they didn't learn Spanish until their teens. One of these women – Patty (Honduran, language center teacher) – took issue with the idea of English as a "foreign language" in Honduras. Patty was born in the Bay Islands, but moved with her mother to La Lima when she was a child because they spoke English, and her mother secured employment as

a maid or servant for the UFCo. It was not necessary Patty to learn Spanish until her family left their English-speaking community in the Bay Islands and arrived in La Lima on the mainland.

The other Afro-descendent community is an indigenous ethnic group in Honduras called the Garífuna community, who speak Garífuna, Spanish, and sometimes English (Anderson, 2009). The Garífuna people are descended from a group of people the British called "Black Caribs." Their origins can be traced to a group of Africans who were kidnapped with the intention of their enslavement, and who then shipwrecked on the island of St. Vincent in the Caribbean. They joined a community of Carib indigenous people and lived as a free community. In the late eighteenth century, the Garífuna left St. Vincent and settled in Roatán (of the Bay Islands in Honduras). There are currently Garífuna communities all along the Caribbean coast of Central America, including in Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Beginning in the 1940s, members of the Garífuna community began migrating to the United States (Anderson, 2009) and today many Garífuna in Honduras (and in the U.S.) speak English.

Finally, some Honduran educators felt the proliferation of English-language education on the North Coast of Honduras was to domesticate the region of Honduras which historically has been the most revolutionary and contrary to the oligarchy, imperialism, and U.S. economic and military presence. Héctor (Honduran, NGO lawyer) explained:

> *La mayor parte de las escuelas bilingües están en el norte, porque es en el norte donde más efervescencia tuvo la insurrección armada revolucionaria, y las escuelas bilingües eran utilizados para desarticular la organización y enajenar al*

pueblo. [Most of the bilingual schools are on the North Coast because it was on the North Coast where the most vibrant revolutionary armed insurrection took place, and bilingual schools are used to disrupt the organization and alienate the people.]

I lived in Honduras (on the North Coast, in the department of Cortés, and the municipality of La Lima) from 2006-2009, and I travel to the area frequently. However, I – a U.S. teacher looking to teach English in Central America in 2006 – did not end on the North Coast of Honduras haphazardly. The presence of English and the desire for English-language education in the banana-producing areas and free trade zones of North Coast of Honduras is not a new phenomenon. My arrival there as an English-language teacher and my presence there as an English-language researcher is historically situated.

Reflection on the Participants: Teachers in Honduras

This study includes participants who were teaching across varied educational settings in Honduras, including in public, private, and NGO school classrooms, and who used both the Spanish and English language to deliver instruction.

The role of the teacher in Honduras. Honduran teachers have historically taken the blame for poor student performance in Honduras. In 1847, it was decreed that if student improvement was not demonstrated at least every four months, teachers would lose up to one-third of their salary. In 1866, another decree ordered "reprimands, fines, and dismal" as punishment for poor teacher performance (Waggoner & Waggoner, 1971, p. 74).

In contemporary Honduras, teachers' unions, professional associations, and organizations are cited as too powerful and disruptive to be productive (see Honduran

teachers, 2009; Teachers, 2008), and are used by the Honduran government and international banking institutions (such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank) as an excuse to enact educational reform that redirects public educational funding to private and third sector educational projects and programs. One pre-2009 coup d'état report cited teachers' unions as problematic because they were "not performance or results oriented" (Pavon, 2008, p. 208). The blame for the post-coup d'état chaos continues to be placed on teachers, as their striking and activism is often cited as the reason for educational underperformances and for any violence that occurs during striking periods (Cuevas, 2011).

Honduran public school teachers were heavily organized against the 2009 coup d'état and continue to be so; the teachers formed a significant portion of the formation of a political party in the summer of 2012, the *Partido LIBRE*. Because of their historical strength as a labor force and their post-coup organization, teachers have been physically and ideology attacked and labeled "terrorists" by their detractors (Altschuler, 2010, p. 24). This bloc of teachers formed the backbone of the anti-coup resistance movement to the "ire of the largely pro-coup Honduran media, the de facto government, and many parents throughout the country" (p. 23). Teachers use their "significant disruptive capacity" (there are nearly 60,000 public school teachers in Honduras) by holding wide-spread and sustained strikes to resist the new government (p. 26), and by frequently marching and taking over highways. Teachers in Latin America have a history of political formation and organizing and "the Honduran teachers' position against the coup d'état is consistent with the historical role of Latin American unions," which have been at the

forefront of struggles for citizenship rights and democracy in the region (Altschuler, 2010, p. 26).

The post-coup de facto Honduran government replaced a law entitled the *Estatuto del Docente* [The Teacher Statute] (Secretaria, 1997) with the *Ley Fundamental de Educación* [Fundamental Law of Education] (Secretaria, 2011) in 2012. The new policy, proposed not long after the 2009 coup d'état, was written after the de facto Honduran president (Porfirio "Pepe" Lobo Sosa) visited New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A., to learn about the charter school system there (Mayor, 2010), which was implemented after the Hurricane Katrina crisis. The timing of the Honduran educational reform also paralleled the signing of a larger International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreement that cut public funding for education in Honduras (International, 2010).

The *Estatuto del Docente* of 1997 was created after decades of organizing by teachers and was one of the strongest labor protections in the history of Honduras. It provided increases in salaries dependent on degree and experience, bonuses for working in underserved areas (Altschuler, 2010), and clarified working protections and curricular guidelines. Those protections were replaced by the *Ley Fundamental de Educación* in 2012; teachers' unions and associations largely opposed the new policy, which weakened the teachers' pension fund, removed job protections, and made comprehensive changes to *escuelas normales* (normal schools or teaching colleges). It also removed regulations on teaching and school requirements, and thus created a space for private and third sector schools that have less oversight by governing bodies, and less restrictions on teachers without educational backgrounds or training (Colegiales, 2015; Freeston, 2011; Secretaria, 1997; Secretaria, 2011; Torres, 2015).

Honduran teachers in public schools were typically trained in an *escuela normal*, or normal school, or at one of the country's public university campuses, namely, the *Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazán* (UPNFS), or the *Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Valle de Sula* (UPNVS). Hondurans who teach in private schools do not need formal teacher training, although some may have that educational background. The approximate salary for a teacher in a public school varies, of course, but was at least 8000L, or $400 a month. Cuevas (2011) suggested teachers earn between $600-$800 a month. Private school salaries varied considerably more. I earned about $1800 a month when I worked in Honduras from 2006-2009. NGO international school teachers may earn a small living stipend and be offered free room and board.

U.S. citizens made up the majority of teachers from abroad in Honduras, but there were also educators from the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada. At competitive and elite private schools, especially ones with International Baccalaureate programing or with certification from the U.S. or the European Union, the teachers were trained and licensed teachers because that was typically a requirement for accreditation, but not always.

My experience with U.S. expatriate teachers is that many arrived in Honduras unable to speak Spanish and didn't try to (or need to) learn Spanish. Their intention was to move on to another country or return to the U.S. after a one- or two-year assignment in Honduras. This is relevant to this study because in the international school setting, and even in the larger context of Honduras, learning Spanish was not necessarily encouraged nor was it particularly necessary for international teachers – most of the parents and all

the students spoke English, and U.S. teachers rarely encountered situations in the school setting where they needed to have an in-depth conversation in Spanish.

Conversely, a Honduran public school teacher told me that said that as a university student, she actively rejected opportunities to learn English because she wanted to actively reject a language she felt was imperial in nature. However, another Honduran teacher lamented he never had the opportunity to learn English, and at present could not find a teaching job outside of the public-school system, where he had not received a paycheck after eight months of teaching in a remote and rural area.

It is particularly noteworthy that a U.S. citizen didn't need to learn Spanish to function as an elite in Honduras, but marginalized classes of Hondurans were encouraged to learn English if they wanted access to the opportunity to participate in the globalized economy or find a better paying job. Comparably, in the U.S., the English-only movement heavily polices Spanish- (and other non-English) language speakers, including Honduran immigrants residing in the U.S. Language use, both in Spanish and English, was much more than a classroom subject – language use was an ideological and political tool that served as a gatekeeper in terms of accessing a dearth of social goods and status in Honduras and in the U.S.

Teaching English abroad is advertised on college campuses as an unproblematic and exciting opportunity that generally requires neither a teaching background nor any intention to explore the host country's transnational context beyond educational tourism. For example, on the University of Iowa International Programs (2015) website, the "Teach Abroad Resource List" noted that not all teach abroad positions required TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages) certification or any other

qualifications, but it was a good idea to "gain experience working with non-English speakers" anyway; it did not, however, suggest gaining futher teaching experience or training.

Another website, geared specifically toward teaching English in Honduras at private bilingual schools, suggested that rather than procure an official Work Visa for employment in Honduras (which is required by Honduran law to work for wages, as is the case in the U.S. for non-permanent residents residing and working in the United States), instructors can instead "circumvent" the Work Visa by leaving Central America every ninety days and then returning after seventy-two hours to renew their tourist visa. According to the website, this is "technically illegal" (Go Overseas, 2014). They advertise the North Coast of Honduras offers a "leisurely beach-life" and those with an "adventurous spirit" should think about teaching English there.

A public Facebook.com post from April 11, 2016 advertised for an NGO that operates schools in Honduras and asked: "Want to teach in Honduras? Learn Spanish? Enjoy the sunshine? Expand your comfort zone?" I also signed up for emails from a website that advertised training for fluent speakers of English who wanted to teach abroad. I received (and still receive) two to three emails a week asking if I was: "Looking for a career break? An adventure after graduation? Or maybe you're looking to start a new life abroad? Start your exciting journey with TEFL (Teach English as a Foreign Language) and set your life on a new path. All you need is an internationally recognised [sic] TEFL qualification, an open mind and a sense of adventure!

Several English-language foreign teachers whom I interviewed found their teaching jobs in Honduras on idealist.org, a website that "connects idealists with

opportunities for action." "People who want to do good" can move their intentions into action, according to the advertisement, by joining the organization in Honduras and teaching English, among other things.

These websites framed teaching abroad as an apolitical (yet exciting) opportunity. Not only were the political and ideological implications of teaching abroad absent, these opportunities aren't even presented as pedagogical. Prospective teachers were encouraged to enjoy the beach and circumvent the law. The primary objective was adventure, and it was assumed that the English-language speaking skills (and not necessarily any teaching skills) the teacher brings to the environment outweighed any other drawbacks of the exchange.

To find participants represented by these widely varying routes to teaching positions in Honduras, I used purposeful and criterion-based sampling (Merriam, 2009). I recruited through existing social and professional contacts I had at educational institutions in Honduras, and I aimed for a group of participants that represented a range of experiences and perceptions related to teaching and English-language education there. This provided the data set with a wide set of experiences from which I used to complicate English-language education and "discover, understand, and gain insight" (p. 77) relative to teaching and learning in Honduras.

Finding participants. In an ethnography, an informant or participant is "someone living on the site or in the culture of interest who is well connected and highly articulate" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 50). From years of living and visiting Honduras and subsequent research trips, there were a plethora of sites to look for well-connected and highly articulate informants and participants for this study. I started with three locations. First, I

contacted and visited former colleagues still working at the *Escuela Internacional La Lima*, where I taught from 2006-2009, and at its larger partner school in San Pedro Sula. I chose to not formally interview anyone that I already knew from my time living in Honduras, but considered them each as an informant integral to this study in logistical ways, and I sought their suggestions on places to go, people to talk to, and ideas to explore. They shared email lists from local conferences, names of people they met while traveling, and introduced me to their current colleagues.

Second, I drew on participants from speaking with friends and colleagues at the *Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Valle de Sula* (UPNVS) (the public teaching or pedagogical university on the North Coast of Honduras) by word-of-mouth recruiting. At the UPNVS I became acquainted with English-language program professors, who in turn introduced me to their university practicum students, many of whom worked in bilingual schools and were teaching English at the time of my fieldwork.

Third, I went to the neighborhood public elementary school closest to where I stayed in La Lima in the *barracones*. The teachers at *Manuel Jesús de Valencia* weren't limited to knowing the circles of teachers I met at bilingual schools or the U.S. citizens in Honduras in general. These Honduran teachers opened many opportunities for me by recommending other public schools to visit, introducing me to friends and colleagues, and were enthusiastic about sharing their experiences and opinions with me about Honduran public schools and education in general.

Upon locating a potential participant, I explained the research and consent process in person. I asked the person if they had any questions about the project, the interview, or my presence in Honduras, and then if they might consider participating in an interview. If

they chose to participate, we scheduled an interview for a time and location that suited their convenience; more often than not, this ended up being right at that very moment. I offered each participant a handout (in Spanish and English) (see Appendix B, Appendix C) explaining the study, the risks and benefits to participants, and other details of informed consent.

I offered all participants the opportunity to conduct the interview in Spanish or English, whichever language they were more comfortable using. IRB gave this study a waiver of documentation because there are minimal risks to participants. Additionally, in some international contexts including in Honduras, signing documents comes with a different connotation than it might in the U.S. An outsider asking for signatures may garner suspicion. Participants were listed anonymously in the study and their identities were held in confidence. I utilized a pseudonym for each participant on all data reports and in this dissertation study, unless a participant insisted on using their own name.

Beyond these three starting locations, I found participants through snowball sampling and by taking advantage of other opportunities that arose during the fieldwork (Creswell, 2013, p. 158). My intent was to interview enough participants to represent a range of experiences and perceptions related to teaching and language education in Honduras. Truthfully, I never felt the data set became saturated; each time I conducted an interview, met someone new, or visited another school, I felt I should add another month onto the fieldwork. However, I do feel that I have a range of participants who offered enough language samples and data that provided me with the opportunity to uncover commonsense ideologies behind their language use and presence living and teaching in Honduras.

Accessing participants. My position as white, as a U.S. citizen, and as an English-speaker gave me access to sites where I can confirm that U.S.-educated Honduran educators and scholars have had difficulties accessing. People were nearly universally excited and energetic about helping me with this project, and many, many teachers dropped what they were doing immediately upon my arrival to a school or classroom to talk to me, or invited me to a café to talk further, even though we were complete strangers.

To illustrate the ease I had in accessing sites and participants, I offer an example on the first day I entered the campus at the UPNVS. The university campus is gated and guarded, and a person must be a student or faculty member with a university identification to enter. The UPNVS had recently stepped up security because a student had been shot and killed in front of the gate the week prior. The English-language education professor who invited me had invited another (Honduran) teacher to visit her the day before. Even after she walked down to the gate to escort him to her office, the guards refused to let him in because he was not enrolled or employed at the UPNVS. I arrived at the gate the day after and didn't even show any identification. I pulled off my motorcycle helmet to talk to the guard, and the guard just smiled and waved me through. When I arrived at the professor's office door, she was shocked I got to the department without having to call her, and she asked how I got onto campus and up to her office so easily. When I told her they just waved me through, she laughed and said it must be my blue eyes.

On the other hand, in some circles of Hondurans, I was regarded with suspicion or potential danger. At a political demonstration I attended in March 2015, protesters yelled

infiltrados! or infiltrators! at individuals that appeared to be plainclothes police officers who were documenting identities and covertly gathering information. I joked to a Honduran friend that I hoped no one would think I'm an *infiltrada*, since it is clear I'm not from Honduras. She laughed and said, "Well, they probably do, but they just think you have the backing of the CIA and the U.S. Embassy behind you, so they won't touch you." This came up often, including after a large event at the public university, when an organizer came up to me, grabbed my hand, and said: *No estás con la CIA, verdad?* or "You're not with the CIA, right?"

Many participants and teachers asked me to provide, through email or text, photos of my passport and university credentials before they would meet with me, and specifically asked to meet in very public places surrounded by people they knew, such as at the university campus (rather than at a coffee shop or café). One public school teacher accepted my Facebook message and invitation for an interview and then replied: *Saludos. Estaría bien. Primero quiero tus datos por aspectos de seguridad*, or "Greetings. That would be fine. First, I want details of your identity for aspects of safety." Two acquaintances, neither of whom were informants, participants, or formal interviewees for this study, but both of whom I saw frequently at marches and university events, emailed me in the fall of 2015 (three months after I had left the field) to re-clarify who I was. Both suspected I was an *infiltrada* and were worried for their safety.

Other Hondurans vetted my presence in Honduras before meeting with me and sharing educational information. I arrived to Héctor's (Honduran, NGO lawyer) office one day, where he met with me very formally. We eventually collaborated on several educational and literacy projects in Honduras and Iowa, and Héctor was one of the

Honduran teacher activists who visited Iowa and spoke with teachers in Iowa in 2016. Héctor said that when he first met me, he didn't trust me and was suspicious about why I sought information and what I would do with it. He contacted other people in the area to find out if they knew anything about me and eventually felt he could trust me enough to share information and collaborate. He said:

> *Aclararon de donde venis y de donde estas vinculada. Todos los gringos solo quieren sacar información… Dimos cuenta que ya habías hablando organizaciones vinculado con el movimiento social en Honduras. Fuimos viendo en las luchas, en las actividades*. [We cleared up where you came from and who you were connected to. All the *gringos* just take information. We were told that you had already made connections with some of the organizations in the social movement, and we started seeing you in the protests and the other activities].

I met with Edina (Honduran, private school), who invited me to visit the private bilingual school where she taught. When I texted her to organize a visit, she said she had just quit her job and was teaching at a different private bilingual school now, because the first had failed to pay her. I asked if I could visit the second school and she texted back: "I don't think so. They're scared of everything. *Miedo. No confían en nadie*." The owners didn't trust anyone, she said, and they were so disorganized they would be suspicious of a visitor from the United States.

I heard numerous stories about *gringos* who befriended Honduran activists and who were later found out to have been employed by the U.S. government in various capacities. The Hondurans felt tricked by the dishonesty and misrepresentation. One acquaintance blamed the murder of a Honduran activist friend on herself, for introducing

them to another *gringo* a few months prior. The ever-present tentativeness and suspicion was clear to me once when an administrator at a private bilingual school jokingly introduced me to her Honduran teachers as a member of the FBI – it took a second for the teachers and me to get the joke, and after widened eyes and a collective laugh, all the teachers pretended to run out of the room.

The suspicion was not a surprise to me. Even though North Americans are respected and trusted in the international school environment I taught in, I was still aware from living there that people's perceptions of the United States were not always positive, and even when North American volunteers or aid workers were trusted, many believed they were there more as tourists as opposed to helping Honduras. One woman told me that Peace Corps volunteers had been in and out of her area of Honduras for forty years, supposedly ensuring access to clean water, and so on. The volunteers were nice enough people, she said, but then she pointedly continued by concluding: it's been forty years of "development," and we still have a need for them…

Furthermore, I frequently saw anti-U.S. slogans and images on walls as posters and graffiti, five of which are shown in Figure 3. From the upper left, clockwise, the pictures are:

1) *Gringos Asesinos* (Gringo Assassins) painted on a wall;

2) *Cuba Si, Yankees No* (Cuba Yes, Yankees No) painted on a wall;

3) Uncle Sam represented as a skeleton with blood dripping from his mouth. The headline says "I [heart] Honduras." The image was glued over a fast food restaurant billboard;

4) *Fuera bases gringas de nuestro país FNRP* (U.S. military bases out of our country FNRP) written on a sign during a march;

5) A photograph of General John Kelly of U.S. Marine Corps in a military dress uniform with a U.S. flag draped behind him. He also wears the Honduran presidential sash, meant to indicate General Kelly was the one actually running Honduras. At time I took this photo, Kelly was the head of the U.S. Southern Command and military operations in Honduras. In January 2017, Kelly was sworn in as the U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security under Presidents Donald Trump.

Figure 3. Anti-U.S. graffiti and posters. All photographs taken by the author between 2007-2015.

Even so, when Honduras were critical of role of the United States in Honduras, many were quick to point out and offer reassurances that their critique was of the U.S. government and not of me personally.

Menlo (Honduran, public school) was an educational association leader on a national level, and while we talked, Menlo spent a significant amount of time critiquing the U.S. government and U.S. business interests in their meddling of Honduran education. However, he stopped in the middle of a thought and said:

> *Mire… nosotros admiramos al pueblo norte americano. Pero al pueblo, pero no a los que lo dirigen. Porque ese imperialismo que no lleva nada bueno… [solo a] oprimir a los pueblos por un tiempo se siente comprimidos* [Look… We admire the North American people. The people, but not those who are in charge. Because imperialism doesn't bring anything good, it is just oppressive to our people, and after a time we feel minimized].

Arnulfo (Honduran, public school) was a teacher and administrator in public schools, and had at various times in his life run for local public office. Arnulfo was also critical of the United States, and felt that English-language education met the needs of transnational corporations from the United States more than it met the needs of Hondurans. Arnulfo also clarified that his critique was not a critique of me personally:

> *El gobierno de Estados Unidos para mi es el diablo. Pero la población civil para mí es linda. Yo tengo un concepto muy amplio y muy bueno del estadounidense civil…pero del gobierno y del ejército – para nada.* [The government of the United States for me, is the devil. But the civil society of the United States, for

me, is wonderful. I have an open and very good understanding of the people of the United States… but for the government and the military – not at all].

Lenin (Honduran, NGO school) made a joke during our interview about the United States and its history of overthrowing leaders in Latin America (for example, Guatemala 1954, Chile 1973, Argentina 1976, and other interventions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, El Salvador, Argentina, Peru, Grenada, Chile). Lenin said: *El único país donde no se dan golpe de estado es en el Estados Unidos, porque no hay embajada en los Estados Unidos… Donde hay embajada de los Estados Unidos hay golpe*, or "The only country where there aren't coup d'états is the United States, because there is no [U.S.] embassy in the United States. Where there is a U.S. embassy, there are coup d'états."

Reflection on the Data Collection

Qualitative research methods (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014) facilitated a comprehensive exploration of the dynamic of education in Honduras and the processes of data collection. This data sources I collected were intended to illuminate the political and ideological (as well as pedagogical) nature English-language education in Honduras, which was facilitated by positioning the data within the global and local context of Honduras.

Because this study transcends national boundaries, much attention was given to a complicated local Honduran context as it resides within multi-directional flows of people, power, capital, and information globally. Including and analyzing teachers' experiences and perceptions as they used language to describe them is essential for deeper insight in terms of power dynamics; these insights are not revealed unless the data set is examined

within the tensions of transnational education, locally and globally. Teachers – international and Honduran – negotiated the field of education, and English-language education in Honduras did not exist outside of power hierarchies.

In sum, I collected three types of data to answer the research questions for this study: interviews, participant-observations (as documented through fieldnotes), and cultural artifact collection. During the process of data collection, the progression itself influenced future data collection in a circular system of data gathering, as each new piece of data influenced what new types of data I collected and how I understood them as I cataloged them. Figure 4 offers a visual of how each method of data collection, and organization worked in a circular manner as it re-informed new data collection.

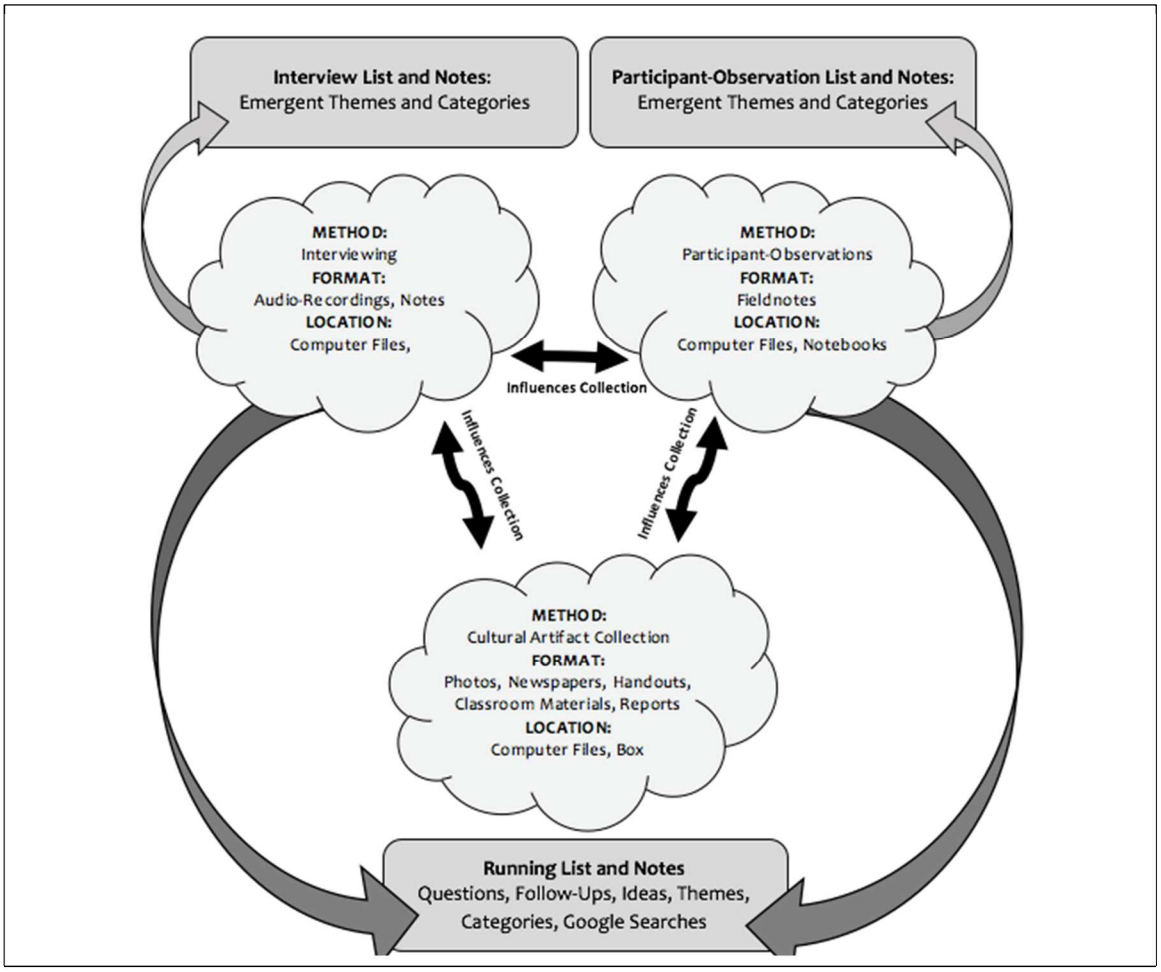


Figure 4. Collecting data. The cloud shapes indicate the three types of data I collected: interviews, participant-observations, and cultural artifacts. During data collection, each piece of data influenced the future planning and process of further data collection. For each type of data, I used a spreadsheet to organize emergent themes and categories. These spreadsheets further influenced how I decided to collect data.

Ethnographic interviews: Types of interviews. In the process of planning and conducting interviews, I relied on the guidance of Fetterman (2009) and Murchison (2010) to influence this method of data collection. Interviews, as one of the three types of

data I collected for this study, provided the chance to ask direct questions to, have open conversations with, and access perceptions and viewpoints of people living in the research site and interacting with the central phenomenon of this project: English-language education in Honduras.

Ethnographers are "inherently curious" (Murchison, 2010) and having conversations and conducting informal and formal interviews was one of the most productive and rewarding parts of the fieldwork; I enjoyed meeting with teachers, finding out their personal and professional histories, and pondering how they fit within this project. An ethnographic interview is different than other types of research interviews. The participants with whom a researcher may want to speak in an ethnographic project may have negative connotations of what an interview is, as interviews are frequently associated with interrogation, formality, a certain level of expertise, and so on. Participants also may be unsure as to whether they as a potential informant are properly suited to offer information the researcher seeks. It is the ethnographic researcher's job to help the participant understand the purpose and intent of an ethnographic interview, and ensure the participant sees their own value in contributing to the project.

There are two types of ethnographic interviews: formal and informal (Murchison, 2010). Formal interviews are what participants are likely already familiar with: a sit-down conversation, conducted within a specific given time frame, and covering a pre-determined set of topics. Formal interviews are also the type of interview a potential participant may be most reluctant to agree to – they may have a preoccupation with being on the record or audio-recorded, or question the formality of it.

Murchison (2010) suggests avoiding formal interviews in the preliminary stages of ethnographic research because they set up an impersonal tone that isn't conducive to learning about the culture the researcher seeks to investigate. Thus, informal interviews are a good way to start in ethnographic research data collection, and are the most common type of interview in ethnographic research. Informal interviews are the easiest to conduct, but the hardest to conduct "appropriately and productively "(Fetterman, 2009, p. 41). A researcher can learn a lot from a participant and from the setting by being "part of a conversation without completely orchestrating it" (Murchison, 2010, p. 102), and an informal interview allows for that conversation to happen more naturally. Additionally, the researcher sets a more conversational tone for the participant, and learns from the participant in a more ordinary or natural setting. The researcher, then, can more concisely plan for future data collection events, including participant-observations and subsequent interviews, based on information gathered from early, informal interviews. Murchison (2010) suggests that researchers should not view formal interviewing as a superior way of gathering information, and formal and informal interviews should not be viewed as binary opposites. Instead, they exist on a continuum with different and varying levels of formality.

The benefits of informal interviewing (as existing on a continuum and not as the opposite from formal interviewing) are that the researcher and participant are "less removed from the rhythm and activities of everyday life" (Murchison, 2010, p. 104). Formal interviews, because they are often removed from everyday life settings, can produce "sanitized or idealized answers to questions." If an ethnographic researcher only relies on formal interview data, the image they construct in an ethnography will be of an

"ideal" culture or society. It is, therefore, more difficult to claim the image reflects "real" culture or society. An ethnographic interviewer is flexible and prepared to adapt to situations as they present themselves in the moment. These points are especially relevant when I retrospectively consider the interviews I conducted as they were happening "in the moment," and the variety of logistical complications that steered the interviews from somewhat formal to not-at-all formal, and ensured their location on the formal-informal continuum could not be easily identified.

The quality of the interviews is more important than the volume, or the total number of interviews conducted (Murchison, 2010). The interview data I have for this project is both prolific in number (I conducted approximately 170 interviews in the summers of 2012, 2013, and between February and August of 2015), and, I believe, in the quality of the data contained in them. Only 126 were formally audio-recorded; the rest were not audio-recorded (for reasons that included no access to an audio-recorder or our location in an informal setting). When an interview was not audio-recorded, I took notes as soon as I could after the fact, and wrote a narrative about the interview in the fieldnotes that evening.

A fixed number for the interviews I conducted is not easily tabulated for several reasons. First, upon arriving for a visit to school or a site, the principal, director, or another teacher often guided me from classroom to classroom to meet every teacher for as long as each teacher wanted to talk – these "interviews" lasted between five and up to sixty minutes long. Other times, I was brought to a space where eight or ten teachers were sitting in a circle (for example, in the city park, or around a table in a classroom) waiting to chat with me after school, and they collectively decided they would rather knock out

the conversation with the graduate student from Iowa as a group rather than individually; they shared stories and answered questions jointly while passing around the audio-recorder. Other times, a participant called over a second and third teacher walking by, or sent a student to get a colleague, and the new person started conversing with the both of us. Finally, the word-of-mouth recruiting I employed to find participants often led me to people who were recommended for interviews because someone thought they were teachers or educators, but they were in fact not teachers at all. Multiple times I rode a bus or took a taxi to meet someone who in the end had nothing to do with schools or English-language education. In these instances, I took notes during the conversation, wrote about the encounter in my fieldnotes, and I included it in my data set because of the contextual information I gained from the discussion. I considered them as informal interviews with informants (and not participants), yet as moments that were revealing of the Honduran context.

One participant was a member Honduras' national Congress (and former teacher). Two participants were leaders of the teachers' union at a national level. At least seven of the interviews were with Honduran professors at the university level. The language used in each interview – English or Spanish – depended on the participant's comfort level. If a participant was Honduran, I spoke in Spanish with them from the onset. Especially with Honduran teachers in bilingual or English-language school settings, the interview moved from Spanish to English or the conversation was held in equal parts Spanish and English. If a participant was from the U.S. or another English-speaking country, we typically spoke English from the onset and throughout the conversation.

Figure 5 shows the national origin or country of citizenship of the participants, and notes whether the interview was conducted in Spanish or English. Figure 6 indicates the teaching position of each teacher, and their relationship to education in Honduras.

NATIONALITY OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS	
Australia	1
United Kingdom	2
Canada	3
Cuba	1
Honduras	78
Iran	1
Italy	1
United States	40
LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEWS	
English	68
Spanish	58

Figure 5. Interview basics. This table represents the nationality of each interview participant (as they represented themselves) and the language of each interview. The figures do not total 170 because some participants identified as bi-national or their nationality was unknown, and some interviews were conducted in both Spanish and English.

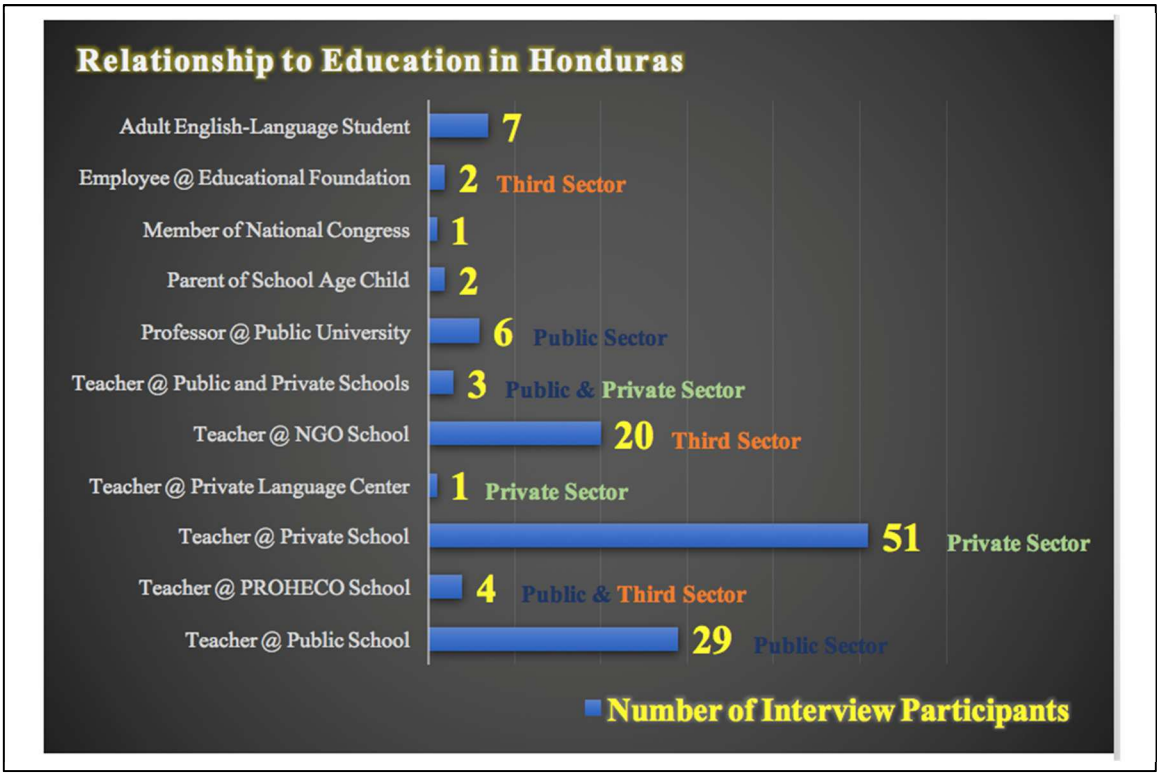


Figure 6. Participant basics. The graph represents the educational position each interview participant held in the field of education, how many interviews were conducted with participants from each educational category. When applicable, each category is labeled public, private, or third sector.

Ethnographic interviews: Conducting the interviews. The first few minutes of an interview "frequently set the tone for the rest of the interview" (Murchison, 2010). For this reason, and especially with participants I had never met before, I dedicated time to chatting with them beforehand or at the onset of the interview. I shared the dissertation topic and my reason for being in Honduras, and got to know a little bit about them as a person. This was particularly important for interviews conducted in Spanish, as many times I needed a brief exchange (in Spanish) to familiarize myself to the speaker's accent or their unique uses of slang. There were several interviews where the participant and I were both communicating in our second (or third, etc. language) – speaking in Spanish

with the participant from Iran, for example, or while interviewing a Garífuna teacher whose first language was Garífuna, and not Spanish or English.

Besides setting the tone, the purpose of the early conversations and opening questions showed the participant that I was both interested in learning about English-language education in Honduras and that I was not completely naïve or entirely knowledgeable or about this topic. With Honduran and U.S. participants, I found out quickly the importance of sharing some of my experiences and background in Honduras. Without an explicit disclosure, U.S. participants assumed I had never been to Honduras before, and shared very basic things, such as the location of the international airport relative to the school, that the capital of Honduras was Tegucigalpa, or what a word in Spanish meant. Hondurans assumed the same – that I had limited knowledge about education in Honduras – unless I offered my background at the onset.

After setting the tone with each participant, I moved into what Murchison (2010) calls "easy" questions (p. 109) and Fetterman (2009) calls "grand tour" questions (p. 43). Beyond asking for basic demographic information, including name, place of origin, classroom subject, and current grade level, I moved the discussion forward by saying, "Tell me about your educational background" or, "What inspired you to be a teacher and how did you end up as one?" These "easy" questions allowed me (as the primary research instrument) to get a feel as to what the participant could offer to the project. Based on the participant's early responses, I actively created opportunities for the participant to share relevant topics through more questioning and conversation. Because these were "grand tour" questions, the responses also gave me an idea of the participant's cultural and social background so I could situate their identity into the larger context of the study.

As Murchison (2010) suggests doing, I asked more open-ended questions than closed-ended questions. A question such as: "So how did you end up at this school?" or "What is the most difficult thing about teaching in Honduras?" are typical of the types of questions I utilized that participants were often able to offer a ten or fifteen-minute response to. Open-ended questioning allowed the participant some influence over the direction of the interview, and permitted me to jump in when necessary for more clarification or if something struck me as particularly curious or noteworthy.

Beyond that, the remaining questions I asked during interviews were semi-structured in nature. This also allowed for flexibility in participant responses and gave the participants opportunities to focus and direct the discussion (Merriam, 2009). The semi-structured questions were directly related to the teacher's role in the school community and classroom, the Honduran setting, and the educational community. I asked teachers how they saw themselves (as a foreigner or local) in Honduras, and what they knew about other forms of education there. I asked about teachers' perceptions of English-language education. I asked about the opportunities they perceived English-language education created or limited for their students.

To conclude each interview, I asked a hypothetical question (Murchison, 2010, p. 110), such as, "If you were the Minister of Education for Honduras, what three things would you do first?" or "If English-language skills were not connected so closely to job opportunity or a better future in Honduras, what else might you be doing here?" These questions allowed the participant to engage with a range of situations that would be impossible for me to observe directly. Even though the participants might not have had close experiences or knowledge relative to the hypothetical questions, they certainly did

have opinions about them. Participants seemed to enjoy the chance to think about a hypothetical "global" question that wasn't directly about their experience, and their responses did connect to their global understandings of their day-to-day life in Honduras. Appendix D includes information about and samples of about the types of questions I asked in these interviews.

Ethnographic participant observation. The second type of data I collected was through participant observation. Participant observation in ethnographic research can be problematic because it manifests itself in an assortment of ways, and there is no way to prescribe the form it will take. The "subject position" of the researcher in ethnographic participant observation places a lot of responsibility on the researcher, especially in balancing how the researcher fits into the setting, and how the researcher affects what people do or how people act (Murchison, 2010, p. 84). However, to learn about the "complex dimensions of society and culture in action," an ethnographic researcher must be personally involved in the daily lives of the participants, and active in the setting of the central phenomenon. The "most important insights" in ethnographic research can stem from circumstances where the ethnographic researcher must "abandon their practiced, objective stances" (p. 85) and instead, act more as a participant and less as an academic observer.

Given this, there is, of course, the risk that the researcher will become so involved in the day-to-day happenings at the research site and with participants that they are unable to see the larger context or academically analyze the events and activities in which they frequently participate. Regardless, a goal of ethnographic research is for the researcher to acquire an "emic perspective," or gain the insight a member of the

community might have (Murchison, 2010, p. 86). Participant observation gets at the "sort of experiential and embodied knowledge that ethnographers find essential" in understanding the culture they seek to examine. During fieldwork, the researcher learns to balance participation and observation (as an academic researcher) at the same time. An ethnographic researcher must self-train in how to do this, with as much participation in natural settings at the site as possible, while continuing to be academically observant of the activities as they happen (Murchison, 2009). To self-correct and adjust this balance as it happens during the data collection, it is necessary to periodically review one's fieldnotes. This ensures the researcher is remarking on and documenting observations of the activities as opposed to writing summaries or journal entries, etc. of the activities and events (p. 88).

Time in the field is crucial to ethnographic research and participant observation. Ethnographic participant observation is essentially a complete "immersion in a culture" over time, ideally for six months or more (Fetterman, 2009 p. 37). The balance between participant and observer may seem "somewhat uncontrolled and haphazard" at the beginning of a project, and especially for a new ethnographer. With time and experience, a refined understanding of the culture starts to emerge (p. 38). Murchison (2010) suggests participant-observation fieldwork should begin as soon as reasonably possible (p. 89), and the preliminary research trips to Honduras during the summers of 2012 and 2013 afforded me the opportunity to work on that balance to some degree before re-entering the field for dissertation data collection in February of 2015. Murchison (2010) additionally recommends participating in and observing multiple versions of the same types events across the research site. For this reason, I observed multiple versions of

English-language education settings in action for this study (private, public, NGO, volunteer, etc.).

"Key informants" are insiders at the research site who serve an "essential role in the ethnographic process" by answering questions, clarifying settings, and inviting the researcher into spaces important to the project (Murchison, 2010, p. 89). For this project, innumerable Honduran friends, teachers, and colleagues served as key informants without participating in the study in any formal capacity and without ever being interviewed as a participant. These key informants introduced me to teachers and educators, invited me to their homes, workplaces, and educational spaces, and reminded me of various events and activities relevant to this project.

During participant observation and by virtue of having an outsider status outsider in the community, the researcher may be asked to "perform or become the center of attention" simply by being present in the space. A fully participating researcher should "fulfill these obligations and accept the invitation" while still trying to allow "events to unfold as they would" in the researcher's absence. In this project, this type of situation was a common occurrence for me. Some participants, rather than continuing with the (informal or formal) interview, asked me to do a teaching demonstration for the class in English. Others assumed I was there to observe or judge them, and presented to me their gradebooks, lesson plans, and materials as if I were actively evaluating them. Several teachers invited a student or two to the front of class to "perform" and recite for me a recent lesson, to indicate how the students were learning. Other times, especially in English-language classrooms, the students and teachers repeatedly approached me to ask for the "correct" pronunciation of a word or to settle an argument about the

pronunciation. One word with an especially vibrant debate centered on the pronunciation of "record" (as in to record someone's voice, or a verb), and "record" (as in a circular disk used to play music, or a noun).

The purpose of observing the participants in a natural setting is to see where the "phenomenon of interest naturally occurs" and get a "firsthand account" of what is happening, rather than limiting the researcher's understanding to second-hand accounts through interviewing (Merriam, 2009, p. 117). For this reason, I visited the communities and schools and classrooms in which the teachers worked and lived as often as possible. The thick and rich description in this dissertation is possible because of these interviews and the participant observation fieldnotes (Geertz, 1973).

In terms of documenting the participant observations, when I had the opportunity to take notes during the observation, I used a triple-entry fieldnote journal with three columns: (1) descriptions of the event, (2) direct quotes, and (3) observer comments (see Appendix E). I kept in mind three questions: What surprised me?, What intrigued me?, and What disturbed me? (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater 2012). These questions reminded me to track my assumptions, positions, and tensions, and those of the people and setting I was observing at the moment.

As often as possible, I took these notes directly on an iPad. When it felt as if that would be inappropriate or was impossible to do so, I either took handwritten notes or I typed the notes up when I returned to the *barracon*. I was quite disciplined in the evenings in my effort to document the day's activities and in writing fieldnotes. I also kept track of financial expenditures, a travel log, and listed any other data collected from each day, such as photos, an audio-recording of an interview, or a classroom handout. A

few times a week, I started from the beginning of the fieldnotes (the first entry is February 9, 2015) and read through them up to the current day to ensure I included enough detailed observations and information so they would be beneficial to this study. One relevant self-correction I made in my fieldnote-taking was after a few weeks in Honduras (in late February 2015), I realized the fieldnotes should incorporate even more of what seemed at the time like mundane details unrelated to the research project. These detailed fieldnotes became central to understanding the context of Honduras for the research questions I try to answer.

Cultural artifacts. Artifact collecting is a secondary method of data collection I used for this research project, supplemental to the interviews and the participant observation fieldnotes. Artifact collection and the method of obtaining, preserving, and using artifacts in ethnographic research is also impossible to prescribe for the new ethnographic researcher. However, artifacts are "dense representations of society and culture" (Murchison, 2010, p. 160) and can be useful in understanding a culture. The ethnographic researcher is typically not involved in the production of an artifact. In this data collection category, I do include thousands of photographs that were produced by me; however, their image is of something I did not produce – they are pictures of graffiti, billboards, blackboards, and worksheets, and so on. In this sense, the researcher uses cultural artifacts knowing they are "produced for specific purposes" by individuals or groups of people.

Additional cultural artifacts included newspaper articles, blog posts, and classroom materials, and these contributed to a more appropriate positioning of the participants and the participant observation data within the context of language education

in Honduras (Merriam, 2009). I am a member of multiple Facebook groups and follow the Twitter feeds of a diverse group of educational groups in Honduras. Cumulatively, and from all three research trips, I have thousands of photos of schools, classrooms, graffiti, billboards, marches, meetings, and people. I have a box full of handouts, including pamphlets and political statements handed out at marches and rallies, worksheets from classrooms, books published by educational foundations, and posters. I perused two Honduran newspapers daily for political and educational headlines (*La Prensa*, *El Tiempo*) to understand how events and people were represented in the media, especially as related to the field of education. I kept a running record of relevant articles.

The policies, documents, laws, and regulations that participants or informants mentioned to me, I either purchased outright or sought copies from informants and participants. I am in possession of documents relevant specifically to Honduran education, including the International Monetary Fund report from 2010 proposing cuts in the public education budget, and newspaper articles detailing the possible implementation of private charter schools, also from 2010. I have the part of the Honduran Constitution that relates to education and teachers' rights as workers (Article 162, the *Estatuto del Docente*) from 1997. The new *Ley Fundamental de Educación*, which is what much of the controversy in Honduras between teachers and the government is based, replaces Article 162. The cultural artifacts add another dimension of thick, rich description to appropriately set the perceptions and experiences of teachers in Honduras in the larger context (Geertz, 1973).

The ethnographic data set also includes social media and literature that comes directly out of Honduras. Much of this literature is informally published and not widely

available, or takes place on social media, such as on Facebook pages and blogs. I've located texts published through Honduran publishers and in Spanish, and available only in Honduran bookstores; these books are more historical in nature (Barahona, 2005; Salgado & Rápalo, 2012), related to higher education (Reina Idiáquez, 1999; Alas Solis, Hernández Rodríguez, & Moncada Godoy, 2005), and focused on political education (Tinoco, 2010).

Reflection on Data Analysis

An ethnographic record – or the entire data set of an ethnography – may be "quite voluminous and a bit unwieldy" and seem to be nothing more than a "jumbled mess" (Murchison, 2010, p. 116). The ethnographic record for this project is not an exception to that in any way, shape, or form. Here, I detail the process of narrowing and categorizing the data set for this project into something usable. I also share how I analyzed the data for its use in illustrating the findings for this project, and how I decided they would be best presented in this dissertation.

Organization of data in the field. As I collected data, I immediately began the process of data categorization and data analysis; I actively sorted and analyzed the data as it was collected it in the field. This in-the-field scrutiny of the data as it came in also informed future methods of data collection and the types of data I sought. The themes that arose from this period in the field helped me narrow and focus the project and look for the information I needed to uncover to answer the research questions.

Figure 7 shows the questions that I, as the primary research instrument, repeatedly asked myself during the fieldwork as related to the research question. The perpetual

asking and answering of these questions led me to the process of designing spreadsheets to organize the data as I collected it.

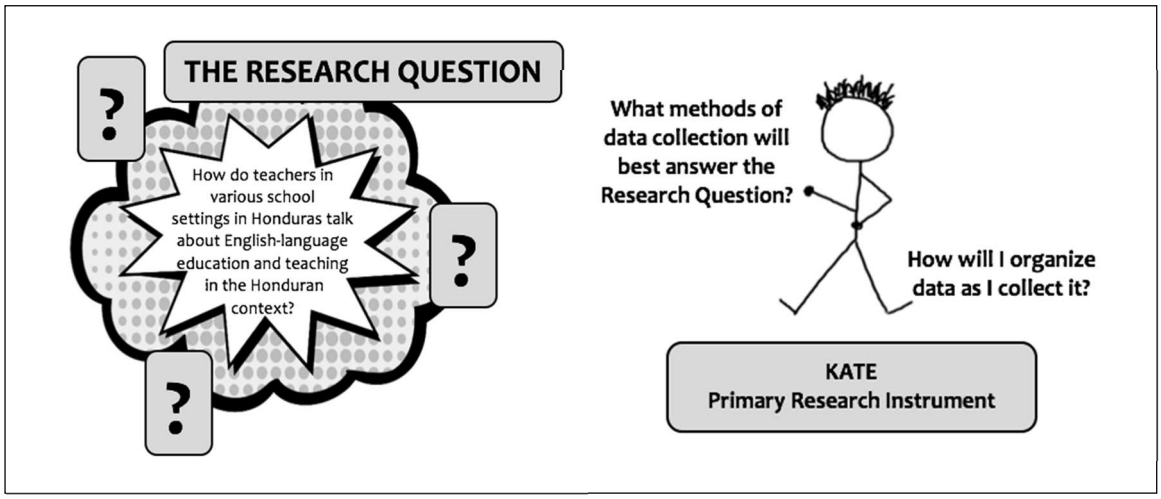


Figure 7. Data collection and data organization in the field.

After asking the questions in Figure 7, I developed three spreadsheets to organize the data during the process of data collection. The first spreadsheet organized informant and participant information, or specifically, the details most closely related to the interviewing method of data collection. This document included the dates, times, and locations of interviews, contact and demographic information for informants and participants, and electronic locations of each audio recording file (or physical locations of each set of handwritten notes). In this spreadsheet, I also recorded how I located each participant (i.e. from what or whom I learned about this participant, and how I had access to them). Finally, either during the execution of the interview, or upon the first listen-through of the audio-recording, I made a list of suggestions the participant made to me (in terms of information to seek or ideas for the dissertation) and clarifications on things the

participant said (in terms of things I needed to seek answers for). This first spreadsheet essentially kept the data collection and interview data from spinning out of control. It allowed me to highlight directions for further consideration as I continued collecting data. Figure 8 includes samples of handwritten and typed information contained in the first spreadsheet.

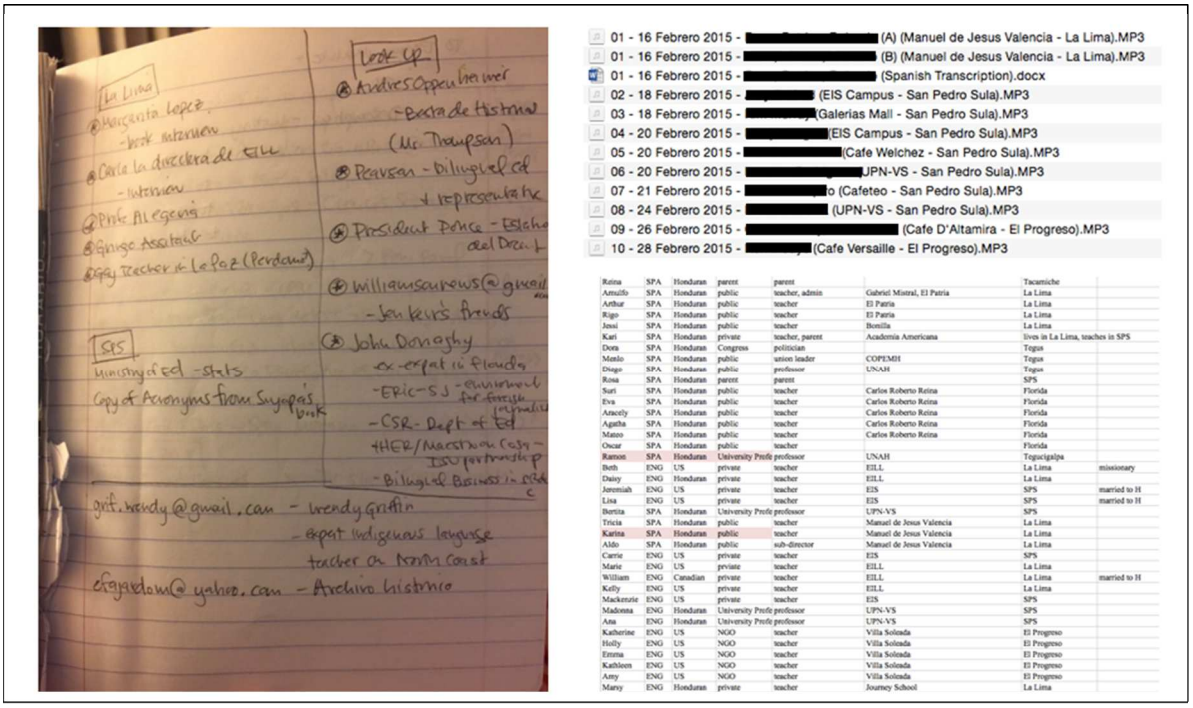
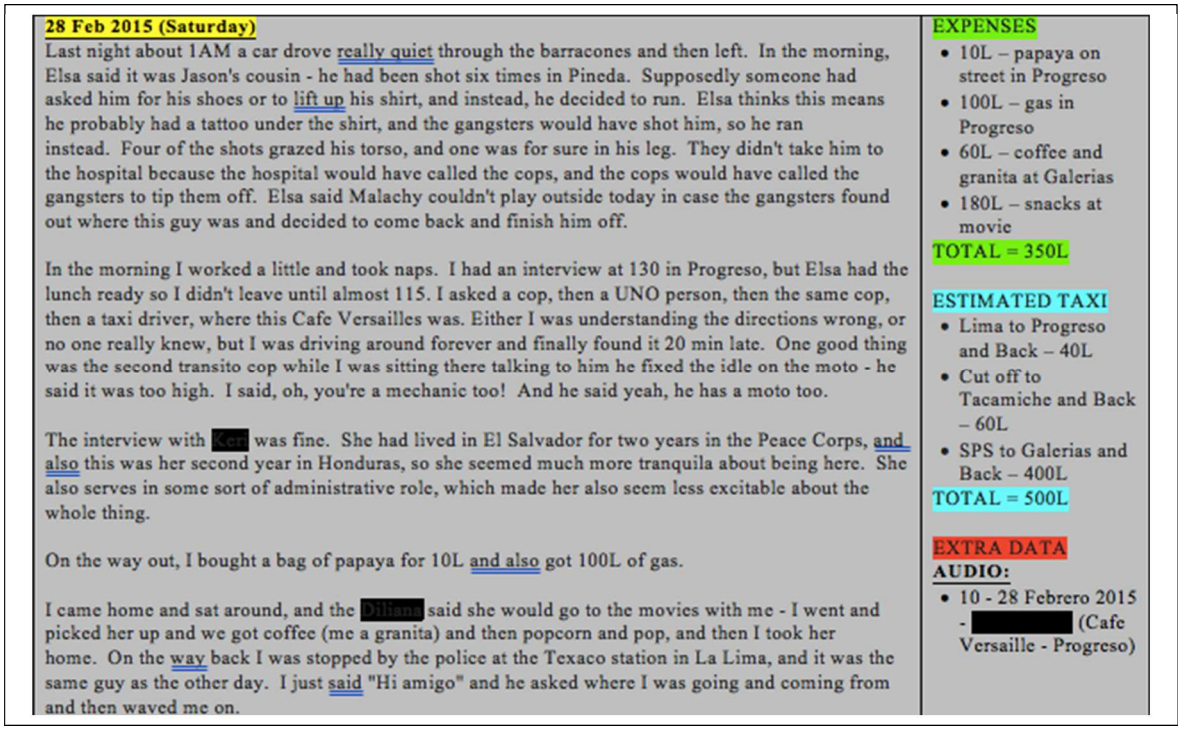


Figure 8. Spreadsheet #1.

The second spreadsheet organized the fieldnotes from participant-observation events and activities. This document included the lengthy text of fieldnotes in its entirety that I compiled nightly. Contained in this document are the date, time, and location of the actual time I wrote the fieldnote (and the date, time, and location of the event or activity, if I wrote the note after the fact). I kept track of all monetary expenses, distances traveled, names and locations of schools, categories of teachers or people I spoke with, interviews

I conducted, and cultural artifacts (such as photos) I collected. When applicable, I noted places that needed further clarification and follow-up. This spreadsheet, too, was instrumental in guiding my path forward in the field. Figure 9 is an excerpt from my fieldnotes. The left-hand column was used for note-taking. The right-hand column was used to keep track of the places I visited and how I got there. I also kept a running list of all data types collected each day.



28 Feb 2015 (Saturday)

Last night about 1AM a car drove really quiet through the barracones and then left. In the morning, Elsa said it was Jason's cousin - he had been shot six times in Pineda. Supposedly someone had asked him for his shoes or to lift up his shirt, and instead, he decided to run. Elsa thinks this means he probably had a tattoo under the shirt, and the gangsters would have shot him, so he ran instead. Four of the shots grazed his torso, and one was for sure in his leg. They didn't take him to the hospital because the hospital would have called the cops, and the cops would have called the gangsters to tip them off. Elsa said Malachy couldn't play outside today in case the gangsters found out where this guy was and decided to come back and finish him off.

In the morning I worked a little and took naps. I had an interview at 130 in Progreso, but Elsa had the lunch ready so I didn't leave until almost 115. I asked a cop, then a UNO person, then the same cop, then a taxi driver, where this Cafe Versailles was. Either I was understanding the directions wrong, or no one really knew, but I was driving around forever and finally found it 20 min late. One good thing was the second transito cop while I was sitting there talking to him he fixed the idle on the moto - he said it was too high. I said, oh, you're a mechanic too! And he said yeah, he has a moto too.

The interview with [redacted] was fine. She had lived in El Salvador for two years in the Peace Corps, and also this was her second year in Honduras, so she seemed much more tranquila about being here. She also serves in some sort of administrative role, which made her also seem less excitable about the whole thing.

On the way out, I bought a bag of papaya for 10L and also got 100L of gas.

I came home and sat around, and the [redacted] said she would go to the movies with me - I went and picked her up and we got coffee (me a granita) and then popcorn and pop, and then I took her home. On the way back I was stopped by the police at the Texaco station in La Lima, and it was the same guy as the other day. I just said "Hi amigo" and he asked where I was going and coming from and then waved me on.

EXPENSES

- 10L – papaya on street in Progreso
- 100L – gas in Progreso
- 60L – coffee and granita at Galerias
- 180L – snacks at movie

TOTAL = 350L

ESTIMATED TAXI

- Lima to Progreso and Back – 40L
- Cut off to Tacamiche and Back – 60L
- SPS to Galerias and Back – 400L

TOTAL = 500L

EXTRA DATA

AUDIO:

- 10 - 28 Febrero 2015 - [redacted] (Cafe Versaille - Progreso)

Figure 9. Spreadsheet #2.

The third spreadsheet was the one that was perpetually open on my computer and that I referenced daily. The tabs on this spreadsheet included titles such as “People to Talk To,” “Places to Visit” and “Topics to Google.” I had lists of “Things to Think About,” “Acronyms,” and “People to Thank.” This spreadsheet is best described as a catchall document where each item or question that arose during data collection and data

analysis was placed for future reference. Figure 10 shows the final and current labels of each tab for the third spreadsheet. “Demographic Data,” “Need to Visit,” and “Acronyms” are three examples of the information I kept in this document.

Figure 10. Spreadsheet #3.

Beyond organizing the data into these three spreadsheets, staring with the first day in the field in February 2015, I looked for patterns and recurrences in the data as the data was collected (Fetterman, 2009). This was a lengthy and convoluted process and list. Everything seemed interesting and worth further consideration and everything was a new and exciting piece of data.

Within a few weeks, I saw patterns emerge; participants told different versions of a similar story, or the backgrounds of teachers overlapped. Gaps in what wasn’t discussed also formed patterns. U.S. teachers didn’t know much about Honduras beyond the setting of their school, for example, and the limited English-language skills of some bilingual school teachers became repeatedly apparent. Noting the recurrence of or the repeated absence of items in the data set is a good “indicator of their significance” (Murchison, 2010, p. 116). As time progressed in the field, I kept track of a narrowed list of items that repeatedly occurred in data collection, both in the interviews and in observations.

Figure 11 shows visually how this worked. The three methods of data collection resulted in the three spreadsheets and notes, as indicated in Figures 8, 9, and 10. This is also represented in the upper left-hand corner of Figure 11. This data was then filtered by

me, as the primary research instrument. I looked for gaps in knowledge I needed to fill, participant outliers, key words, and so on, as indicated in the bottom right-hand corner of Figure 11. These patterns and lists eventually led to working themes and working contextual categories.

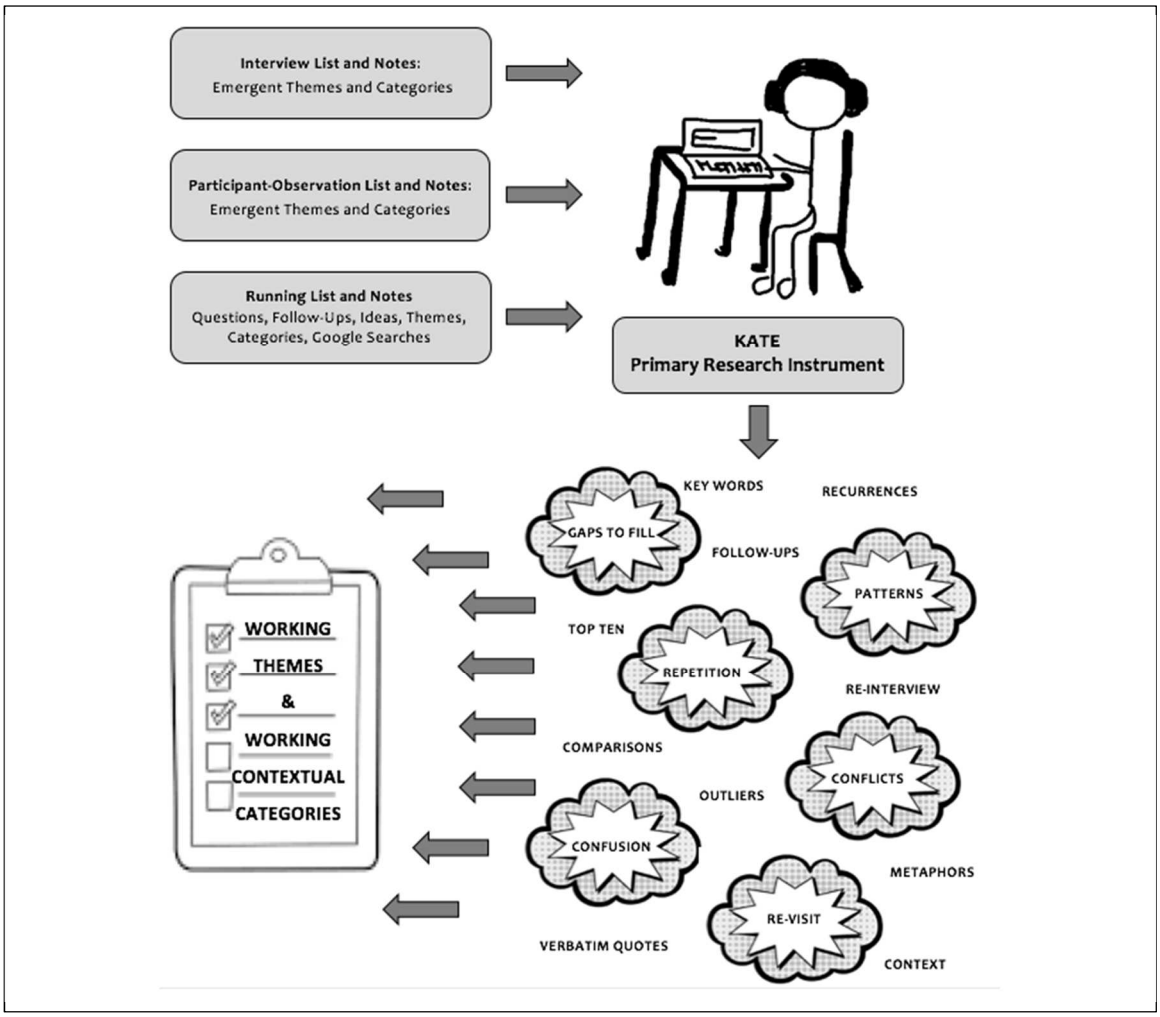


Figure 11. Working categories and themes.

Working categories and themes. Once the initial chaotic and haphazard list narrowed enough to be feasibly workable, I devised a label for each pattern, ensuring that each label was broad enough that it encompassed the significance of instances I included, but narrow enough that it concretely signified the pattern's meaning as a whole. I

physically copied and pasted the data I sorted into these categories into a new document, and experimented with different organizations, categorizations, and labeling. For example, one working category for this dissertation relates to what teachers (specifically, U.S. English-language teachers in Honduras) believed English-language skills would offer their Honduran students once they graduated from their school. In this category, I included not just interview data, but also all fieldnote data relative to what I observed students doing or not doing with their English-language skills. These working categories offered some structure to the data as I transitioned out of the field and back to the U.S. in August 2015.

This process of categorization was especially beneficial because the original spreadsheets and the data were organized chronologically throughout my time in Honduras. The interviews, fieldnotes, and notations about cultural artifacts were ordered as the data came in, from February through August 2015. However, the themes did not happen, nor could they be documented and presented in a research project, in a chronological manner. The process of making working categories and sorting the data into them helped me analytically view the data set in themes, and not simply by date or time. At this point in the research process, I essentially had one ethnographic record, organized in two distinct ways: chronologically, and by theme.

Cooperation with informants. Besides influencing the data collection process, I relied on informants and participants in my analysis of the data. Murchison (2010) calls this a "collaborative critical analysis" (p. 123). Ethnographic researchers err in thinking that informants and participants are "incapable of critical analysis of their own social and critical situations." Every person, academic researcher or not, is in a constant process of

analysis and examination of the cultural and social world in which they inhabit. The informants and participants in this study had varying circumstances and perspectives, and I relied on their input as I analyzed data. I sought interpretations and perspectives on both theoretical and practical issues from Honduran and U.S. educators. This input often contradicted my own understandings or analysis of the data, or conflicted with another participant's analysis. When these contradictions occurred, I did two things: I noted the nature of the contradiction, and I sought further explanation and clarification moving forward.

Selection of themes. Upon concluding active data collection in the field in August of 2015, I began more ambitious data organization and data categorization. The themes that arose from the data are relevant because they did, in fact, arise from the data, and their relevancy was confirmed by their repetition in the data set and throughout the process of data triangulation. Triangulation is at the "heart of ethnographic validity," as it sets different sources and methods of data collection against each other to construct a clearer representation of the reality I studied (Fetterman, 2009, p. 94). The process of building the ethnography using different methods of data collection and using different types of data improves "the accuracy of the ethnographic findings" (p. 96). It was during this process of data organization that I narrowed the data into approximately ten categories or themes. These themes became visible to me by virtue of their repetition in the data set as I collected it, and the significance I assigned each category given my growing understanding of the Honduran context, globally and locally. The themes changed frequently – they narrowed, broadened, and were swept up in other categories or split into two. Their labels also changed. Examples of the themes as I first began

recording them were 1) future opportunities at call centers, 2) the ability to speak English supersedes teacher training or prior experience with children, 3) teachers have a desire to help children who were affected by violence and poverty, and 4) teachers second guess one's role in Honduras.

First level coding of the data set. This next step of data analysis was the process I used to code. This was a time-intensive undertaking. I combed through the entire data set – each audio-recording, fieldnote, spreadsheet, photo, scrap of paper, and so on – to identify "each place in the ethnographic record that is related to a particular theme" (Murchison, 2010, p. 178). I listened to hundreds of hours of audio-recordings of interviews, many of them multiple times, and made notations on yet another spreadsheet to detail moments in the audio-recordings that needed revisiting and transcription. When parts of an interview or the entire interview itself seemed significantly relevant to one or more of the themes I identified earlier in the process, I added the interview to a growing list. I read and re-read fieldnotes, flipped through photos of schools, educational manifestations, and political graffiti. Each piece of data significant enough – given what I had learned and now understood about the educational context of Honduras, English-language education, and the research question of this study – was added to the list.

At this point, the data set was narrowed sufficiently in that it only contained items that fit into at least one of the ten categories I earlier identified. This new and narrowed data set, for specific use in this dissertation, was still significantly large – it remained hundreds of pages long. It was, however, confined to one (long) document with its content roughly divided into the ten categories.

I used this document to re-visit and re-listen to sections of original audio-recordings I identified as relevant, and took detailed notes about what each participant said, my ongoing understandings about what they were saying, why they were saying it, and what the implications were of their language use. In instances where the participant spoke generally to one or more categories, I summarized and paraphrased, noting the minute and second of the audio-file, and highlighted key words and phrases. Furthermore, I noted the questions I asked each participant to elicit such responses. This process and organization allowed me to quickly return to the spot in the audio-recording to review the commentary and re-evaluate its appropriateness in illustrating a theme. A significant amount of the interview data I transcribed verbatim. I chose to transcribe these instances because they very directly fell under one of the ten categories, and in many cases, I used the verbatim quotations to illustrate a finding.

Figure 12 represents how this process worked. I combed through the data set (or all three types of data) and pulled the pieces out as relevant to the working themes and categories I identified. The data was then organized under themes, as opposed to being categorized by type of data or chronologically.

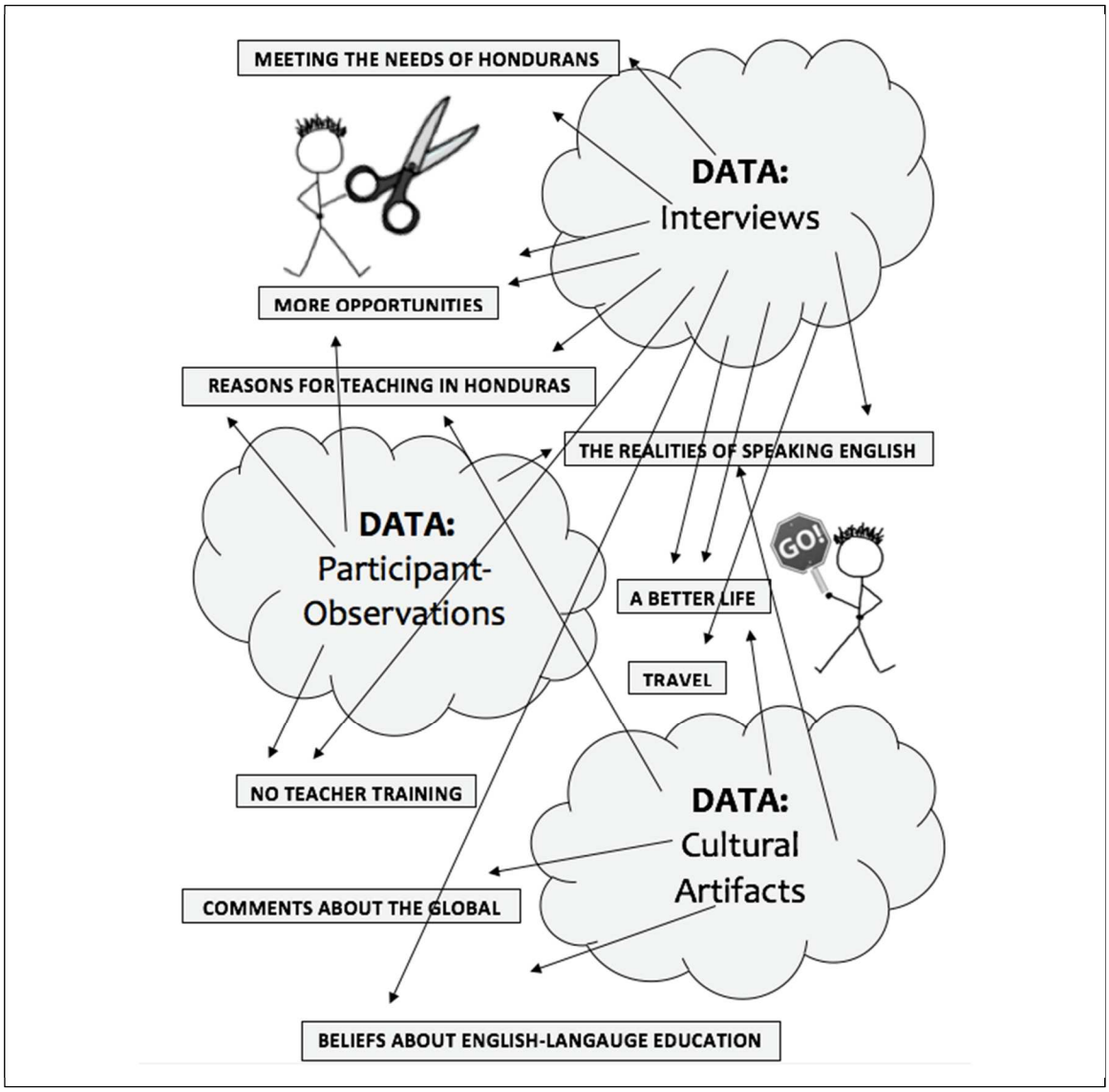


Figure 12. Sorting the ethnographic record. I divided the types of data into working themes and contextual categories.

Second level coding of the data set. The final step of organizing and minimizing the data set involved labeling, color-coding, adding document comment bubbles, and printing copies of the document in order to physically divide and use a scissors to cut the sheets of paper into sections. Each step in this organization allowed me to see the data

somewhat differently, and the various physical manifestations highlighted new patterns and formations.

I also named and re-named the categories and themes, playing with them until the labels best represented the data I included in each category. The "messiness" of ethnographic data is one of the greatest challenges in ethnographic research (Murchison, 2010, p. 181). Through multiple instances of writing, reading, listening, theming, categorizing, and coding over nearly two years, the messiness became manageable, and the data set gained some semblance of order and meaning. I finalized the labels for each category and placed the data samples in order of their relevance to each category, and according to how well they individually illustrated the theme at hand.

Towards the end of data analysis, these labels looked much closer to the titles of the findings I used in this study, and include these headings: 1) "teachers claimed they were giving Hondurans what they wanted, but there was tension when Hondurans expressed wanting something teachers were unwilling to give," and 2) "teachers second-guessed themselves and the utility of English-language education, and worried about what hidden messages students were receiving," and 3) "the day-to-day realties Honduran teachers faced, dealing with violence and poverty, lack of respect and active discretization, made their task particularly difficult, and they didn't necessarily believe education should be so closely linked to economic development."

Analysis of language in use. Once the data was organized into these categories, with clear labels and in order of significance, I began the textual analysis of the data, and linked specific uses of the language of participants to macro power structures. This process is called Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2011; Gee, 2012).

From the narrowed and categorized data samples, I can confidently offer examples that illustrate "the relationship of language to power in national or local settings" (Fairclough, 2001, p. iix). These exemplars highlight the link between language and power. This link is frequently "hidden from people" (p. 4) in everyday language use, and a critical examination of the language is a way to uncover the link and challenge it. Using Gee's (2011) concept of "building blocks," I examined the language of teachers in varied settings in Honduras, noting how they used language to position themselves and others, and ascribed or took away significance, or distributed social goods, in their descriptions of their experiences.

Discourse analysis is studying how language is used. A Critical Discourse Analysis, then, assumes from the onset that all language use is political, and the analysis makes power an inherent part of the project. We use words and language to relay and receive information about ourselves, events, ideas, values, beliefs, norms, and so on. We use language to position ourselves and others in communities, cultures, families, and even classrooms – as the class clown, as studious and quiet, as a self-proclaimed expert, or as the teacher's pet.

Sometimes speakers break the unspoken rules of language. The consequences for a person of color who speaks to a police officer in the U.S. may be different than if I spoke the same words to a police officer because there are different unwritten rules for each of us and for our communities. Other times, breaking the rules of language can challenge a system that is in place, such as challenges to a tradition that has been normalized, but that is in fact, not normal or natural. For example, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ)-rights movement used language and practice to

"redefine" seemingly "natural" and "normal" definitions of marriage. Opponents of same-sex marriage relied on repeated repetitions and uses of the word "marriage" over centuries to claim that the way it was used was the commonsense, natural, and normal meaning of the word. They said claims to the contrary were a threat to natural and normal definitions of marriage. In that sense, anti-equality activists were correct, because new repetitions and understandings of the word "marriage" were, in fact, a threat to "traditional" uses of the word. However, now that marriage is open to a variety of types of couples, the folly in that assumption has been exposed. Marriage is a word and concept that society defines and nothing more, and it only appeared naturally and normally connected to heterosexuality because it had been used and accepted in that manner for so long.

So, does language make reality, or does reality make language? Gee (2011) says that language both reflects and constructs reality (p. 101). In this way, language can be used to challenge and change reality; those who were protecting "traditional" marriage knew this, and that is why they were protective of the use of the term.

For this study, I specifically use Gee's (2011) concept of the building blocks of language. Of the seven building blocks, I focus on two: significance and politics. We use language to make people and events and things significant or not, and we also signal to others our beliefs about something or someone else's significance. The level or type of significance, or the reason behind the significance that the speaker intends, is not always clear to listeners, and often remains assumed, unsaid, or up to the listener's interpretation. Furthermore, the significance one attributes to something may appear to be a naturally occurring significance. For example, for many decades, homosexual marriage appeared

to many people and communities to be naturally negative, bad, abnormal, perverted, deviant, and so on. Now, because of the quickly shifting understandings of sexuality and marriage in U.S. culture and law, same-sex marriage doesn't take on such a negative connotation. To illustrate the themes that arose from the data in this study in terms of significance, I asked two questions in my analysis: "How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what way?" (Gee, 2011, p.17), and "How are socially situated identities and practices contributing to or challenging significance?"

Politics, the second building block of language use I utilize in this study, is used to distribute social goods through language use. We use language to create expectations about how social goods – opportunity, access, authority, etc. – should be distributed, and to who. To illustrate the themes that arose from the data in terms of politics, or the distribution of social goods, in this study, I ask: "What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (normal, right, good, correct, proper, appropriate, valuable, the way things are, the way things ought to be, high status or low status, like me or not like me, etc.)?" (Gee, 2011, p. 19).

What arose from the data set was how complicated the presence of English-language fluency was in Honduras, what English-language skills were purported to bring to the individuals who had them, and who was deemed expert enough to teach them. The almost universal narrative – that English language speaking skills led to a better life, increased human capital, and a more secure Honduran society were prevalent among parents, students, and teachers alike. And the qualifications of who was deemed qualified

to teach English was also complicated and often in conflict, even when explained by the same people or within the same school.

In Chapter 5, I illustrate each theme using specific examples of data and offer a description of the context locally and globally as I understand it from this research process. The point isn't to provide a correct, or right, or accurate analysis. The point is to look at language and the ways it has become naturalized, and discern the context it sits it to see who benefits and who is oppressed by these naturalized discourses.

To illustrate the findings, I offer multiple examples form interviews and field notes in the data set, using Critical Discourse Analysis to explore the participants' comments or my observations. I selected these particular examples because they indicated the complexity of English language teaching and schooling in Honduras, especially when set in contrast to the current narratives about English. These samples were also representative of the theme or category as a whole. The findings don't necessarily "claim" anything; what they do, however, is suggest that the narrative about English and teaching English in Honduras was much more complicated than was presented to teachers, parents, and students, and that the narrative that was presented was linked to dominant classes and those who already had access to power as it is unequally distributed.

Chapter 5 is organized into three themes, and each is shaped as an hourglass (Murchison, 2010, p. 212). Slightly modified for my objective as a researcher and in how I desired to present each of the three themes, an hourglass shape first addresses the broadest, most general, and contextual "questions and topics" as relevant to this study. Each contextual theme became relevant as it arose from the data through repetition in all

three of the methods of data collection – they are topics that participants brought up without prompting, and they are matters that I wrote about repeatedly in my nightly fieldnotes. After recognizing the emergence of reoccurring patterns during data collection, I returned to the ethnographic record and categorized it in its entirety into working contextual themes. The contextual themes shifted slightly as I sorted and coded; their labels changed, new pieces of data made each theme narrower or broader, and exceptions required me to spilt or reorganize themes.

Each of the three "contextual themes" I offer in the findings contextualize the culture of English-language education in Honduras, and speak to what is happening on a global level. I liberally use "verbatim quotations" from the interview data because verbatim quotations are "extremely useful in a credible report of the research" (Fetterman, 2009, p. 11). I also present sections of my fieldnotes and offer examples of cultural artifacts, primarily photos taken by me, that characterize and contribute to the representation of each contextual theme. Thus, the first part of each theme uses anecdotes, narrative, and contextual elaborations to answer the question: *What is going on?* Each of the three contextual themes leads to a narrower analytical theme.

The middle section of an hourglass is narrow, as is the case in how each "analytical theme" is presented for this study. I use specific examples, details, data, and analysis, and show the data's relevance to day-to-day life in Honduras. This data answers the question: *How can I represent what is going on?* Each analytical theme also arose from the data, but rather than speak to the larger context or contribute to understandings of the global, the analytical theme offers more specific on-the-ground insights, or

understandings of the local. To illustrate each analytical theme, I again draw from the ethnographic record and use verbatim quotations and fieldnote excerpts.

To conclude each of the three analytical themes, I break down a specific piece of language use by using Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA is a method of analyzing the language teachers used in the Honduran setting to talk about English-language education. This analysis uncovers the ideologies behind language use, after language has become naturalized and seems commonsense or "truth."

Figure 13 represents the hourglass model of presenting data in an ethnographic project.

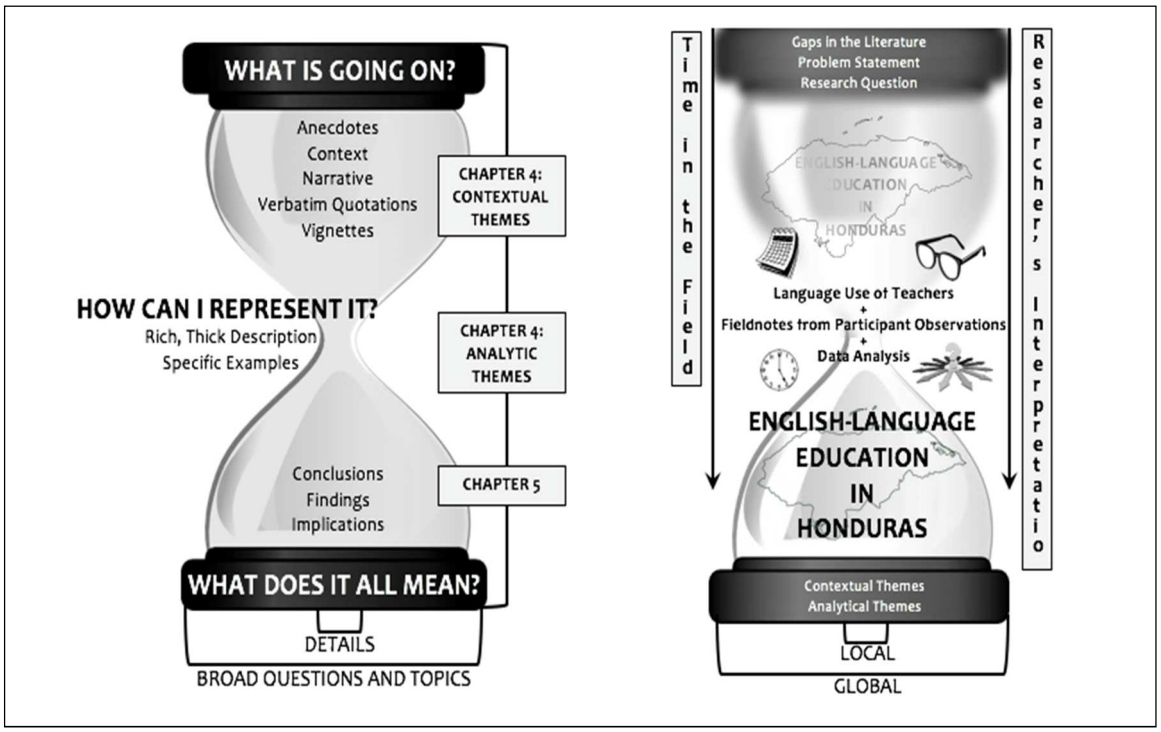


Figure 13. Representing data using the hourglass.

The themes I choose to present in Chapter 5 are the three themes that best answered the research questions I posed in Chapter 1. Additionally, these themes were most appropriate in matching my intention of to create a holistic picture of how teachers'

language use highlights hidden ideologies and power relative to English-language education in Honduras.

Figure 14 is a simplified version of how I narrowed, broadened, split, combined, and re-named the working categories into the final themes I present in the findings chapter. This image is simplified because the process was repeated frequently throughout data collection and analysis.

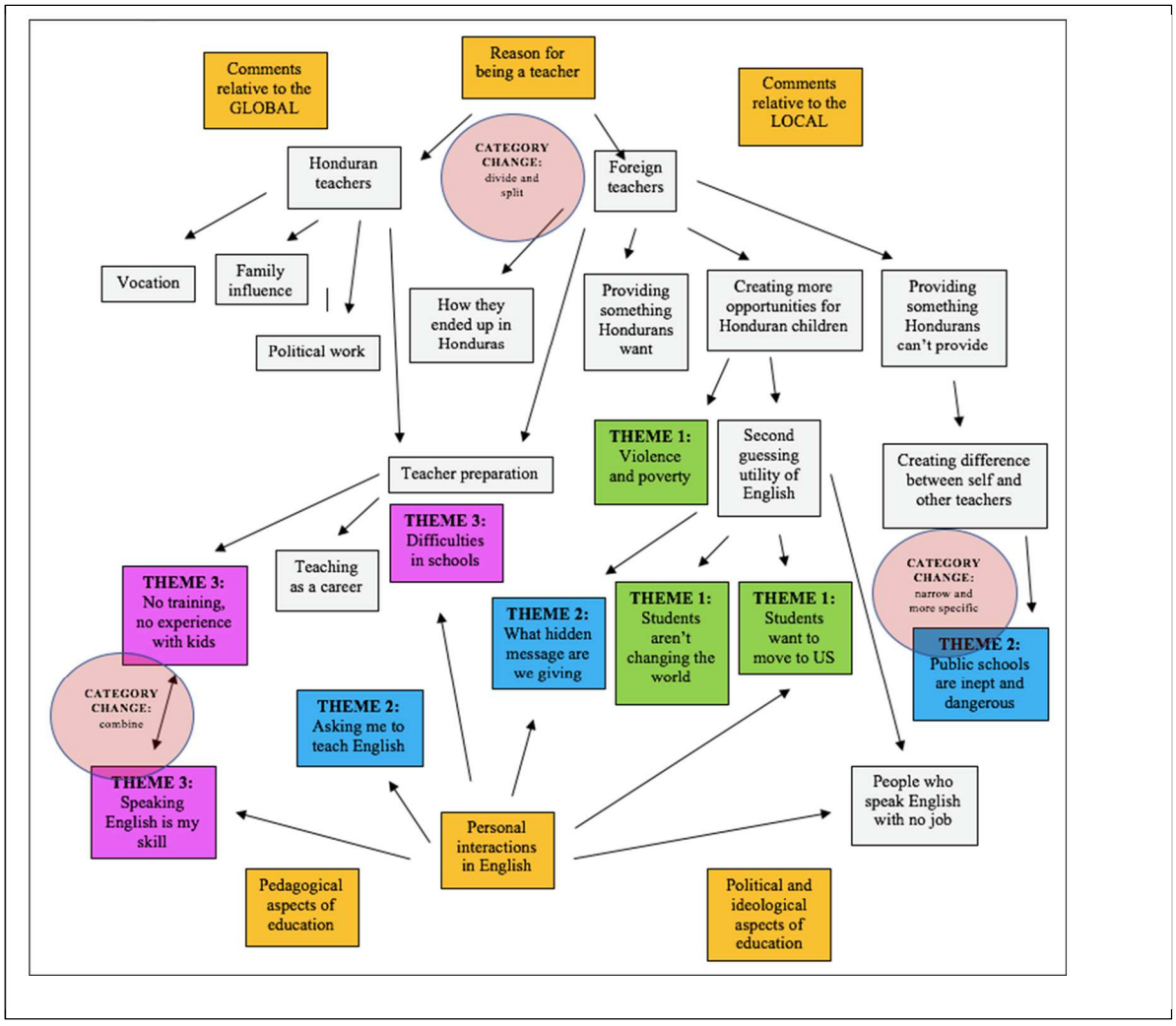


Figure 14. The three themes.

The research questions of this study are:

1. How do teachers in Honduras talk about the experience of teaching in the Honduran context?
    a. How do Honduran teachers in various school contexts talk about their role and purpose (and the roles and purposes of other teachers) as educators in Honduras?
    b. How do expatriate teachers in various school contexts view talk about their role and purpose (and the roles and purposes of other teachers) as educators in Honduras?

For ease in following the findings as I present them in Chapter 5, Figure 15 is a chart indicating the name and nationality of each participant, the type of educational setting the participant worked in (private, public, NGO, university, or language center), and the position (administrator, teacher, student) of each participant mentioned in this study. If the person was an informant related to this project in another manner, I indicate this. I also note any other information relative to the participant, when applicable.

	Name	Nationality	Educational Position	
1	Adan	United States	NGO Administrator	
2	Alex	Honduras	Private Teacher	Studied in a bilingual school as a child, worked as an electrician
3	Aloysius	Honduras	Public Teacher	
4	Arnulfo	Honduras	Public Teacher	Candidate for mayor, director of elementary school
5	Arturo	Honduras	Public Teacher	
6	Ben	United States	NGO Teacher	
7	Carmelo	Honduras	Public Teacher	Director of elementary school
8	Diego	Honduras	Public Teacher	Activist, in exile
9	Dora	Honduras	Congress Member	Former teacher
10	Edina	Honduras	Private Teacher	Moved schools during fieldwork
11	Elsa	Honduras	--	Family in *barracon*
12	Emiliano	Honduras	Public Teacher	National teacher association leader
13	Emma	United States	NGO Teacher	
14	Ernesto	Honduras	Informant	From Bay Islands, spoke English as a child
15	Esmi	United States	NGO Administrator	Bilingual Spanish-English
16	Fernando	Honduras	University Professor	Part time job at a private bilingual school
17	Francine	United States	Private Teacher	Grew up in Honduras because family worked for banana companies
18	Gabe	United States	NGO Teacher	
19	Héctor	Honduras	NGO Administrator	Activist and poet
20	Ian	United Kingdom	Private Teacher	
21	Israel	Honduras	Private Teacher	Lived and went to university in the U.S.
22	Ivan	Honduras	Private Teacher	
23	James	United States	NGO Teacher	
24	Janessa	United States	NGO Teacher	
25	Jenna	United States	NGO Teacher	
26	Jim	United States	NGO Teacher	U.S. military background
27	Joan	United States	Private Teacher	
28	Job	Honduras	Public Teacher	
29	Laura	United States	NGO Teacher	
30	Lenin	Honduras	NGO Teacher	Honduran director of NGO school
31	Marcela	Honduras	Public Teacher	Teacher association leader, grew up in UFCo banana *campos*
32	Maribel	Honduras	Public Teacher	
33	Menlo	Honduras	Public Teacher	
34	Michael	United Kingdom	Private Teacher	
35	Milo	United States	NGO Administrator	
36	Nicole	United States	NGO Teacher	
37	Patty	Honduras	Language Center	From Bay Islands, spoke English as a child
38	Ramón	Honduras	University Professor	
39	Rigo	Honduras	Public Teacher	
40	Sarah	United States	Private Teacher	
41	Stacey	United States	Private Teacher	
42	Tomás	Honduras	Public and NGO Teacher	
43	Veronica	Honduras	Private Teacher	From Bay Islands, spoke English as a child
44	Zachary	Australia	Private Teacher	

Figure 15. Guide to participants.

Chapter 4: The Honduran Context

In Chapter 4, I share historical and current information specific to education in Honduras, and include a section on contemporary Honduras.

A Historical Look at Education in Honduras

The president of Honduras from 1957-1963, Ramón Villeda Morales (of whom the international airport in La Lima, Honduras is named after), introduced the first national education system in Honduras. Villeda Morales also worked with U.S. President John F. Kennedy in the early stages of Kennedy's diplomatic efforts with the Alliance for Progress in Latin America (Alliance, n.d.; Euraque, 1996; Ramón, 2009).

Progressive social reforms in Honduras – including in the field of education – were abruptly stopped when Villeda Morales was removed from office in a coup d'état in 1963, and the nation's military ruled Honduras for most of the next two decades. The public education system has never been able to reach and teach all youth in Honduras, and "the years since 1970 have seen a proliferation of private schools… with few exceptions, private education is popularly viewed as a profit-making enterprise and there is considerable skepticism about its quality" (Merrill, 1995).

By law, children in Honduras must attend primary school, or grades one through six. However, not all children attend and finish for various reasons. Primary schools are called *escuelas*. After sixth grade, students move on to the *ciclo comun*, or the common cycle, where they complete grades 7-9 in a *colegio*, or secondary school. Grades ten, eleven, and twelve are specialized years called *carrera*, or career, where students earn a high school degree in a specialty area for options such as science and letters, bookkeeping, and various vocational fields. Alternatively, students can choose an *escuela*

normal during these years, or a normal teaching school, and get a degree to teach in an *escuela*, or elementary school. The country's national education system is in transition with a new (and controversial) law called the *Ley Fundamental de Educación*, or the Fundamental Law of Education. This law moves the attendance requirement from sixth grade to ninth grade, and condenses the number of normal teaching schools by closing some and converting others into a university level education (Colegiales, 2015; Freeston, 2011; Secretaria, 1997; Secretaria, 2011; Torres, 2015).

Schools hold more than one *jornada*, or school day, in each building, especially in urban areas because of overcrowding issues. For example, *El Patria*, the *colegio* in La Lima, has a morning session, an afternoon session, and an evening session. Students select one of the *jornadas* and attend during that period only. The evening *jornada* is necessary for students who work during the day. Teachers often teach more than one *jornada*, sometimes at different schools or in different grade levels. For example, one Honduran teacher and participant taught Spanish classes at a private school in the morning *jornada*, and went to a public school in a different community for the afternoon *jornada*, where he taught seventh grade.

Education is currently at the center of Honduran politics (Altschuler, 2010, p. 29), and improving education has been long-cited as a way to combat poverty. Educationally "informed citizens… ensure the [Honduran] political system's longevity, and foster a more dynamic economy, and possibly a more egalitarian society" (Wood, 1993, p. 2). For decades, increasing school attendance and achievement was suggested as a way to raise income, relieve poverty, and improve living conditions in Honduras (Bedi & Marshall, 1999; Honeyman, 2010).

However, experience and not education is generally rewarded within the wider workforce for pay increases or access to better jobs (Ver Beek, 2001), and as noted, the gains in literacy in the last decades have not maintained democratic forms of governance (there was, in fact, a military coup d'état in 2009), nor has it improved access to income or employment.

In the last decades, educational reform in Honduras has been heavily shaped by international aid organizations, foreign governments, and transnational corporations (Education, n.d.; Honduras: Enhanced, 2005; Honduras: Poverty, 2005). The latest policy, proposed soon after the coup d'état in 2009, was written after the de facto Honduran president (Porfirio "Pepe" Lobo Sosa) visited New Orleans to learn about the post-Hurricane Katrina charter school system (Mayor, 2010), and paralleled the signing of a larger International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreement (International, 2010).

Current State of Education in Honduras

Honduras remains one of the poorest countries in Latin America and has a very unequal distribution of income. Since 2011, Honduras has had the highest murder rate in the world. An "illegal and unconstitutional" military coup d'état removed the democratically elected president from office in June of 2009 (Portillo, 2011a, p. 944), and education is a significant part of the ongoing debate on how to deal with the high rates of violence, gang activity, drug trafficking, and poverty. Poverty and violence affect the educational opportunities of children nationwide.

Literacy rates in Honduras have made significant gains in the last fifty years – the adult literacy rate now stands between 80% and 85% (Bartlett, Lopez, Mein, & Valdiviezo, 2011; UNESCO Institute, n.d.), up from about 55% according to the 1961

Honduran census (Waggoner & Waggoner, 1971, p. 72), but still below much of Latin America. About 17% of Hondurans begin higher education, a third of those in private colleges and universities (Bashir & Luque, 2012, pp. 15-17). For these gains, Honduras, "on average" spends more on education than other countries in Latin America (Pavon, 2008, p.193). Most recently, 7% of the gross domestic product GDP in Honduras was spent on education; this amount is largely due to higher teacher salaries relative to the rest of Central America (Bashir & Luque, 2012, p. 31). In addition, Honduras receives millions of dollars a year to improve the institution of education from international aid organizations, including 9.7 million dollars from USAID (the U.S. government agency) in 2010; the same amounts were requested for 2011 and 2012 (USAID, 2009).

Contemporary Honduras

In June of 2009, the democratically elected president of Honduras, José Manuel "Mel" Zelaya Rosales, was ousted in an illegal coup d'état that led to an unconstitutional government (Academics, 2009; Portillo Villeda, 2014). Zelaya was confronted in the presidential palace at gunpoint, taken to an airplane, flown to Costa Rica, and left on the runway of an airport in the capital city of San José in his pajamas. The president of the Honduran Congress, Roberto Micheletti, declared himself de facto president by presenting the National Honduran Congress with a fake later of resignation with Zelaya' supposed signature (Presidente, 2009).

U.S. President Barack Obama and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton refused to acknowledge the unconstitutional change in power as the first coup d'état in Latin America in the twenty-first century and accepted Micheletti as president. Clinton admitted in her 2014 memoir that the U.S. actively ensured Zelaya would not return to

power (Weisbrot, 2014). This acknowledgement was internationally controversial, and the commentary related to Honduras was left out of the later paperback edition of Clinton's memoir. Clinton explained this further in a New York Daily News interview (Attiah, 2016):

> If the United States government declares a coup, you immediately have to shut off all aid including humanitarian aid, the Agency for International Development aid, the support that we were providing at that time for a lot of very poor people, and that triggers a legal necessity. There's no way to get around it. So our assessment was, we will just make the situation worse by punishing the Honduran people if we declare a coup and we immediately have to stop all aid for the people, but we should slow walk and try to stop anything that the government could take advantage of without calling it a coup.

Alternatively, the Organization of American States (or the OAS, which includes all thirty-five countries of the American continent) immediately recognized the change in political control as clearly against the Honduran constitution, and as an illegal coup d'état (OAS, 2009). International scholars and activists from around the world condemned the coup d'état and the United States' role in perpetuating its perceived legality. Hundreds of thousands of Hondurans activists and citizens protested the coup d'état and the violence and chaos in its aftermath on the streets, and these manifestations continue today (Portillo Villeda, 2014; Portillo Villeda, 2016).

The U.S. pushed for quick presidential elections in Honduras during the fall of 2009 to remedy the situation instead of insisting on the return of Zelaya to the position of president. Days after the coup d'état, a social opposition movement emerged called the

Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular or the FNRP (in English, National Popular Resistance Front) (Main, 2014). Large sectors of the Honduran population boycotted the 2009 presidential elections in protest that fall, perceiving the elections a product of an illegal government (Joyce, n.d.; Meyer, 2010).

The U.S. State Department's condoning of the coup d'état is noteworthy especially because Zelaya's spouse – Xiomara Castro de Zelaya – ran for president in the 2013 national election with large popular support. She lost however, in what was perceived by many in large scale fraud (Carasik & Shahshahani, 2013; Miroff, 2013; Phillips & Malkin, 2013).

I served as a trained international observer for the 2013 Honduran presidential election. The polling place I observed was at the *Escuela Normal Pedro Nufio* in the Honduran capital city of Tegucigalpa, and neighborhood of Colonia Kennedy. I personally spoke with the U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, Lisa Kubiske, at the polling site, and witnessed first-hand fraud in vote tallying and reporting to the *Tribunal Supremo Electoral*, or the Honduran institution that processes elections. Fraud was also reported by other international observers, including from official delegates of the European Union, but the election was eventually declared free and fair (Weisbrot, 2013). Xiomara Castro de Zelaya is running for president again in the November 2017 elections.

I was on the campus of Honduras' main public university (*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras*) in November 2013 in days following the presidential election when university students took over the campus in protest of the electoral fraud. Military and police in riot gear shot tear gas canisters at the students over the walls of the university. Since the university is autonomous, the military and police legally do not have

permission to enter the campus. Professors, intellectuals, writers, and artists gathered alongside hundreds of students; many of the professors were activists during the Central American conflicts in the 1980s. The professors and students handed each other rags soaked in vinegar to neutralize the effects of the tear gas.

Honduras remains in a political and economic state of crisis. The current president, Juan Orlando Hernández, admitted that his political party (*Partido Nacional*, or National Party) used the nation's social security funds to pay for his campaign and that of other party members (El President, 2015; Palencia, 2015). Honduras currently has the highest murder rate in the world – nearly double that of other violent countries (CNN, 2014; U.S. Department, 2016), and violence is directed towards women, human rights defenders, journalists, environmentalists (including the murder of internationally known Berta Cáceres in March 2016), union members, and LGBTI (particularly transwomen) identified persons, and youth (Aguilar & Rossini, 2012; Asmann, 2016; Honduras Events, 206; Portillo Villeda, 2015; Rafsky, 2014). Drug trafficking and gang activity has increased and the *impuesta de guerra* is prevalent in nearly all neighborhoods. Literally *impuesta de guerra* means "war tax," but practically, it is a toll that gang members collect from residents or people passing through neighborhoods. Some businesses, including bus lines and stores, have shuttered rather than pay the extortion (Cierra, 2016). Honduras once again made the international news during the summer of 2014, when a purported 60,000 child migrants migrated to the U.S.-Mexico border by themselves, a large portion of them from San Pedro Sula metropolitan area in the North Coast of Honduras (Gonzalez-Barrera, Krogstad, & Lopez, 2014; Gordon, 2014; Robles, 2014).

A thorough understanding of Honduras' social, economic, cultural, and political history is necessary to best understand the educational context of Honduras and the meaning of English-language education and teaching there. Schools and educational institutions cannot be separated from society (Dewey, 1899). Without an active, comprehensive, and perpetual quest for information about the Honduran setting and how it affects those who interact within it, it is difficult to uncover the nuances of how English-language education shapes people's lives in Honduras, and how people shape English-education there.

Chapter 5: Findings

Chapter 5 consists of three themes that arose from repetition during the data collection and its subsequent analysis. In Chapter 3, I detailed the process of gathering data, organizing it during time in the field, sorting it into categories and themes multiple times, and narrowing and the choosing the themes to present in this dissertation. I also explained the concept of an hourglass shape (Murchison, 2010) which I utilize to organize and present the findings.

The three themes for this study are represented in Figure 16. There are three overarching themes, each of which contains a contextual theme (title and summary), an analytical theme (title and summary), and a Critical Discourse Analysis (title and summary). Chapter 5 is organized in the order indicated in Figure 16.

	THEME 1	THEME 2	THEME 3
Overarching Theme	The Political and Ideological Setting for the Pedagogical Project of Teaching English in Honduras	Second Guesses, but Still Better Than What Hondurans Can Offer	Moving Away from Teaching to do Something Political
TITLE	**¡Puta, ni sillas tenemos hombre, compren sillas!**	**¡Cerdo-Pig!**	**Pizza raffle for a classroom fan vs. "I have no desire to teach children again."**
Contextual Theme	Learning about education, violence, and poverty, locally and globally	Interacting with English and the desire for English education	Observing the differences between being a Honduran teacher vs. an international teacher
TITLE	**Voy al Norte.**	**Why do gringos know things that Hondureños don't?**	**"Riffs and strays."**
Analytical Theme	Teachers say their students express a desire move to the U.S. with their English	Teachers say their students notice hierarchies connected to speaking and teaching English	Teachers recognize their lack of training and experience relative to their position as educators
TITLE	**Stipulating the future and limiting success.**	**The horrifying prospect of a public school.**	**English teaching was the "only thing I could do."**
Critical Discourse Analysis	Teachers stipulate the future and define "success" for their students	Teachers create difference between themselves and other types of education to justify their need in Honduras	Teachers say their status as a "native" English speaker justifies their presence in Honduras

Figure 16: Themes organizational chart. There are three findings for this study, and within each finding there are three sections: a contextual theme, an analytical theme, and a Critical Discourse Analysis of language use.

Theme 1: The Political and Ideological Setting for the Pedagogical Project of Teaching English in Honduras

Education – including English-language education in Honduras – cannot be separated from the political, ideological, global, and local context in which the education is positioned, and to evaluate the objectives or outcomes of educational projects without engaging with the context will result in an incomplete understanding. The opportunities students receive from their individual pedagogical opportunities are affected by the political, ideological, global, and local setting in which they reside.

The first contextual theme explores how violence and poverty affected and shaped the lives of Hondurans, whether they spoke English or not. Violence, poverty, and English-language skills did not necessarily determine the lives of Hondurans or the decisions Hondurans made. However, lives in Honduras were certainly shaped – and sometimes cut short – because of this context. Given the high levels of violence in Honduras, it was nearly impossible for Hondurans to avoid regardless of educational level or ability to speak English, and poverty affects the majority of Honduras' citizens (World, n.d.).

Following and building on the contextual theme, the first analytical theme highlights the U.S. and foreign teachers' reiterations of two things. First, these teachers shared anecdotes of how frequently their Honduran students (and families) expressed a desire to use their new English-language fluency to move to the U.S., as a manner of escaping the violence and poverty I contextualize in the first part of this theme. Second, each time these teachers spoke about their students' desires to move to the U.S., the teachers also voiced their dismay and disapproval relative to this goal.

For the Critical Discourse Analysis at the end of the first theme, I selected a piece of interview data in which a teacher from the U.S. described a conversation she had with a graduate of her bilingual school in Honduras. The teacher conveyed an expectation about the proper and acceptable way to use an English-language education to better one's life in Honduras, and she used language to label what were inappropriate ways of using an English-language education. Teachers in Honduras placed the responsibility on the individual student to turn their English-language education into a specific type of success (as narrowly defined by the teachers themselves), regardless of how the political and ideological context (violence and poverty) shaped students' lives and affected their communities.

Contextual 1: ¡***Puta, ni sillas tenemos hombre, compren sillas!*** In March 2015, a thirteen-year-old secondary school student named Soad Nicolle Ham Bustillo participated in a student protest in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa. The protest was held as part of a series of protests to contest changes the Honduran Ministry of Education was implementing in schools, without financial or logistical consideration for students and teachers, including shifts in the hours of the school day. I was in Tegucigalpa on this day in March 2015 for a scheduled visit to the public teaching university and to attend these same protests.

In a news clip that evening, Soad Nicolle was video-recorded speaking towards a camera, *¡Puta, ni sillas tenemos hombre, compren sillas!* or "Fucker, we don't even have chairs, man, buy chairs!" A few hours later, Soad Nicolle was reported as missing, and the next morning her body turned up in a street, wrapped tightly in a bag (Estrangulada, 2015). She was dead. Weeks later gang members were accused of her torture and murder,

and Soad Nicolle was variously linked to the gangs and other delinquents in the society by the police. However, the public generally accepted her murder was tied to her appearance on television, participation in the protest, and critique of the Honduran Ministry of Education and government.

Violence was a reality for Honduran children, and not even the children of socio-economic elite can avoid it completely. They did, however, hire bodyguards, drive armored vehicles, and live behind walls and electric wires. Violence and safety affected travelers and foreign residents in Honduras as well: The U.S. State Department issued travel warnings for U.S. citizens traveling Honduras on a regular basis since the 2009 coup d'état, and pulled the U.S. Peace Corps volunteers (administered by the U.S. government) out of Honduras in 2011 citing safety concerns and violence (Sandoval, 2012). Schools, students, teachers, and those who spend time in educational spaces are not immune to violence either, as the story about Soad Nicolle illustrates.

Figure 17 is a photo I took the morning after Soad Nicolle was murdered. The students continued protesting the Honduran Ministry of Education and spoke out about Soad Nicolle's death. However, as the image indicates, the students wore rags and t-shirts over their faces so they wouldn't be recognizable or identifiable by the media or police. They attempted to avoid state-sanctioned violence directed towards them. They carried a banner with a screenshot of Soad Nicolle's face from the earlier news report where she was recorded, and the sign says: *No a Los Escuadrones de La Muerte*, or, No to Death Squads.

Figure 17. Student march. This march was a protest held the day after secondary school student Soad Nicole Ham Bustillo was murdered in Tegucigalpa, the capital city of Honduras. Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Teachers and activists told me that the youth in Honduras were criminalized and considered delinquents no matter what they do. High levels of migration, gang association, school drop-outs, and unemployment were all categories that gave Honduran youth a status as a criminal, without consideration of how the youth might be affected by other social and economic factors. The youth in Honduras – including student protesters – were frequently met with violence and control by the military and police forces in an attempt to criminalize and intimidate them. Figure 18 is a photograph from the same protest march show in Figure 17, and shows the armored Honduran military, in full-tactical gear, blocking unarmed student protesters from moving forward.

Figure 18. Student march met by Honduran military and police. Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Although Honduras has had the highest violent death rate (for a country not currently at war) in the world since 2011 (CNN, 2014), violence was a part of the daily life at EILL while I taught there from 2006-2009. In 2009, two students – siblings – were kidnapped at gunpoint one morning before school. For weeks, no one knew if they would be found alive or dead. About six weeks later, they were found alive, having been held for ransom. I was a basketball coach at EILL, and my players' bodyguards waited on the side of the court or outside campus until practice was over with handguns on their hips. Sometimes a second bodyguard with a machine gun waited on the street or stood in the back of a pick-up truck.

Security and violence came up frequently during data collection as I sought out teacher participants to interview. For example, the march the day after Soad Nicolle's murder in the capital city of Tegucigalpa was attended by activists and leaders from across the country, including Honduran environmental indigenous leader Berta Cáceres, who herself was violently murdered less than a year later, in March 2016, for speaking out against the government and transnational corporations. In my fieldnotes that day (March 26, 2015), I wrote about approaching and asking a small group of teacher-protestors, all women, if I could visit with them to learn about why they marched. The eyes of one teacher widened – I imagine she thought I was a journalist and didn't want to be publically on the record given that Soad Nicolle was murdered after being public with a critique of the Ministry of Education. The teacher waved me off, and without saying anything, shook her head no. A teacher near her gave me a long look and finally said defiantly, *yo lo hago*, or "I'll do it."

Back on the North Coast and in San Pedro Sula, one neighborhood, the Colonia Rivera Hernández, is infamous for its extremely high rates of violence. To visit the schools in la Rivera Hernández, I passed through five separate military checkpoints on my motorcycle, where I was stopped, asked to provide identification, information about where I was going, and why. On visits to a school in another neighborhood on the North Coast, I had to take off my motorcycle helmet to offer a clear view of my face to two men sitting on a bench under the shade of a tree – gang members – before I proceeded, so they knew who I was and could see where I was going. I was assaulted multiple times in Honduras – at gun- and knife-point – but only once during fieldwork: I was in a household goods store while it was robbed by men with pistols. I had about $100 cash in

one hand while I waited in line to pay a bill, and aimlessly thumbed through my iPhone with the other. One of the men robbing the store motioned for me to put both the money and the iPhone in my pocket – they wanted to rob the store (and not the clientele), and I was making it too obvious for them to leave without my things.

On February 28, 2015, I wrote about an incident in the *barracones*:

> Last night about 1AM a car drove really quiet through the *barracones* and then left. There are so rarely cars in the *barracones* that it woke everyone up. In the morning, they said it was a cousin getting secretly dropped off – he had been shot six times in the next neighborhood over. Someone approached him, asked him to lift up his shirt, and instead, he decided to run. They think this means he probably had a tattoo under the shirt, and the gangs would have shot him for it, so he ran instead. Four of the shots grazed his torso, and one was in his leg. They didn't take him to the hospital because the hospital would have called the police, and the police could have called the gangs to tip them off. They said we shouldn't go in the street today and the children couldn't play outside in case the gangs found out where this guy was and decided to come back and finish him off.

After two days of essential house arrest, the neighbors in the *barracones* had enough and said the shooting victim must leave to hide elsewhere; no one wanted to live with that fear anymore. The shooting victim left, and life in the *barracones* returned to normal.

In April 2015, a friend of mine who I met in 2006 – Juan Carlos Cruz Andara – took two days off from his job to drive me around to bilingual and English-language schools and introduce me to his teacher friends in his coastal city of Puerto Cortés. We ate *carne asada* (seasoned steak) and *tajadas* (banana chips) for lunch and chatted about

his job working in a Honduran customs office, as local TV host for a pop culture program, and as an English teacher and tutor. Juan Carlos lived in New York City for years and spoke English fluently. Two months later, in June 2015, Juan Carlos was stabbed to death in his home. His sister flew from the New York to Honduras to organize the nine-day long wake, and we said rosaries in the same house he was stabbed to death in just a few days earlier.

Without exoticising the extreme rates of violence in Honduras, violence and crime were significant to this study and to this theme because they were often cited as reasons teachers from the United States came to Honduras to work with children. Jim (U.S., NGO school) was in his mid-20s and had a background in the U.S. military, and Jim taught in Honduras because he knew "the community needed teachers, [and] if they needed something else I would have done that." He worked with children to keep them out of trouble. By offering Honduran children an English-language education, Jim said he was helping them avoid a life of crime. If a child "goes to school when he's eight," Jim concluded, "maybe he doesn't go to handcuffs when he's eighteen."

Honduran teachers and educators understood violence and crime differently than their U.S. and international counterparts, as indicated by how they described the causes of violence, levels of danger, and communities with excessive security problems and extreme poverty. The U.S. contributes to these issues by training the corrupt Honduran military and police, supplying weapons to combat violence and the "drug war," restricting access to migrants, denying refugee status to fleeing Honduras, and deporting immigrants with criminal records (often because of participation in crime organizations in the U.S. they become involved with while living in the U.S.) (McGirk, 2008; Shorrock,

2016; Sorrentino, 2015). The role of the United States in contributing to violence and poverty in Honduras was something Honduran teachers commented on frequently, but U.S. teachers rarely did.

Marcela, (Honduran, public school) a teacher for over forty years – first in banana *campo* schools and later in Honduran public elementary schools – suggested that the country's leaders are intentionally *ciego*, or blind, to the high levels of violence in Honduras, and have no reason to address it. Marcela believed the Honduran state worked to maintain high levels of violence and crime, and said it was unlikely that any of Jim's students would end up in handcuffs, whether they followed a life of crime or not.

Marcela taught in an elementary public school in the region and lamented the limited opportunities and violence her students faced as they entered adolescence and made decisions about jobs and furthering their education:

> *Yo tengo alumnas mías que fueron muy inteligentes, saliendo sexto grado, y ya están muertas, porque ellas salieron niñas lindas se prostituyeron, cayeron en las drogas, cayeron en las maras. Una de ellas cayo con el narcotráfico y cuando se resistió… yo te voy a decir una cosa – es que la gente en mi país no habla porque ahora si tú hablas te manda a matar sencillamente. Aquí está de moda que en las casas vallan a matar la gente, las van a sacar*. [I have many students who were very intelligent, and leaving sixth grade, they're already dead. Because the pretty girls end up as prostitutes, or they get into drugs or into gangs – one of the girls got involved with a drug-trafficker. And I am going to tell you something – the people in my country don't talk, because if you talk, they will have you killed

simple enough. It is what is common today, that they go to your house, they take you outside, and they kill you].

Héctor (Honduran, NGO lawyer) insisted that I use his real name rather than a pseudonym. Héctor wrote in a published blog post (2017) about how the Honduran government promoted and maintained violence:

> *Desde una guerra institucionalizada que justifica la violencia de estado y permite la militarización y la criminalización de la protesta social. La paz no es negocio para este sistema, pero la guerra sí. Las esperanzas de paz, el sueño de la seguridad y la posibilidad de una institución que garantice el estado de derecho no se avizora sino desde las luchas del pueblo mismo. Todos trabajamos juntos para recuperar lo que ya debería ser público, y el gobierno hondureño nos condena. No quieren dar paz, porque la guerra genera mejores beneficios.* [An institutionalized war is used as justification for state violence, and the militarization and criminalization of social protests are sanctioned and permitted. Peace is not a profitable industry in this system, but war is. The hope for peace, the dreams of safety and the possibility of an institution that guarantees the rule of law are only imagined from a struggle of the people. Everyone works together to recover that which should already be public, and the Honduran government condemns us. They don't want to provide peace, because war generates better profits].

Given the reality Marcela and Héctor described, it is interesting that Jim believed his presence teaching in Honduras would give children a future free of handcuffs. Honduras has a high rate of impunity and corruption in terms of justice, and very few

people get arrested, let along charged or convicted, for crimes committed. In fact, of over 27,000 murders that occurred in Honduras from 2010-2013, only about 1000 resulted in court convictions (Torres, 2014). One United Nations expert said Honduras was virtually a "lawless killing zone" because of the lack of investigation that followed the murders of human rights defenders, especially that of the environmental indigenous leader Berta Cáceres in March of 2016 (Honduras risks, 2014). Jim assumed that there are, in fact, lawful repercussions for criminals in Honduras. However, it isn't that criminals who commit crimes end up in handcuffs – there are very few criminals who are investigated, charged, or convicted, period. The link between an education (or further, an English-language education) and avoiding handcuffs in Honduras wasn't that straightforward, if there was a connection at all. If one avoided handcuffs in Honduras, it a likely more of a result of a lack of a law enforcement system for crimes perpetrated, and less likely a result of one's educational level or ability to speak English.

Furthermore, men between the ages of twenty and thirty-four living in the San Pedro Sula region have a 1 in 300 chance of being violently murdered (Geneva, 2015). The actual murder rate for this demographic is likely higher than the statistic suggests, as a significant amount of murders are not reported or officially counted, and there are substantial numbers of people who are disappeared. For example, during my fieldwork in La Lima, a student from the *colegio* was murdered near the school, and his body lay in the dirt street, shielded from the hot sun from umbrellas placed by family members for hours. The family waited for the police to come to file an official report, but eventually tired of waiting and took the body home. Furthermore, this statistic is a record of people who die because of violence, but not those who are victims of other violent crimes who

survive, such as assault, kidnapping, rape, torture, and so on. Statistically, a young man from this region in Honduras isn't that much more likely to graduate from secondary school than to be murdered – secondary school age children are enrolled in a secondary school only at about 48%; for those who are economically in the lowest 20% of the Honduran population, that percentage drops to 16% (UNICEF, n.d.). The actual graduation or completion rate for secondary school is much lower, and in some rural areas there is no school access at all (Cotza, 2013).

Violence is not the only measure that affects the school-age population in Honduras, including those able to access an education or an English-language education. A common *dicho*, or saying, that I heard frequently in Honduras about this demographic – that of secondary school age children – is to describe them as a *ni-ni* (pronounced nee-nee), or a "neither-nor." Calling someone a *ni-ni* indicated the school-age adolescent was neither studying nor employed. "Carlos is a *ni-ni*," was to say that Carlos was neither in school, nor does Carlos have a job.

There are substantial shortages in job opportunities for those with and without secondary degrees in Honduras. A report by the Center for Economic and Policy Research (Lefebvre, 2015) noted that over 56% percent of Hondurans were unemployed or underemployed. In this study, underemployed defined a person who worked less than thirty-six hours a week (part-time) but who desired full-time employment, or a person who worked thirty-six hours a week or more (full-time), but didn't earn the Honduran minimum wage.

The average monthly income in 2015 in Honduras was about $190 (World, n.d.). Thus, not only were few jobs available for Hondurans, educated or otherwise, those who

held jobs were not paid well. *Maquilas* and telemarking call centers – both places suggested by teachers as future employment opportunities for their English-language students – offered a higher salary than the monthly average. From speaking with Hondurans employed at these industries, their income was between $215 and $400 a month, and possessing a degree or speaking English increased that amount somewhat. It was, however, well-known that these two industries were economically exploitative and furthermore, most labor settings in Honduras are frequently accused of labor violations (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). Hondurans were happy to have positions in telemarking call centers or *maquilas*, but it wasn't anyone's dream job. Many people referred to them as *bananeras modernas* – the "modern banana industry" – and suggested they were an updated version of exploitative banana plantations.

Families also cited a loss of potential wages as a deterrent in sending a child to school during the secondary school years and beyond, plus the cost of the education itself, including materials, transportation, uniforms, and so on (Flores, 2013). Elsa, the head of the household where I lived in the *barracones*, told me that in 1986 when she was about twelve years old, she quit school after fifth grade to work. Elsa said:

> *Cuando yo salí de la escuela, mi mama quería que yo siguiera estudiando, pero yo dije que no, porque mi mama solo ganaba 40 lempiras al mes en 1977. Ella tenía a mis tres hermanas estudiando y yo pensé mejor trabajar para comprarme mis cosas. Cuando yo empecé a trabajar a mí solo cien lempiras ganaba al mes. Mi mama no tenía ayuda de nadie para nosotras cuatro dar estudios y alimentación. Ella ganaba muy poco dinero.* [When I left school, my mom wanted me to continue studying, but I said no, because my mom only earned

about 40 lempiras a month. My mom had my three sisters studying and I thought it would be better to work to buy my own things. When I started to work, I only earned about 100 lempiras a month. And my mom was alone, she had no help from anyone for us four daughters to pay for education and food. She made very little money].

More recently, Malachy (my child, who traveled with me to Honduras for fieldwork in 2015, who at the time was ten years old), sent about $25 a month for his best friend in Honduras – Obed – to continue to seventh grade. This $25 paid for Obed's transportation, books, uniforms, and a daily snack. However, after a few months his mother pulled him out of school because the family needed him to work as an *albanil*, or a builder, with his dad. Rigo (Honduran, public school) made a similar statement on this topic: *Al campesino es más fácil llevarse al niño del seis, siete años a la milpa que llevarlo a la escuela*, or "For the peasant farmer, it is easier to bring their six or seven-year-old child to the corn fields than it is to bring them to school."

On a website from an organization supporting educational programs in Honduras called Bless the Children, their website suggested paying for secondary school was also an issue (A study, n.d.).

> Many children are forced to leave school for work, usually permanently, at a very young age to help support their families. For similar reasons, this connects the low level of education reached by many parents with the insecure living conditions for more than 80% of Hondurans.

It takes years of gainful employment to make up lost wages during the secondary school years, and long-term positions earning a livable salary are simply not available to most of the population, educated or not, English-language speaking or not.

U.S. teachers suggested they were teaching in the most dangerous, poor, and hard to reach areas of Honduras where access to education and job opportunities were the lowest. Because of this, teachers were chauffeured to and from the school where they taught daily, from a safer neighborhood in which they lived. The schools' neighborhoods were deemed too dangerous for foreign teachers to occupy, except within the walled school campus (and even on occasion, with armed military guards). I asked one teacher from the U.S. what he knew about the neighborhood in which he taught, and he said he only knew what he "could see from the truck" on the drive in and out, before and after school.

The neighborhoods in San Pedro Sula and the North Coast locally known as the most dangerous in Honduras – Colonia López Arellano, Colonia Rivera Hernández, and Colonia Chamelecón, to name a few – had no NGO or privately run bilingual schools that I could locate. The local awareness of the violence in these neighborhoods was further backed by studies, statistics, and the media, all which indicated these neighborhoods were and are the most violent in Honduras (Crilly, 2015, Martínez d'Aubuisson, 2015). Chamelecón was in the international news in December 2004 when twenty-eight people riding a bus were massacred by men who sprayed the bus with machine gun fire (Crean, 2004), and when I went to Chamelecón to visit a Catholic priest in 2008, the church was padlocked from the inside during Mass.

In the Colonia Rivera Hernández (the neighborhood I passed through five military checkpoints to get to) I was introduced to a Honduran public bilingual (Spanish-Garífuna) school with a brand-new playground for its elementary students. A large red, white, and blue sign indicated the playground was paid for by the U.S. Department of State, International Narcotics & Law Enforcement. In Chapter 2, I noted U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency agents were involved in the deaths of multiple Hondurans during drug raids, including the deaths of two pregnant women who were innocent bystanders (Savage, 2012), and the presence of U.S. military and police force remains controversial. Although the area is one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in San Pedro Sula and in Honduras, there were no private or NGO bilingual schools there, and the only North American presence was via U.S. military and security forces. The school where this playground was located was staffed by Honduran (and not U.S.) teachers who lived locally.

The level of danger was what teachers used to justify and rationalize their presence in Honduras. They claimed the violence was especially unique to the particular areas of Honduras where their school was located. From extended time in the field in Honduras, and from speaking with Hondurans outside the environment of these schools (but in the same neighborhoods), I found the neighborhoods they considered the "poorest shanty town in Honduras," or some of the most violent were not noteworthy for Hondurans in terms of violence nor for excessive danger or poverty. The mission statement of one NGO school was to "alleviate extreme poverty and violence in Honduras through education and youth empowerment." However, these "extreme"

neighborhoods, relative to Hondurans' setting, are absent from international and national reports and media on extreme crime and violence in Honduras.

The Honduran children in the documented most dangerous neighborhoods of the North Coast didn't have access to English-language education or U.S teachers. In the well-known and documented most dangerous neighborhoods of Honduras the security risks were too great, and U.S. teachers were either unwilling or unable to teach there. The need, as they described it in terms reaching children in the most desperate areas of Honduras, was used to justify their own presence in Honduras. The link between most violent and most needed because of poverty was considerably undermined by looking at a map and noting the lack of access to English-language education the children from these neighborhoods.

Héctor, (Honduran, NGO lawyer) said he thought U.S. and international teachers actively maintained a violence and poverty narrative to keep up their image of benevolence without having to actively engage with the violence and poverty in the way Hondurans must on a daily and permanent basis. He then paused before he spoke, and noted that he knew what he was saying was controversial, but that it needed to be said anyway: *Muchos gringos vienen hacer turismo con los pobres y no ha vivir la pobreza de los pueblos pobres que visitan*, or "Many gringos come to do tourism with the poor, but not to live the poverty of the poor people that they visit." There are numerous critiques of development stemming from scenarios such as this, enough to elicit the coining of new terms, including "poverty porn" (see Dortonne, 2015; Middendorp, 2015; Roenigk, 2014).

The danger of violence as a real possibility for Hondurans and foreigners alike in Honduras. However, it remained unstated in these conversations that eight million Hondurans live in Honduras, not temporarily, in both violent and safe neighborhoods. U.S. teachers had options, in terms of where to live and in obtaining a ride in a secure vehicle to and from their workplaces. These teachers returned to their home countries (meaning, they left the danger they perceived exists in Honduras), or they didn't come to Honduras first place. Adan, (U.S., NGO school) an administrator, said that "lately it has been difficult [to hire new teachers] because of all the bad press Honduras has been getting, so applications have dropped." The NGO school received fewer inquiries about working there because of how Honduras was portrayed in the media, including U.S. Department of State travel warnings, the removing of the U.S. Peace Corps volunteers from Honduras, the title of "murder capital of the world," and the child migrant crisis. (see CNN, 2014; Gonzalez-Barrera, Krogstad, & López, 2014; Gordon, 2014; Partlow, 2014).

The limitations of the U.S. teachers' benevolence were invisible to me until I visited a Cuban medical doctor in Honduras. Cuban medical doctors are stationed in Honduras in violent and high-need areas, are unpaid, and serve two-year terms in a permanent medical program there (Cuban, 2015). The Cuban medical doctor, who lived hours away from electrical access and a paved road, was curious about my project. During one of our conversations over a cup of strong Cuban coffee, I mentioned that the U.S. Peace Corps pulled out of Honduras because of the high levels of violence, and that applications for working at U.S. based NGO schools were down for the same reason. She smirked, and I asked what she meant by it. "That's the difference between Cuba and the

U.S.," she said, and noting the high rates of violence in Honduras, she continued: "We won't ever leave, especially when they need us the most."

To close the first contextual theme of this study, I share an incident I wrote about in my fieldnotes on April 1, 2015. Dunia, a first cousin of the family in the *barracones*, brought her young son to have the *gringa* (me) help with his English-language homework. Rommel was a second-grader at a nearby private bilingual school. They visited the *barracon* multiple times, and each time we sat at a table in the shade to work on Rommel's English homework. I wrote:

> I took a picture of Rommel's homework, and it was an awful experience. The kid gave me a dirty look and shrugged away. He wouldn't listen to his parents. He kept stopping. He would collapse on the table. He was like some unfocused students I've had, but much meaner and angrier. Regardless, I think it was the fault of the homework. I can't imagine having to do this on a daily basis. He was at the house for three hours.

The first activity in Rommel's homework was: "Write seven sentences with each of the subject pronouns, utilizing am, is, and are in the affirmative, negative, and interrogative." Figure 19 is an image of Rommel's homework assignment in its entirety.

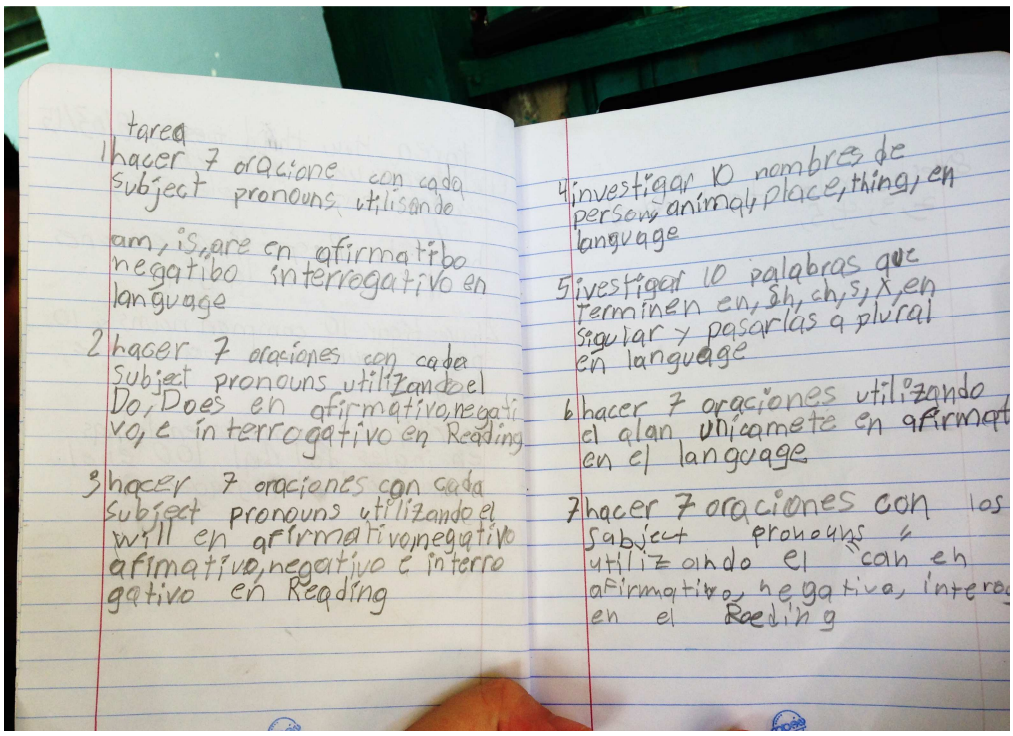


Figure 19. Rommel's English Homework. Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Of course, after looking at Rommel's bilingual school homework, and given the ethnographic nature of this project, I planned a visit to Rommel's bilingual school. The following week Rommel was pleased to welcome me into his classroom, introduce me to his teacher, and be the student who already knew the visitor from the United States. I interviewed Rommel's teacher and an administrator, and neither of them spoke enough English to conduct the interview in English. Rommel did not speak conversational English either, after three years of his parents paying for it.

Rommel hated his homework, and I suppose he hated my association to it, given his behavior for three hours while at my side. His mother and father worked extra to pay for the opportunity of an English-language education. They were not a wealthy family, or even middle-class, and they made sacrifices to take Rommel out of a public school so he could attend a private bilingual school. Diego (Honduran, public school) an exiled activist, explained how the undermining of public schools alienated poor people and made them feel as if paying for a private bilingual school was their only option out of poverty. He said:

> *Ellos han satanizado tanto a la escuela pública. La satanizada con que no se da clase nunca, con que las condiciones son malas con que los maestros no sirven, entonces los obligan incluso la gente pobre asistirá estas instituciones privadas que no tienen ninguna condición académica, ninguna condición pedagógica.*
>
> [They have sufficiently demonized the public school. They say they never hold classes, that the conditions are bad, that the teachers don't work. In the end, even the poor families feel they must send their children to private institutions, even though they don't have academic or pedagogical conditions].

A few months later, in October 2015 while she was driving to work, Rommel's mother, Dunia, was gunned down waiting at a stoplight in her car – in broad daylight, in front of many witnesses, and on one of the busiest streets in San Pedro Sula. A motorcyclist shot her four times through a darkly tinted driver's side window, and sped away through a long line of waiting cars (Tirotean, 2015). She died immediately. Rommel's dad still works extra to pay for his bilingual education, to ensure Rommel can speak English, and to offer him a better future.

Analytical 1*: Voy al Norte.* U.S. and foreign teachers at bilingual and English-language schools in Honduras stated their goal was to provide Honduran children an opportunity for a better future in Honduras and better paying jobs, keep them out of gangs (and handcuffs), provide them improved economic opportunities, and bring modernization to Honduras through the English language.

Joan (U.S., private school) didn't see bilingual education "so much as imperialism… more [like] being more modern." Sarah (U.S., private school) explained that "unlike the public schools, we don't go on strike, so your kid will go to school every day." When I asked about the opportunities would English provide, Sarah continued:

> English is a meaningful job skill… there are quite a few call centers in the San Pedro [Sula] area… other positions, like if you work at a hotel, travel agency, airport, talking to a lot of foreign visitors…"

Nicole (U.S., NGO school) said she helped keep her students out of gangs, and frequently explained to her students that gang members were bad. "The students have a perception that the gangs are good people. They say the gangs are good because they keep the police away." White people who have lived in the United States have a relatively high confidence for the police (Morin & Stepler, 2016), but Hondurans do not have that level of trust in the police or military, and both institutions are considered corrupt and dangerous (Miroff, 2011; Murphy, 2012).

Teachers at bilingual NGO and (non-elite) private schools said their mission was to keep Hondurans (with their English-language speaking skills) in Honduras, and were at unease when students talked about moving to the U.S. Teachers wanted to provide students the opportunity to stay in "their own" country and be part of improving

Honduras. They frowned upon the idea of using their education to travel to the U.S., especially if it meant living in the U.S. as an undocumented resident.

Laura (U.S., NGO school) said:

> I think a lot of them see [a bilingual education] as an opportunity, like I want to learn English and go to the United States. But I don't want it to be like that… I want you to have endless opportunities for you to do whatever you want but in their own country. I don't want people to feel like they learn English and now they're gonna have to leave their families to go to the United States to use that English.

Additionally, Laura felt that the families of her students used their children's new English-language speaking skills for their own benefit:

> I don't want to say that any of the parents are using their children, but a lot of them have asked me… like I had a parent the other day ask me to help him fill out his [Honduran] passport application [to travel to the U.S.]

Laura was uncomfortable with these types of requests and didn't know how to tell the parents she was unable and unwilling to help, nor did she think she should be helping him in that way.

Emma (U.S., NGO school) said not only do her students express an interest in moving to the U.S., she has run into Hondurans in public who approached her and told her of their desire to go to the U.S. Like Laura, Emma thought the Hondurans didn't fully understand life in the U.S. Emma said:

> I meet people who want to go to America… [but] that's not the answer… I met this guy, he wanted to work in America, [but] he's not trying to go to school…

> This guy wanted to go to America and be a painter and I was like, that's not going to make you happy.

Gabe (U.S., NGO school) said his students regularly tell him that "they want to go to the U.S, they want to learn English, they want to go to U.S. to give their family money." Gabe felt this was indicative of a "very materialistic" culture in Honduras, and said "in a lot of ways, they're materialistic people, they believe that with money they can solve anything." Gabe continued:

> They talk about their friends that are going to the U.S., that they want to go to the U.S., and they want to learn English. They want to learn English, they want to go to U.S. to give their family money. And it's a very materialistic in a lot of ways, they're materialistic people, they believe that with money they can solve anything, and they want to go to the U.S. so they can… they want to learn English so they can make money so they can provide for their friends and family.

I asked Gabe why he didn't think his students should go to the U.S., and Gabe, like Laura and Emma, felt Hondurans didn't understand what they would be getting themselves into by moving to the U.S. Gabe said:

> Sometimes I tell them that the U.S. is not a happy place, and people are just there to work work work. It's not just a land flowing with money. Things are way more expensive, and I don't think they understand that. And I think a lot of them go there and they get caught up in drugs and alcohol, cause they don't really understand, that the U.S., if you're gonna go there it's just to work.

Joan (U.S., private school) explained that her families and students have heard of and spoke frequently of the *sueño americano*, or the American Dream. Joan said it is "a

mythos that is very popular here… [but] it is going to be very hard for an immigrant… the American Dream is not happening for me… and will probably never happen for me," so it wouldn't happen for a Honduran immigrant. Joan continued:

> The family's desire, their consistent 'American Dream' is talked about daily – by parents, by their kids, by all family members, by [Honduran] teachers… I mean… they have the desire to have a house, and a job, so they want to go to the U.S. and work for a short time, and have the magic dollar… Literally I have kids floating down the streets saying, 'Do you have the magic dollar?' I was like, 'No, I don't have the money tree, sorry…'

When Joan's students expressed a desire to go to the U.S. or asked her for money or other products from the U.S., Joan told them that she was also poor in the U.S.:

> I'm actually quite poor in the U.S. I'm aware that I have more that the people here... like there is this kid who keeps asking to have my computer… and I'm like, no. And he's like, 'why, Miss?' My computer is being held together by tape!

Joan concluded the interview by sharing a story that complicated her own claim that an English-language education gave students a better life in Honduras. Joan didn't see students using English-language skills to look for work and said many of the graduates of her school were unemployed. She told me about a Honduran student who graduated from the private bilingual school and who spoke "very good" English. This student told Joan, "I don't know what to do with my English…" and remains unemployed.

The year before these interviews took place – in the six-month period from January to June of 2014 – over 60,000 children from Central America were detained on the U.S.-Mexico border as they tried to enter the United States, fleeing the extreme

violence and poverty I indicate exists in Honduras in the first contextual theme (see CNN, 2014; Gonzalez-Barrera, Krogstad, & López, 2014; Gordon, 2014; Partlow, 2014). Most of these Central American children were from Honduras, and most of these Honduran children were from San Pedro Sula and the North Coast region of Honduras (see González-Barrera et al., 2014; Partlow, 2014; Tobia, 2014). This statistic – 60,000 Central American youth – does not include children who passed through the U.S.-Mexico border without being caught or detained, it does not include children who arrived on a legal visitor visa (such flying in on an airplane flight) but overstayed the terms of their visa, and it does not include children who were turned back to Central America while traveling through Mexico (Sorrentino, 2015). It is illegal for Central Americans be in Mexico unless they have previously secured permission through a visitor visa and have been provided traveling documents from the Mexican Consulate in their home country.

There are 3,300,000 children under the age of eighteen in Honduras (Honduras: Statistics, 2013), and considering the crisis-level movement of child migrants out of Honduras, it is naïve to believe that moving to the U.S. wouldn't be a goal or viewed as a potential opportunity for at least some of the Honduran children in bilingual and English-language schools. Likewise, it is simplistic to believe that an education – even the best education the world can offer – can convince families and children fleeing Central America to stay given the chaotic levels of violence and poverty.

It is important to contrast the reluctance that U.S. teachers who worked at NGO or non-elite private schools felt about their students moving to the U.S. with my own experience at the elite school where I worked in Honduras from 2006-2009. At our school, it was a source of pride that our (socio-economic elite) Honduran students spoke

a high level of academic English, (with a U.S. accent), and that they were able to travel to, attend the university in, and live permanently in the United States.

This is best illustrated from an incident that occurred a few days after arriving for fieldwork in Honduras in 2015. A former colleague from the international school texted me and asked, "You're from Iowa, right?" I said that indeed, I was from Iowa. She forwarded an email indicating that the University of Iowa was visiting the international school the very next day to recruit students and wanted to invite me to attend. I was stunned.

The next day, I sat in on a presentation put on by representatives from the University of Iowa, the University of Missouri, and the University of Colorado, Boulder. They were recruiting students in Honduras who had the means to pay $40,000 upfront for a year of a university education. My fieldnotes from that day – February 18, 2015 – mentioned the high number of Ray-Ban glasses, Prada handbags, North Face jackets, and Audi SUVs in the parking lot. I wrote this about the presentation:

> Aaron was from the admissions office and was the spokesperson from the University of Iowa. He asked students what careers they are interested in, and one replied "biomedical engineering." Aaron explained that the University of Iowa has 3-D printers and prints brains of people to find the problem through the printed version. He mentioned that the University of Iowa has a famous creative writing program. Student life was very exciting at Iowa, and Aaron asked if anyone had heard of Macklemore and Ryan Lewis. Aaron bought $5 student tickets to their shows, and Iowa City is geared toward youth. Iowa provides lots of career prep, and students get internships that allow them to stay in the U.S. more

permanently. There are merit-based financial aid scholarships, but tuition/fees/room/board would be about $40,000 a year. Aaron mentioned the new $72 million-dollar recreation center, a million-dollar biomedical building, and Iowa's Jackson Pollock painting. Aaron suggested students get online and take a drone tour or check out Iowa's YouTube channel. I stayed after to ask Aaron if he just travels around the world recruiting elite international students to attend the University of Iowa, and it turns out that yes, that is what he does. Southeast Asia, China, India, and the Middle East. They were leaving the next day for Quito, Ecuador.

A family's socio-economic level created or limited opportunities for Honduran children. However, Honduran students were also treated differently because of their socio-economic level by U.S. teachers. Students who lived in poverty were told they could work in telemarketing call centers, while simultaneously they were told they should not go to the U.S. because they would have to "work work work," that the U.S. was not a "happy place," and that wanting to go there meant they were "materialistic" and didn't understand their own desires. Alternatively, the Honduran socio-economic elite's desire to go to the U.S. was not only economically possible because of their access to material resources, they were also told by teachers, counselors, and the office of admissions at the University of Iowa that not only can they go to the U.S., they should. The elite were treated as if they fully understood their desire to go to the U.S., but the poor were not.

Second, U.S. teachers said they were in Honduras giving families something the families had asked for and wanted. However, students and families repeatedly expressed – to me and to teachers who told me – that what they wanted was to use their English to

move to the U.S. They also indicated they wanted to possess U.S. products (such as a computer). Teachers were unwilling to help families to travel to the U.S. or assist them when they got there. They claimed they didn't know how to do things they were asked to do (like apply for a passport). Given that the teachers also freely admitted that they didn't know anything about teaching, children, or Honduras before arriving in Honduras, it seems unlikely that they didn't know how to do these things, but rather they were unwilling to do them.

Third, teachers said they were giving Honduran communities what they wanted. However, when the community said or indicated specifically what they wanted or didn't want, the teachers were dismayed. At many of the bilingual schools, NGO and private, Honduran parents received discounts on tuition if they signed up to do janitorial or maintenance work at the school. Milo (U.S., NGO school) said that initially, the families in the community were unhappy with these terms. Milo said:

> Some of the families had this refugee syndrome thing going on, you know there were just used to handouts, and when they were asked to contribute their sweat equity, some of them were like, they didn't want to do it…"

Emma (U.S., NGO) was surprised at the reluctance of Honduran families to pay for the tuition of the school by cleaning. Emma said:

> You think like, oh we're providing them this awesome education, and the parents are going to be so pumped that we're here, they're going to be so respectful, and they're never going to doubt what we're doing… Not at all. They're angry about having to clean, they're really pissed off about it, they don't think they should have to clean even though their kid is getting a free education… That is shocking.

> I'm here because I love and want to teach your kid, and you're mad because you have to sweep to send your kids to the bilingual school!

Furthermore, the narrative that students wanted jobs at telemarking call centers (and *maquilas*, etc.) was so strong that it was repeated almost habitually. I asked a teenage student studying three languages (English, Spanish, and French) what opportunities she thought an English-language education would provide her. I wrote about the interaction in my fieldnotes on April 21, 2015.

> I also asked her why a bilingual education was important. She said, 'Well if you want a job like in a call center, it really helps.' I asked her if a call center was something she wanted to do. She shook her head and said no, she wanted to be an architect.

What did Honduran students, families, and communities want? Surely some wanted an English-language education for their children. But they openly resisted having to perform janitorial jobs to get it. When families did have access to an English-language education, many wanted to move to the U.S. Teachers said they were giving students, families, and communities what they wanted, but they also dictated the terms of what Hondurans wanted and what they should and could do with an English-language education.

CDA 1: Stipulating the future and limiting success. I selected a piece of language use from an interview with Esmi (U.S., NGO school). I chose this piece for the CDA because it is representative of a subtle conflict that teachers didn't express explicitly, but seemed to be aware of. Teachers told students they could grow up and do anything they wanted to do (except go to the U.S.). However, teachers on some level

knew students would not, in fact, be able to do anything they wanted. Because of that, teachers suggested jobs in telemarking call centers and *maquilas*, even though there was a sense teachers knew these industries were exploitive.

I experimented with multiple ways of organizing this piece of language (line breaks and punctuation, etc.), which helped me see different weights and emphasis. I tried several until I found one that seemed best in terms of visual presentation. Figure 20 is the final organization. The line breaks and punctuation were placed according to where I felt Esmi ended one thought and moved on to another.

Esmi lived in Honduras for two years and was originally from the U.S. Her background in the U.S. was bilingual, English and Spanish. Esmi spoke frankly about contradictions and inner conflicts she felt while teaching and living in Honduras. Because of the extended time Esmi lived in Honduras, and perhaps by virtue of having a bilingual background, Esmi complicated issues in the Honduran setting that other teachers saw more simply. Toward the end of the interview, I asked Esmi if she knew what students went on to do after they left her school. She replied:

1. There was a student
2. [who graduated] from our school
3. that worked at a call center for a while.
4. And he thought
5. it was the greatest thing.
6. I was like, really?
7. How many years did you have these teachers
8. that were idyllic, like…
9. after you graduate from college
10. I want you to be a world changer…
11. And you're going to work
12. for a call center?

Figure 20. Excerpt of language use from Esmi.

Esmi replied to my inquiry by recounting a conversation with a graduate of the rural NGO bilingual school in Honduras where she worked. The graduate secured employment in a telemarketing call center in San Pedro Sula, the nearest urban area to the school. The student was excited to share details about the new job with Esmi. Esmi silently contemplated all the years of schooling this student had with "idyllic" U.S. (Line 8) teachers who told the student: "I want you to be a world changer" (Line 10). Esmi expressed disbelief on two levels: first, that the student ended up working at a telemarking call center, and second, that the student was excited about working there. Esmi related this anecdote humorously and spoke of her disbelief in past tense. Although Esmi was in disbelief during the encounter with the student, it was clear Esmi was not disappointed in the student for not being a "world changer" (Line 10), and Esmi recognized that the "idyllic" (Line 8) attitude teachers had – including her own – was simplistic. Esmi's lack of awareness about the realities of living permanently in Honduras conflicted with the reality of what U.S. English-language teachers offered Honduran students.

How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what way? Esmi assigned different levels of significance to the thoughts of the student and the thoughts (or beliefs) of teachers. Like the analytical theme (where parents' unhappiness with sweeping, or families' desires to move to the U.S. were dismissed as ungrateful and naïve), the student's thoughts and feelings were not considered accurate or valid. By taking away the significance of the student's own feelings, it didn't matter that the student thought working at a telemarketing call center "is the greatest thing" (Line 5). The student did not secure a job that met the level of

significance an "idyllic" (Line 8) U.S. teacher would need to describe it as the "greatest thing" (Line 5)

Alternatively, Esmi placed heavy significance on what she perceived U.S. teachers in Honduras could do in terms of creating world-changing opportunities. An "idyllic teacher" (Line 8) should be able to turn a Honduran student into a "world changer" when no one else had been able to. Becoming a "world changer" is a tall order for any student. Given the violence, impunity, and poverty in Honduras, to think that an English-language education and access to U.S. teachers was linked to Honduran children becoming world changers says more about teachers' self-perceptions and the significance teachers placed on their own power than it did about the abilities and career choices of Honduran children, or what teachers believed the abilities of Honduran children were.

What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (normal, right, good, correct, proper, appropriate, valuable, the way things are, the way things ought to be, high status or low status, like me or not like me, etc.)? In terms of politics, I focus on how Esmi defined "success" and examine who had the authority to define success for students. Esmi indicated the student she spoke with was excited about working at a telemarketing call center – he thought it was "the greatest thing" (Line 5); Esmi also spoke for herself (and presumably for her idyllic colleagues) by expressing disbelief and disappointment in the student's job and his excitement about that employment opportunity.

In the analytical theme, teachers shared examples of Honduran students and families defining "success" as moving to and working in the U.S., which was contrary to the goals U.S. teachers set for students. U.S. teachers were reluctant to suggest moving to

the U.S. as a real or viable option for their students, and U.S. teachers certainly didn't include moving to the U.S. in when they defined "success" for their students. This begs the question: Who has the authority to define success, and who has the authority to place limits on what Honduran children can or cannot, should or should not, will or will not, do with their English-language education?

Teachers were given the authority to define "success" for their students, and teachers did not define it equally across all sectors of the Honduran educational setting. Did Honduran students pick up on their idyllic U.S. teachers' paradoxical definitions of success (work at a call center vs. be a world-changer) and limitations and stipulations on their future (stay in Honduras vs. don't work at a call center)? Honduran students repeatedly told their U.S. teachers – in what was apparently in direct defiance of what U.S. teachers told their students– that they were excited about working at a telemarketing call center and that they wanted to learn English to move to the U.S.

The reality of Honduras is a failed state, a government unable and unwilling to govern, extremely high levels of violence, and few tenable employment opportunities. These are the political and ideological realities of Honduras. Idyllic U.S. teachers believed that despite the contextual reality of Honduras, they could still turn out Honduran world changing children by offering English-language education. Ironically, these teachers used the contextual reality of Honduras (violence, poverty) as justification for their position teaching there. However, once students passed through these schools and classrooms and were confronted with the contextual reality of Honduras as they sought employment, these exact same teachers believed the context shouldn't affect the students' potential (and shouldn't limit them to employment at a telemarking call center).

Theme 2: Second Guessing, but Still Better Than What Hondurans Can Offer

It is said that English-language fluency offers access to a range of social goods and material resources in Honduras. The second contextual theme in this study explores the prevalence of the English language as it is used in Honduras, in what settings, and to what ends. I also contextualize who is afforded the authority to teach English-language classes and who is labeled an authentic English speaker in Honduras.

The analytical theme in this section explores the English-language in Honduras further, but focuses specifically on the second-guessing that some U.S. teachers in Honduras have about what they could realistically offer Honduran children by providing an English-language education there, and whether this type of education created real and practical opportunities for individuals in Honduran society.

For the second Critical Discourse Analysis in this study, I use a piece of data from an interview with a teacher in Honduras named James (U.S., NGO school). James shared how he and colleagues discussed students who were at risk of losing a spot at the NGO school and would be enrolling in a public school in Honduras, because of financial or behavioral considerations.

Contextual 2: ***¡Cerdo-Pig!***

> I tried to keep track of all the times English got mentioned today. Of course, many of the times people are mentioning it because they know I'm from the United States, so it seems like something to tell me that we might have in common or that they are interested in…

This excerpt from my fieldnotes is dated the first morning of dissertation fieldwork in Honduras: February 9, 2015. The hammock, *tortilla*, bottled water, and

newspaper peddlers yelled out prices for their wares on the dirt street below the *barracon*. All through the morning, as was the case every day, twelve or so children played soccer barefoot and in flip-flops, avoided the street vendors, threw rocks at stray dogs, and kicked up clouds of dust. I wrote this fieldnote in response to these same children yelling up to me from the street that they wanted me to teach them English and me yelling back down to them from the bed: OK! OK!

Teaching English wasn't anything I suggested or offered – in fact, I usually showed interest in their math or Spanish homework. But, upon these children's insistent, incessant, and early-morning requests, I went to the local *papelería*, or school supply store, and bought a box of flash cards with English-Spanish animal names on them. The children flipped through them as they wandered around on the street, drew pictures on notebook paper, and once they had them memorized, asked Malachy and me for pronunciation help. They learned quickly. On March 28, 2015, I wrote in my fieldnotes that they again yelled up at me late one night after I had gone to bed (and as most of the *barracones* and I tried to sleep): *Kate! KATE! Owl-Buho! Dog-Perro! How are you! I am happy! Cerdo-Pig!* Figure 21 is an image of the children from the *barracones* playing with the Spanish-English Language animal flashcards.

Figure 21. Flashcards in the barracones. Photo taken by Malachy C. Kedley-Bergmann in 2015.

Having spent time in Honduras, I knew of the interest in and demand for learning the English language; this was never a new revelation and it was how I ended up in Honduras in the first place. The families of the students in the international school spent tens of thousands of dollars so their children could have an education in English (and not a bilingual education), with teachers who were "native" speakers of English, a curriculum that was U.S. based, and a diploma that was equal to a U.S. high school degree. But even outside of the international school environment, English words and terms were used frequently, including in circles where many people don't necessarily speak English.

I was asked to give English lessons to a women's group in San Pedro Sula in 2007, and the opponents of the basketball team I played on swore at me in English. Billboards for English-language schools and a "Double-Whopper with Cheese" lined the

highways of the North Coast. Imported English terms came with the export of Chiquita bananas are. A coin was a *búfalo* or a *daime*, both terms used when the UFCo employees were paid in U.S. dollars and (buffalo) nickels and dimes circulated in the region. A guard or watchman was a *guachiman*, and *machangai* described the "machine guy," or the man that engineered the train. Friends got together to organize their "business" and the location of the UFCo's agricultural "soil lab" was a stop on the road called *Soilabe*. Another nearby fork in the road was called "el Y," pronounced as the letter "Y" in English, stemming from the UFCo naming it so. The goods that family members from the United States sent their Honduran mothers and grandmothers came packaged in English – I translated the directions for boxes of instant rice and meat seasonings multiple times after they arrived in a shipping container from New York and California and someone brought them over to me in the *barracon*.

That English should be offered as a part of a Honduran child's education is unilaterally dismissed by few in Honduras. In fact, I only ran into two or three teachers or educators who were actively anti-English based on their anti-U.S. or anti-imperial positions. Most teachers, although they disagreed with this direction ideologically, saw the writing on the wall so to speak, and believed English-language education should be included in public school curriculum, accessible to all students, fully funded, and with trained Honduran teachers. Their main issue with English-language education in private or NGO schools was that the opportunity was limited to students in very specific locations and to families with a certain level of economic means, and they actively questioned and debated how an English-language education could be part of a holistic education in Honduras.

Emiliano (Honduran, public school) was a guidance counselor at the secondary level for over thirty years and a leader in the Honduran teachers' union at the national level. Emiliano suggested that "learning another language can annul other cultural aspects." He said that everyone focused on English and students wanted to learn English, but asked, "can they reflect, or analyze?" Emiliano had no issue with English-language classes or bilingual education in Honduras, but disagreed if a high-quality English-language education was only available to small groups of geographically scattered students whose families had the means to pay for it.

Marcela (Honduran, public school) echoed Emiliano in her beliefs about English-language education in Honduras. Marcela was also a national leader in the teachers' union and a teacher at the elementary level for almost forty years, both in public schools and in UFCo schools when they still existed. If the Honduran people decided that English-language skills were a necessary part of a Honduran child's holistic education, Marcela said, then English should be included in the curriculum. However, English language classes should be integrated in schools with:

> *maestros especializados en inglés, pero hondureños que conozcan nuestra historia nuestras idiosincrasias, nuestra cultura, y que tenga ese identidad nacional* [teachers who have an English specialization, but Hondurans who know our history, our idiosyncrasies, our culture, and who have our national identity].

Practically, what drives the demand for English-language education in Honduras? Since the late 1990s, there has been a combination of the weakening of state support for public schools (and new spaces for private, charter, NGO, and unregulated), an influx of telemarking call centers and *maquilas* in free trade zones bringing businesses to

Honduras (especially purported for Hondurans with English-language speaking skills), and a growing transnational relationship with the United States. There are nearly a million Hondurans living in the U.S. (over half of them undocumented), and there is a constant exchange of remittances, goods, culture, and of course, language. There was no doubt of the existence in Honduras of a desire to learn English and a demand for English-language educational opportunity. However, this was not an intrinsic desire to learn English. Rather, Hondurans wanted to speak English because they wanted what English appeared to provide those who possessed it: better jobs, access to the U.S. and U.S. goods, material resources, and status.

This is best illustrated by sharing comments from students at the *Manuel de Jesús Valencia*. The *Manuel de Jesús Valencia* was the nearby elementary school where I went a few times a week and gave English lessons to fifth and sixth graders. I frequently saw these children in the street, and knew many of their parents and siblings. I asked each student to write me a note, talking about why they wanted to learn English. Figure 22 includes each student's name, their comment in Spanish (including the spellings they used in the handwritten note), and my English translation. I selected these five to present here, but the hundred or so responses I gathered said similar things, about visiting the United States and working in telemarketing call centers.

Student Name	Spanish	English
Dara	*Pues las oportunidades que tendría para ingles pues de ser una profesional podría hir a los estado unidos, y muchas otras cosas*	Well, the opportunities that I would have from speaking English are I could be a professional, I could go to the United States, and many other things.
Melissa	*Por trabajar por hoy es muy importante el ingles biajar atado unido*	Today, it is very important to speak English, also travel to the United States
Abi	*Tendríamos oportunidades de trabajar en lugares donde se tomo solo el ingles y también para conversar con nuestros familiares y amigos se buscaría trabajo en col senter o en el aeropuerto*	We would have the opportunity to work in places where English is spoken, and also to talk with our family and friends, we could look for work in a call center or at the airport
Johana	*Tendría oportunidad de aprender una carrera y oportunidad de un trabajo, viajar a estados unidos, oportunidad de ser un traductor y marino*	I would have the opportunity to learn a career and the opportunity for a job, and travel to the United States, and the opportunity to be a translator and work on a cruise ship
Brayan	*Tener un trabajo ser marino y viajar a estados unidos trabajar en un colsenter trabajar de traductor y en un aeropuerto*	Have a job, work on a cruise ship, and travel to the United States, work in a call center, work as a translator and in an airport

Figure 22. Quotes from students at *Manuel de Jesús Valencia*

What drives North Americans to open or teach in English-speaking or bilingual schools in Honduras, either privately run or run through an NGO? Milo (U.S., NGO school) adminstered an educational NGO, and during the early years of its growth, Milo traveled to Honduras multiple times and discovered a neighborhood he described as the "poorest shanty town in the whole city." Milo wanted to offer the residents a "springboard out of poverty" and "build up the human capital in this village." He concluded that the "best thing to do was offer a bilingual education" in English and Spanish, and the school grew from that vision.

How does the explosion of these schools (offering English-language education through private businesses or NGOs) affect the larger field of Honduran education? To find out, I went to the neighborhood Milo mentioned – where his NGO school was located – in the "poorest shanty town in the whole city." Janessa (U.S., NGO school) was a former teacher at the school and Janessa also warned me of the extreme risks of wandering around alone in the neighborhood by the school. She said she heard of a student who stole pencil sharpeners and held them between his fingers as a way to threaten others. She also said the student learned this from the other (public school) children in the neighborhood. Besides poverty, Janessa felt there was significant gang activity in the area.

With this in mind, I visited the neighborhood's public elementary school, went to the *pulpería* (corner store) and bought a *fresco* (pop), and chatted with residents walking down the dirt paths and sitting in their yards. I couldn't find anyone there or elsewhere in the community who described the neighborhood as especially poor, especially violent, or filled with gang activity, now or in the past, even when I provoked the theme, using direct questions.

Héctor (Honduran, NGO lawyer) said there were two self-serving reasons these schools were in neighborhoods and communities that weren't dangerous, but the narrative was maintained anyway. Héctor said: *Es más seguro para ellos, es una zona más controlada, es una zona con poca población… pueden controlar la información que entren y salgan*, or "It is more secure for them, it is in a controlled zone, an area with not a very big population. They can control the information that enters and leaves." Héctor meant that NGOs and private schools chose areas they claimed ertr dangerous. This way,

few people would take the "risk" to enter, and then there would be limited information coming out of the area. The information that does come out of the area sticks to that narrative of violence and extreme poverty, and furthers the U.S. teachers' justification for being in Honduras. As noted in the first theme of Chapter 5, the narrative of violence and poverty was relevant to this study because so many U.S. citizens teaching and working in Honduras built a rationale for their own need in a specific location in Honduras on the idea of extreme violence and poverty unique to the area in which they taught.

I arrived at the public elementary school in the neighborhood where Milo's and Janessa's NGO school drew pupils from. I explained to the Aloysius (Honduran, public school), the sub-director, or vice principal, that I was looking at the relationship between public and private, bilingual schools, NGO schools, U.S. teachers, and Honduran teachers, and that I stopped at his school because I was interested in learning about the impact of the nearby NGO bilingual school on the public schools in the area. Aloysius' eyes widened as he listened and he said slowly, *bueno… nos afecta mucho…* or, "well… it affects us a lot…" He was anxious to talk to me about it further, but was teaching classes, and asked if I could return the next morning at *8 en punto*, or "8 o'clock on the dot," to meet with him and another administrator.

The next morning, Aloysius introduced me to the school's director, or head principal, Carmelo (Honduran, public school). Carmelo said the public school's enrollment had gone down quite a bit since the opening of the NGO bilingual school. But, Carmelo explained, there were a number of students who for whatever reason left the NGO bilingual school and returned to the public school, and they sometimes ended up going back and forth multiple times. When I asked why, he just shrugged and said he

didn't know. It didn't appear as if the two schools had any contact, even though they were only a few hundred yards from each other.

Aloysius told me about the first year or two when the NGO arrived to the neighborhood. They hadn't set up the school yet, and they told the public school they were there to help the community, and didn't mention plans for a school. Aloysius said the presence of the bilingual school and the negative narratives the NGO disseminated about public education in Honduras had hurt the reputation of the public school.

> *La sorpresa fue nosotros cuando, supuestamente… ellos trajeron como una ayuda social, a ayudar a las personas. Pero en realidad, la objetivo de ellos fue a formar la escuela bilingüe, y nos han perjudicado tanto… nos han descreditado…… que la calidad educativa aquí en la escuela no sirve*...[The surprise was when, supposedly ... they came to the area to help us socially… to help the people. But in reality, their objective was to form the bilingual school, and they have hurt us so much ... we have been discredited ... they say that that the educational quality here at our school is bad].

Carmelo further explained the funding issues the public school faces. At the beginning of the last school year there was no money from the Honduran government to hire a first-grade teacher. Carmelo organized a lunch counter at the school for students to purchase snacks and drinks, and he used the money earned to pay the salary of a first-grade teacher. Carmelo said, *Nos falta un maestro de primaria… primer grado está financiando con fondos de la cafetería,* or "We are short a first grade teacher… first grade is being financed with money from the cafeteria."

I asked Carmelo if the community was especially dangerous or poor, then or in the past. Carmelo said: *Pues... aquí mira, vamos a decir que los condiciones verdad no son de todo favorable, pero tampoco son de favorable… tenemos acceso a la cuidad de Progreso, mucha gente que trabajan en la maquila,* or "Well, look… We can say the conditions are not all favorable, but at the same time… they are favorable. We have access to the city of El Progreso, and many people work in the *maquila*." Carmelo meant that economically, parents had access to jobs in the nearby city of El Progreso. In terms of violence, Carmelo didn't have any commentary.

Who is regarded as an authentic speaker of English in Honduras? That there are thousands of Hondurans who are "native" English-language speakers should have been obvious to me earlier in this research process, but it wasn't until a Honduran "native" English-language speaker pointed it out. Veronica (Honduran, private school) was a teacher and administrator at a bilingual school and identifies as a member of an Afro-descendant community in Central America. Veronica's family spoke English for generations and were originally from the Bay Islands and Belize. She said: "English is my first language, my dad is from Belize and my mom is from Roatán… and they spoke English, English is their first language."

The Bay Islands are a department of Honduras, but were under British rule through the mid-nineteenth century. Creole, Garífuna, Spanish, and English are commonly spoken languages there. In the 1960s and 1970s, Veronica's mother was hired as a maid and servant for the UFCo banana company because she spoke English fluently. Her family moved to the mainland from the Bay Islands so her mother could take the position with the UFCo, and Veronica didn't learn Spanish until she moved to La Lima as

an adolescent. Another Honduran teacher – Patty – spoke English at home with her family and spoke English with her community growing up. "My mother had seven children, and all my brothers were born in Roatán," Patty explained. "When I had around 10 years, I began to learn Spanish." Patty expressed annoyance that English is referred to as an *idioma extranjera*, or "foreign language" in Honduras. Patty said about the Bay Islands:

> I think in the high schools, they aren't doing it correctly… the program says in Spanish, *nociones de idioma extranjero* – English as foreign. And there is an entire department that speaks English, and it's a very developed place, that produces a lot of money…

Patty suggested that the economic importance of the Bay Islands should be recognized (especially in terms of tourism, given the beaches and SCUBA diving that draws North Americans and Europeans for vacations year-round), along with the fact that most of the Bay Islanders speak English. English at the very least should be referred to as a "second" language in Honduras, Patty said, but certainly not a foreign language.

Ernesto (Honduran, informant) found it interesting that the Honduran government now advocated for English-language education by requiring it in public schools and creating spaces for NGO and private schools. If the government was truly interested and serious about providing English-language education, Ernesto said, they would have engaged with the Bay Islands decades earlier because of the many native speakers of English there, including Ernesto himself. Up until five or six years ago, Ernesto said, there was no English in schools in the Bay Islands, even though English was the language of many families who live there. English was used everywhere else, including in Sunday

schools, businesses, and casual conversations. Many Bay Islanders didn't speak Spanish well, and not only did the government refuse to offer English-education in school in the Bay Islands, the Honduran government wouldn't translate official documents from Spanish to English for Honduras who lived there, indicative of their little interest in the English language or Honduras' native speakers of English. English-language speakers in the Bay Islands were exploited, and in court cases, lawyers had Bay Islanders sign Spanish-language documents without the English-language speakers fully understanding the text, and many residents lost property and ended up with ongoing legal issues. But, Ernesto asked rhetorically, now it is convenient to have people in Honduras learn English? Why don't they hire native speakers from Roatán or one of the Bay Islands to teach English?

I also learned how many parents of school-age children in Honduras knew English, even if they couldn't afford to send their children to an English-language or bilingual school. While giving English-language lessons to the fifth and sixth graders at the *Manuel de Jesús Valencia* school a few times a week, I encountered many Honduran parents who already spoke English. The classrooms at *Manuel de Jesús Valencia* were open-air; the windows were large open cutouts in the blocked classroom walls. Once word spread that English classes were being given by a *gringa,* the daily audience of parents and other adults grew, and they leaned up against the walls and listened through the windows. One day I asked the students to yell as loud as they could the English word for the Spanish word I said. *Nariz!*, I prompted, and forty students screamed in unison, NOSE! *Hola!*, and then forty students: HELLO! The next word was *ratón* and the students balked a bit, squinted their eyes, whispered to each other, and shuffled through

the papers and drawings we had worked on, looking for the English word for *ratón*, or "mouse." I offered a hint: "There is a famous *ratón* named… Mick…ey…" A dad leaned further through the window into the classroom and mock whispered, "mouse… *significa* mouse!" He looked at me and winked. He waited after class to tell me he spoke English because he had lived in the U.S. for decades, but was embarrassed about having lived in the U.S. without paperwork and about being deported, and didn't share any more about it with me. He said he was available to assist me anytime I needed it, every day even, since he was also notably, unemployed. From that day forward, he was present every day I was at the school, and at every lesson, wandering from desk to desk, helping students with pronunciation or with words the students had forgotten. He said he enjoyed talking to me and helping at the school, as it gave him a chance to practice English. This parent wasn't the only parent who spoke English at the *Manuel de Jesús Valencia*. Another adult who sat at the front gate of the school, selling bread and other treats for the parents and students, greeted me daily with, "Hello Miss, how are you?" and as I left, "Have a good day, *profe*." Neither of these parents had ever been asked to give English classes to students, although their ability to offer basic English lessons was equal to mine.

English-language education and its connection to U.S. curriculum and U.S. style schooling was perceived to have an impact on education and society in Honduras beyond creating more English-language speakers. Ramón (Honduran, university professor) worked at the UPNFM in Tegucigalpa, and he shared a concrete example, related to the school calendar. Public schools in Honduras run from February through November, whereas most bilingual, English-language, NGO, and private schools use the traditional U.S. educational calendar – August through May. Ramón felt that Hondurans celebrated

the Christmas and New Year's holidays differently as of late; a few decades ago, these holidays didn't coincide with the school year for any students, but now, many Honduran students experienced these holidays as part of the bilingual or English-language school experience. As Ramón and I spoke, he sketched what he meant out on a whiteboard in his office, as show in Figure 23. He wrote Halloween, and *accion de gracias*, or Thanksgiving. He listed old and new bilingual schools, and charted neighborhoods and neighborhoods to illustrate this phenomenon for me.

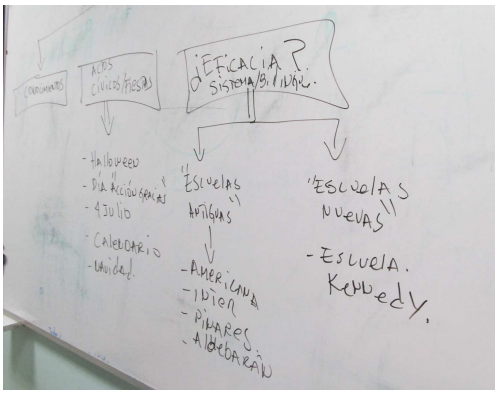


Figure 23. Actos Civicos. Photograph taken by the author in 2012.

This was along the same lines as my experiences as a teacher in Honduras. Each year we celebrated Halloween and Thanksgiving, both holidays that otherwise weren't otherwise celebrated in Honduras. For Thanksgiving one year, the third-grade class put on a skit, dressed as Native Americans and Pilgrims, and they asked me to accompany them with my trumpet – I played the song "Colors of the Wind" from the Disney movie *Pocahontas*. The topic of the skit was a re-enactment of the first Thanksgiving, and at the end, two third graders read a list of things they were thankful for. One line went something like this: "And to the foreign teachers from the United States and Canada for

coming to teach here, who like the Pilgrims, traveled to a new land, and helped the new people they encountered."

Ernesto (Honduran, informant) – the English speaker from the Bay Islands – offered a similar anecdote on how the influx of English-language education and industry impacted society. Ernesto claimed the telemarketing call centers – the employment objective of many students in bilingual school programs – modified the social lives of Hondurans. I asked him to explain, and he said that employees at telemarketing call centers had varying work shifts and hours, and many employees had their "weekend" on Tuesday and Wednesday, for example, or their off hours during the evening. Ernesto was a longtime political activist and organizer in Honduras and had struggled in recent years to plan protests and marches, or communicate with large groups of people, because of this new dynamic. Ernesto knew many telemarking call center employees who wanted to be more active and participate in the protests against the government, violence, and so on, but because they all worked different shifts and were on schedules, it was hard to communicate with them and organize large-scale events.

Finally, English-language education, primarily packaged in private and NGO school settings, turns education into consumable good as opposed to a human right or as a responsibility of the state. Israel (Honduran, private school) was a Honduran who studied at universities in the U.S. and returned to Honduras to open a private English-language school on the North Coast. Israel said Honduran public school teachers didn't care about anything except to "go, teach their class, get their paycheck, and go home." At Israel's private English-language school he said, the teachers were "not teaching… what we are giving is customer service." Milo (U.S., NGO school) echoed Israel, and said: "the whole

public school system seems to be so broken here… if they could just privatize the whole industry, let capital and market economics just take it…" that education in Honduras would improve.

Education as a consumable good, available for purchase, offered as a business, and with economic goals was something I explored in the literature review for this study in Chapter 2, and was a theme I saw represented in the language of two Western Union billboards on highways in different corners of Honduras. Western Union is a financial service that facilitates international transfers of money. Many people in the U.S., myself included, use Western Union services to transmit money between the U.S. and Honduras. One Western Union billboard near the Honduran border with El Salvador read: *Western Union: Apoyando la Educación Alredor del Mundo*, or "Western Union: Supporting Education Around the World." The second Western Union billboard was on the main highway between San Pedro Sula and Tegucigalpa and said: *¿Puedo Enviar Educación? ¡Sí!,* or, "Can I Send Education? Yes!" These Western Union billboards portrayed education as a good to be purchased and consumed, and spoke to the transnational population in Honduras and the U.S. These billboards are represented in Figure 24.

Figure 24. Western Union billboards. Each advertisement links sending money and education. Photographs taken by the author in 2014 and 2015.

Analytical 2: Why do gringos know things that *Hondureños* don't? Zachary (Australian, private school) told me that after contemplating his presence there as a teacher, he wondered how useless the English-language education he's giving Hondurans truly was. I asked Zachary to elaborate on why this was on his mind, and Zachary continued:

> Well, not useless… that's a strong word. They learn English to better their personal situation so they can go… If they really want to go to the university they could go and get a job at a call center, earn 12000L [$520] a month, and [make] more than their parents make, support their family. But either way, the English we give to them, doesn't… hmmm… there is very little motivation in the kids to do anything to sort of better their community or better their country, although people are harping on them about it all the time. You know, it is drilled into them to try and help their country, blah blah blah… I don't think it serves them… I don't

> think it puts them in any sort of position to help their country… Which is a little bit discouraging as an English teacher trying to do this sort of philanthropic thing. We're really trying to give the 250 kids in the school a leg up… but what are we doing? We're not doing much for them… And they're not really interested in it either. Most of the kids I don't think would be interested in sort of working for their community or for Honduras.

James (U.S., NGO school) said that even before arriving to Honduras for the first time he had reservations. He said:

> I was questioned by some of my more thoughtful friends before coming here… the value of teaching English, and giving these children a future by teaching them English… Whether or not that was kind of perpetuating this post-colonial attitude that success in the world is brought to you through speaking English. Or speaking the language of the Western, North… That gave me a lot of thought. I don't agree that success in the world, or international success, or even local success here, should be dependent upon speaking the language of your oppressors, or speaking the language of the United States or Europe. But at the same time… that is the reality, whether I like it or not. I teach these kids English. They will have more opportunities and more opportunity for upward mobility than peers who don't speak any English. So, I don't agree with it as a construct, but given that reality, that is the way I can help.

Janessa (U.S., NGO school) has worked with multiple educational NGOs across the North Coast of Honduras in educational settings over two years. Janessa was

concerned about how NGOs treated the families in their neighborhoods, and said she once witnessed:

> some pretty appalling administrative decisions that were very inconsiderate… [They made] a video how about Hondurans don't have clean water… you know, putting dirt on the kids to make them look dirtier than they actually are.

Janessa further elaborated that the administration told the families of the children that if they participated in making the promotional video for the NGO, they would each get a free t-shirt. Janessa remembered these same families inquiring about their free t-shirt later, and being told they would have to pay $25 to purchase one.

After spending extended time in the community where the NGO was located and living with a host family there, Janessa learned that many families in the community felt they were treated as an amusement park for their North American visitors. Honduran community members were perpetually hosting U.S. teachers in their homes for a week or more at a time, and had to teach them to make Honduran food and speak basic Spanish. However, Janessa said, the community members were very clear in that they weren't getting want they really wanted from the relationship with the U.S. NGO, which was better job opportunities.

Jenna (U.S., NGO school) said one of her students asked her: "Why do *gringos* know things that *Hondureños* don't?" Jenna explained that this student had only ever had *gringo*, or white teachers from the United States throughout his entire educational life, and she worried that the message and education he and other students received – beyond learning English – was that "there are things that *gringos* can do that Hondurans can't." At the same NGO bilingual school, Lenin (Honduran, NGO school) was a colleague of

Jenna's who taught the Spanish classes there. Lenin was pleased to be part of a bilingual school in Honduras, and enjoyed the chance to work with teachers from around the world. However, Lenin echoed a similar concern relative to the presence of U.S. *gringo* teachers and English-language curriculum. Lenin said:

> *Tenemos muchos gringos acá… y creo que está bien en muchas cosas. Pero somos hondureños, y quiero que sienten orgullosos de nuestro país, de nuestro idioma, e identidad completamente, sienten hondureños… Siento que ellos quieren estar más gringo que catracho…* [We have a lot of gringos here, and I think that is good in many respects. But we are Honduran, and I want the students to feel proud of our country, of our language, and our complete identity, that they feel Honduran. I feel that they want to be more *gringo* than *catracho*…]

Lenin worried his students wanted to be more *gringo*, or more white and North American, than *catracho*, which is a nickname for Hondurans (in the same sense that "hawkeye" might be used as a nickname for Iowans). At the end of the interview, Lenin asked me rhetorically and then laughed: "Is it possible to have a Honduran national identity as a bilingual *catracho*?"

Throughout the course of fieldwork, I spoke with several graduates of bilingual school and English-language programs and asked where they worked or what they studied. Alex (Honduran, private school) was in his early twenties, and when I met him, Alex was a new hire as a teacher at a private bilingual school in the coastal city of La Ceiba. Francine (U.S., private school) was the director, and although she was from the U.S., she had a long relationship with Honduras because members of her family worked for the banana companies in the region. Francine said Alex was the result of having met

with many unqualified Honduran English-language speakers who applied for the same English-language teacher position. Other applicants arrived for the interviews and were unable to read or write in English and had limited speaking abilities. I asked Alex about other jobs he had in the past. Alex said his job at the private bilingual school was "the first job I have had speaking English… maybe because most jobs don't require it." Alex studied to be an engineer and had a part-time job in journalism, both of which only required using Spanish. He learned English from watching U.S. cable and television.

Ivan (Honduran, student), a sixteen-year-old, was waved over from across the street during an interview with a small group of teachers in a city park. One teacher thought I might like to meet and speak with Ivan, as he was a living and breathing example of a one-time student from the local private bilingual school. Ivan completed the elementary grades at the private bilingual school. However, Ivan lived with his grandmother and she didn't have enough money to pay the tuition and continue his education there, so he enrolled in the local public school. There, Ivan said, he struggled because he had never participated in school activities using the Spanish language. He dropped out soon after, in about seventh grade, and had worked as an electrician since his early teens. I asked how often he uses his English-language skills. Ivan laughed and then answered in perfectly accented U.S. English: "I don't use my English at all, because… you know, everything is in Spanish…"

There were many instances of U.S. and international teachers questioning both the utility of English-language education and the presence and operation of English-language or bilingual schools. The second-guessing these teachers did, however, doesn't push the teachers to think beyond the pedagogical context of their position in Honduras.

CDA 2: The horrifying prospect of a public school. In the Critical Discourse Analysis section for the second theme of this study, I look at a piece of data from an interview with James (U.S., NGO school). I analyze the significance and politics (or the distribution of social goods) of James' language use when he described the narrative he has heard about public schools in Honduras.

James taught at an NGO school and was new to Honduras. At James' school, there was a monolingual Honduran teacher named Tomás (Honduran, public and NGO schools). Tomás taught the Spanish courses at the NGO school and the middle grades at the nearby public school. I asked James if he ever talked to Tomás about the public schools, or if he knew anything about public schools from other sources. James hadn't spoken much with Tomás because he had a lack of ability to communicate him, and didn't speak Spanish. Then, I asked James what he knew about public schools in Honduras. Figure 25 is his reply.

1. Even around here
2. you hear snickers and giggles
3. when public schools are brought up
4. And when the prospect of
5. one of our students
6. going to a public school arises,
7. it's almost a horrifying prospect,
8. that they would have to be
9. educated
10. with the rest,
11. you know… [the] public Honduran school,
12. with the rest of the Hondurans.

Figure 25. Language excerpt from James.

James answered my question by stating that he didn't know much about public schools, but when public schools were mentioned, the teachers at the NGO school didn't take them seriously. The teachers laughed or made comments under their breath (Line 2). But beyond being comical, James described public schools as having a dangerous element. When students at the NGO school were at risk of withdrawing and instead enrolling at a nearby public school, James explained, the teachers viewed it as a "horrifying prospect" (Line 7). He elaborated on the "horrifying prospect" of public schools by saying that students would need to occupy the same educational spaces as the rest of Honduran children, outside the sheltered NGO and private bilingual school environment.

What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (normal, right, good, correct, proper, appropriate, valuable, the way things are, the way things ought to be, high status or low status, like me or not like me, etc.)? Lines 7 ("it's almost a horrifying prospect") and 12 ("with the rest of the Hondurans") of this language piece worked together as James distributed a social good through language use, especially relative to the "politics" building block. The politics building block asks how language unequally distributes social goods, including status, reputation, labels of worthy and unworthy, and so on. In Line 7, James used the term "horrifying prospect" to describe the beliefs of his colleagues when they discussed the possibility of current NGO school students withdrawing and enrolling in a Honduran public school. However, it wasn't only the educational institution (or the Honduran public school) that was the horrifying prospect. The students would have to be educated in the public school with "the rest of the Hondurans" (Line 12).

James' language use indicates the low level of status, authority, and ability he and his colleagues assigned Honduran public schools and the Honduran people who occupied those spaces. These spaces, of course, included the majority of students and youth in Honduras. Through comparison via omission, James indicated that alternatively, the education students received at the NGO bilingual school was not a "horrifying prospect." In other words, James and his colleagues did not offer an educational setting that was comical or dangerous to Honduran children, but the public schools did.

James ascribed a high level of status and authority to his school, and a low level of status and authority to the public school. By using language to construct difference, James implied two things. First, the NGO was simply, better. It was less comical (and more serious), and less horrifying (and more sound and secure) than a Honduran public school. Second, James indicated the same difference in status relative to the Honduran students who occupy the Honduran public school – the prospect of having to be "educated with" them was horrifying. The prospect of being educated with the people in the NGO setting was not.

What was this low status level – assigned to public schools and the people educated in them – based on? Most teachers from the U.S. said, as I indicate throughout this study, that they had very little knowledge or experience relative to public schools in Honduras, and they knew few, if any, public school teachers. However, they did have opinions on public schools and public school teachers. Their opinions were formed in the NGO school or private school environment and learned from colleagues and the community there. The attitudes they held toward the public school system were low, and

through language use, James and other teachers assigned low levels of status and authority to the public school system, teachers, and students in Honduras.

Who does this type of language use serve? The supposed ineptitude and danger in public schools is used generally and specifically to justify the growing presence of private and NGO schools, from the private and third sectors, and to withdraw support away from the Honduran public schools, or the public sector. The Honduran government additionally placed blame on the public school system, and the blame was used to justify budget cuts to educational funding. Within this setting, U.S. and foreign English language teachers in Honduras auto-assigned themselves a very high status relative to what was available outside their own school setting.

Whether public schools and students in Honduras were truly a horrifying prospect was not a central issue to this analysis, and answering that complex question requires more than engagement with rumors or the opinions of NGO and private school teachers. However, U.S. and international English-language teachers had a stake in ensuring their own perpetual need in Honduras. Although U.S. and foreign teachers second-guessed the utility of an English-language and bilingual education in Honduras, they justified their continued presence in Honduras by constructing difference through language use. Once they constructed the difference between what they offered and what their Honduran public school counterparts offered, they placed themselves higher on the hierarchy. In this way, the second-guessing didn't lead to changes in beliefs or behavior, and they rationalized their existence as experts and authorities in the field of Honduran education.

Theme 3: Moving Away from Teaching to do Something Political

In the third and final theme for this study, I show how language was used to represent the authority, ability, and expertise of the teachers in various school settings in Honduras.

The third contextual theme offers a counter narrative to the language use of U.S. teachers as they described the Honduran educational context. I use the experiences and stories of Honduran teachers as they themselves described what it was like to be a teaching professional there.

In the analytical theme, I explore how U.S. and other foreign English-language teachers in Honduras described their admitted lack of experience (and sometimes a lack of interest) in working with children or teaching. Nevertheless, their authority in the school and community where they worked was amplified by the high level of significance placed on their ability to speak English as a "native" speaker, among other intersectional identities.

The final Critical Discourse Analysis for this study examines a piece of data from an interview with Zachary, an Australian teacher at a private bilingual school in Honduras. I explore the level of significance Zachary ascribed to his experiences, his qualifications, and his ability to speak English as he describes them.

Contextual 3: Pizza raffle for a classroom fan, and "I have no desire to teach children again." Every Honduran public school I visited during fieldwork was clean and orderly, even if on occasion it lacked electricity, desks, blackboards, or solid floors. The students, too, were typical in behavior and comportment, as I know from nearly two decades as a teacher. Public school students in Honduras wear uniforms and the first

thing my mother noticed on a 2008 visit to a public school in La Lima was how clean thousands of students kept their white uniform shirts, and how the pleats on those shirts remained so sharply creased well into the hot school day.

Maribel (Honduran, public school) was an administrator at a public elementary school in a poor neighborhood of San Pedro Sula, and she attributed the sustained functioning of Honduran public schools primarily to the extreme efforts of the Honduran teachers who worked in them, and the support of the students' parents. Maribel said the national government of Honduras had not provided funding to public schools since 2012 beyond paying the salary of the teachers. Paychecks often arrived months late, if they arrived at all. Thus, there was no building maintenance and no improvements, no new materials or textbooks, and no funds for janitorial staff, security guards, or even drinking water. Maribel's students lived in shacks lining the dirt roads in the area surrounding the *escuela*, and their homes were pieced together with corrugated aluminum, plastic, and cardboard. These families had no legal right to the piece of property their shelter sat on, and therefore, Maribel explained, there was a lot of student turnover. The person who owned the property kicked the families off the plot of land every now and then, and the family packed up their home and moved to a different neighborhood. I met with Maribel after *Semana Santa*, or Holy Week, the week preceding the Christian Easter holiday, and students were just returning to classes after a week-long break. Maribel explained how many families had been forced to move during the long holiday, and noted the school had lost twenty-three students.

Nevertheless, Maribel, as the head administrator for the elementary school, ensured the families felt they were a part of the school community and an integral part of

their child's education. A few Saturdays prior to meeting with me, Maribel and other teachers planned a school day for parents, or an *Escuela de Padres*. This unpaid weekend activity attracted 143 parents, and nearly all the students from the school had at least one adult representative there, Maribel said. I asked Maribel to share the objective of the activity, and she said the teachers host an *Escuela de Padres* monthly. The teachers suggested the topics and themes, the parents narrowed them down depending on their needs and interests, and then the teachers planned the activities. Topics earlier in the year focused on sexuality and school responsibility. On some of the Saturdays, teachers and parents brainstormed on how to financially and logistically maintain the running of the school without any monetary support from the government. A father might volunteer to stand at the padlocked gate during school hours on Mondays, his day off from work, for example, or a group of mothers may fundraise by selling snacks in the neighborhood and donating part of the proceeds toward drinking water containers, or electricity and internet for the computer in the office.

The most revealing part of my visit to Maribel's school was that it coincided with the arrival of the Pepsi-Cola delivery man. When I walked into Maribel's office, there was a poster on the wall highlighting historical events in Honduras' history, including Honduras' independence from Spain in 1821. I made a comment about the poster and Honduras' independence, and Maribel replied with a smile, "Yes, we won independence from Spain, but we haven't won it from your government yet."

Without government support, public school teachers were inventive in how they funded the purchase of classroom materials and other building necessities. A common way was to sign a contract with a private company, and in this case, either Coca-Cola or

Pepsi-Cola. The company then painted huge murals on the walls surrounding the school, either in red and white (Coca-Cola), or blue, red, and white (Pepsi-Cola). The company also set up a small *caseta*, or snack stand on the school grounds to sell Coca-Cola or Pepsi-Cola related products to the students and teachers. The benefit to the school was that their walls were freshly painted, the students had refreshments and clean drinking water available, (albeit for purchase including Coke's Dasani or Pepsi's Aquafina brand water), and if the administrator could negotiate it, the company provided a set of school uniforms for a soccer team printed with the company's name, or perhaps a bigger *caseta* where a mother sold snacks and made some money for herself and her family as well. Figure 26 is an example of this. A school in the coastal city of La Ceiba had a partnership

Figure 26. Pepsi *cancha*. Photo taken by the author in 2015.

with Pepsi-Cola, as indicated by the blue paint and Pepsi logos on either side of the school's name.

A partnership such as this is common in the United States as well. I taught at a "Pepsi school," as our administrators called it, and teachers and students were not allowed to (openly) carry around Coke products, for fear the Pepsi people would see

them and pull the contract along with the fringe benefits, which included softball diamond score boards and donations of sports hydration drinks for practices, games, and tournaments.

In practice, however, the relationship between a private company and a public school didn't always work so smoothly and the imbalance doesn't necessarily favor the public school. Maribel signed a contract with Pepsi-Cola because they promised a set of boys' soccer uniforms and a fresh coat of blue and red paint on the school's exterior walls. When the Pepsi delivery man dropped off crates of bottled water and pop to sell at the *caseta*, Maribel confronted him. Where were the uniforms they were promised, she asked? When were they going to paint the outside wall? She had signed a contract months ago, and the students were waiting! The parents were asking! She told the Pepsi delivery man if he didn't hurry, she would call Coca-Cola. The Pepsi delivery man, of course, had little control over any of that, as Maribel explained to me after he left. She was frustrated though, because she never interacted with anyone who had any control, but the company made sure her students spent the little money they brought to school on Pepsi products. Besides bringing products to sell, she couldn't get Pepsi to fulfill the arrangements they agreed upon with any haste.

I found the teachers at the *Manuel Jesús de Valencia* elementary school in La Lima to be just as inventive. The heat and humidity in the open-air classrooms was oppressive, and after English lessons for an hour or two, I came home wearing clothing drenched with sweat. The students were evidently hot as well, and classrooms didn't have fans to turn on when there was electricity available. To address the heat, one sixth grade classroom organized a raffle for 5L a ticket, or about $0.25 apiece. The forty students

sold five tickets each, and the raffle winner received a pizza (about $5) and a bottle of pop (about $1). With the leftover funds, the class bought a single oscillating fan and a stand for it to sit upon. From that moment on, and each time I visited, the fan sat turned off in the corner of the classroom. After greeting me at the door, the subsequent action of the class was to scramble to the teacher and ask if they could turn the new fan on. If there was electricity the teacher said, "Yes, turn it on and point it at Kate."

Of course, buying and paying for classroom essentials is nothing new for teachers, and even when an educational system is said to be public, there are many private and third sector elements involved in school maintenance. However, Maribel's interaction with the Pepsi delivery person prompted me to think about the political and ideological implications of private and third sector involvement in the educational lives of children, and reminded me of a story Marcela (Honduran, public school) shared about her experience decades ago as an elementary student in Honduras. Marcela grew up during the 1960s in the UFCo banana *campos* and attended private small (Spanish-language) UFCo schools during her youth.

Marcela protested the privatization of schools, despised the negative effects of globalization so many Hondurans felt, and fought for a strong public education in Honduras. However, she still felt the subtle yet powerful influence of her private UFCo education and recognized how it continued to shape her life decades later. I asked Marcela to elaborate or share an example.

The non-educational traditions and customs of the UFCo have stuck with Marcela decades after completing elementary school and after years of working in the public sector as a teacher. During breaks at the UFCo school in the 1960s, Marcela and her

classmates were given U.S. food products to snack on, including boxes of Cracker Jacks, marshmallows, and Lipton Tea. It worked out well for the Cracker Jacks company, Marcela said, because the snack time at the UFCo school made Marcela into a dependable life-time customer of Cracker Jacks. Every time Marcela enters the supermarket in Honduras she craves (and often purchases) a box of Cracker Jacks or a bottle of Lipton Tea. Marcela said:

> *Es increíble como mi cabeza, mi cerebro se transforma y se transforma… porque te digo yo voy al supermercado, a la bodega, a la trucha a comprar. Inconscientemente yo miro los marshmallows, yo hecho una bolsa de marshmallows. A una gasolinera que si que los venden y compro mi Cracker Jack y no debo de hacer esto. Yo le pido mucho perdón a Dios porque yo estoy comprando algo caro, pero es que mi cerebro me pierdo.* [It is incredible how my head, my brain, transformed and transformed. Because, I tell you, I go to the supermarket, the store, the snack stand, to get food. Unconsciously I see the bag of marshmallows, and I take a bag of marshmallows. I go to the gas station where they sell the Cracker Jacks, and I buy them, but I shouldn't be buying them. I ask God for forgiveness for buying something so expensive, but I lose my head.]

Marcela explained how frequently and severely she was critiqued by *gringos* and some Hondurans for not getting on board with the private and the third sectors, for not understanding neoliberal global systems and transnational relationships, and for being contrary to what many considered sound economic development and privately-based school systems. Because she was assumed to not have traveled much, and because she didn't speak English, and because she was trained in an *escuela normal*, Marcela said,

people thought she was naïve to the realities of the world and wouldn't understand what was best for Honduran education. She shared the story about the Cracker Jacks to indicate just how profound her understandings were; she had extensive personal insight and experience relative to how transnational educational relationships shaped students, not just pedagogically, but politically and ideologically, and Marcela was very clear that this was neither a new nor a neutral phenomenon. She said, *yo conozco el neoliberalismo muy bien, porque yo lo viví, y crecí en ese también*, or "I know neoliberalism very well, because I lived it and I also grew up in it."

Emiliano (Honduran, public school) was a long-time public school teacher who said that bilingual, private, and third sector schools in Honduras have a clear political agenda: to remove the Honduran government from the responsibility of providing an education for its citizens. Not only is the state excused from this obligation, education then becomes something to be paid for and consumed, a good that some cannot afford and that others profit from, monetarily or otherwise. Education as a right provided equally to everyone – as opposed to a good that is bought and paid for leaving those who can't afford it behind – was a common theme with many Honduran teachers and in Honduras more generally.

U.S. and international teachers worked under a variety of different contracts with different benefits, but even volunteers typically received room and board and a small stipend. Honduran public school teachers made $400 a month or more, but often were not paid on time, if at all. Arturo (Honduran, public school) told me he hadn't received a paycheck for over three years. *A mí me tiene con tres años sin sueldo y yo solo dejo donde trabajar cuando estoy enfermo. Me deben 2010, 2011, 2012…* or, "I haven't been

paid in three years, and the only times I don't go to work are when I'm sick. The government owes me for 2010, 2011, and 2012." "How do you survive?" I asked Arturo. *Tengo otro trabajito, y allí vivo. Mi esposa también ayuda a la familia… así es…*, or "I have another part-time job, and that is how I live. My wife also helps with the family. That is how it is."

I met another Honduran teacher who worked in a rural area in May of 2015, and he said he hadn't been paid since January. I asked him the same question, and he replied that a woman in the village gave him coffee and a *baleada* (a *tortilla* with beans and cheese) every day for lunch, and he will pay her back when his check finally arrives.

Several people told me about collectives of artists where educational activists gathered, brainstormed, and taught each other how to use graffiti to share their messages. Arnulfo (Honduran, public school) said that *cuando los medios callan, los muros hablan,* or "when the media is silent, the walls talk." Diego (Honduran, public school) also spoke at length about this when I asked him about all the political graffiti I saw on walls, streets, and bridges. Diego said:

> *Las calles hablaban, las paredes, los jóvenes hablaban, los jóvenes escribien mensajes policitias… frases de Che Guevara… frases de Fidel Castro… mensajes de feminismo… mensajes de la Garífuna… Eso era una especia de formación política. La educación no vas a cambiar desde las aulas de clases y nada más.* [The streets talk, and the walls, the youth talk, the youth write political messages, phrases of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro… feminist messages, Garífuna messages… this is a type of political formation. The education won't change anything from the classrooms and nothing more].

Figure 27 is a picture of graffiti art near one of the teaching university campuses, and is representative of many pictures I took of tags on walls, bridges, buildings, and concrete advocating for public education. The words say: *No queremos educación privada, la educación pública es un derecho – revolución o muerte*, or "We don't want private education, public education is a right – revolution or death.

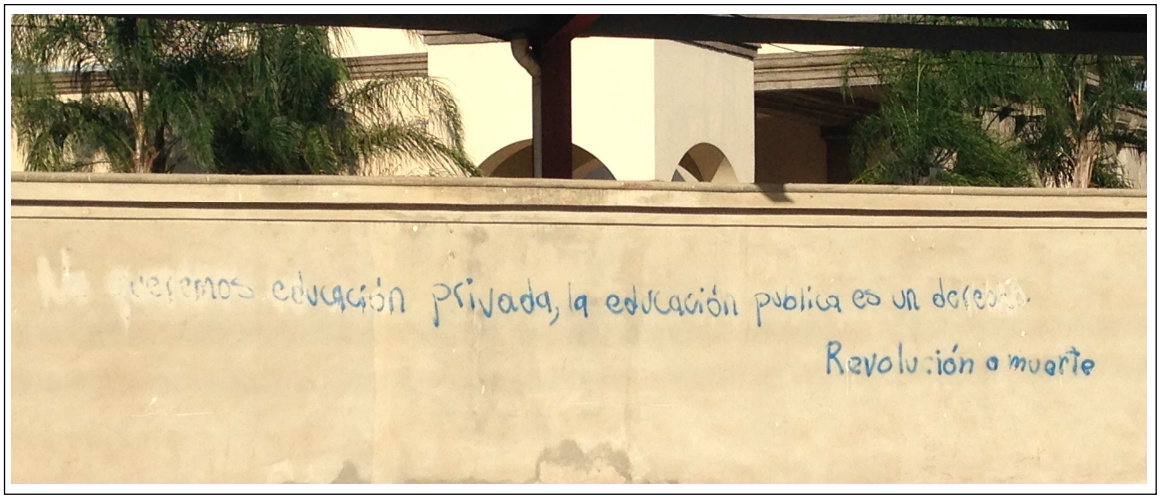


Figure 27. Graffiti evidence. This image provides an example of graffiti art in Honduras related to public and private education. This slogan was on an exterior wall facing the main entrance of the public teaching university in San Pedro Sula, Honduras. Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Emiliano (Honduran, public school) explained that when the private and third sectors provide the education in a region, there is no impetus for them to stay permanently – an NGO can leave if the Honduran setting is too dangerous, for example, or if a private school isn't turning a profit, they can close or relocate, leaving students

without a school and pushing them back into an already underfunded public-school system.

This is, in fact, nearly exactly what happened with the hundreds of schools the UFCo built after 1954 on the North Coast of Honduras. Up until that point, educational opportunities for youth were scarce in the region. However, one of the demands of the 1954 strike was that the UFCo provide education for children of all employees (and not just the elite, North American, and managerial classes). For decades after, the UFCo built, maintained, funded, and ran schools in the banana *campos*. These schools were attended by thousands of children over the course of decades, and were highly regarded as strong institutions of private education. However, in the 1990s, the UFCo closed school buildings and pulled teachers for a variety of reasons, including the natural disaster of Hurricane Mitch in 1998, which destroyed many of the UFCo banana plantations. The company donated the empty school buildings to the government of Honduras for their own use as public schools. However, the government of Honduras had never been responsible for maintaining schools in this region, and had never budgeted the funds to staff the schools with teachers. Thousands of children were again without functioning schools and education.

Job (Honduran, public school) worked at a public secondary school in one of the documented most dangerous neighborhoods in Honduras (Colonia Rivera Hernández), a neighborhood I mentioned in Chapter 4. Job came of age and attended the Honduran public university in the 1980s during the Cold War, and many of his teaching colleagues from this time were assassinated or disappeared. Job's parents were poor landless

farmers, or *campesinos*, and from them the foundation of his political formation was laid and he discovered his vocation to be a teacher.

Job believed that educational support and monetary aid from the U.S. (from the government, third sector organizations, and private enterprise) came with too many conditions and strings attached. He was careful to reiterate that he was appreciative of the support the U.S. gave Honduras in the field of education in its varying capacities. However, he suggested the relationship between Honduras and the U.S. – whether it be the U.S. government or an individual U.S. teacher – limited Honduras' independence and took away from Honduras' sovereignty and right to self-determination. *Una cosa es la ayuda fraternal, y otra cosa es ayuda condicionada*, or "Friendly support is one thing," Job said, "but conditional support is another."

Along these same lines, Fernando (Honduran, university professor) was a bilingual professor at the teaching university and had experience working with U.S. and foreign teachers in private English-language schools and in Honduran public schools. Fernando said:

> We don't need two American [military] bases, we don't need American teachers, we don't have a problem with the communists, or the Russians, or China, or Nicaragua… The problem is the poverty… Never has the United States has supported the public universities… Japan yes. France, yes. Germany yes…

Fernando critiqued the growing U.S. military presence in Honduras and suggested that the U.S. supported (intentionally or otherwise) the militarization of Honduras and contributed to the violence and corruption there. He was perplexed on why the U.S. didn't offer practical support in the field of education, including support for Honduran

teachers and institutions of higher education. Fernando mentioned not having the same animosity toward Russia, China, and Nicaragua that the U.S. does or that U.S. citizens might. The negative narratives U.S. citizens brought to Honduras about these countries were the same ones that circulated within U.S. borders, and Fernando picked up on that type of assessment when he worked with individuals and groups from the U.S.

Fernando's critique of the U.S. military presence in Honduras was common and was also frequently illustrated through graffiti art in Honduras. Students in the public universities held workshops to brainstorm with each other and determine the best places to place graffiti and decided on the most profound choice of wording or slogan. Figure 28 includes two pictures of graffiti related to Fernando's critique. The first image says: *+libros –arma*, and means "more (or +) books, less (or -) weapons." The second image says *–chepos +educación*, and means "less (or -) police officers, and more (or +) education." *Chepo* is slang in Honduras for a police officer. Both instances of graffiti speak directly to the role of the U.S. in funding the military and police in Honduras. Between the U.S. and the Inter-American Development Bank (which seeks U.S. approval for loans), over 78 million dollars were allocated for Honduran police and military in the form of aid and loans in 2017 alone (Conyers et al., 2016).

Figure 28. Graffiti evidence. These two images provide examples of graffiti art in Honduras related to books, weapons, police forces, and school supplies. Photographs taken by the author in 2015.

Honduran public school teachers were not as one-dimensional or lazy as presented, nor were they as woefully unqualified as suggested. The purpose of this study was not to judge Honduran public school teachers in their pedagogical craft, but even so, many Honduran public school teachers showed an impressive level of ingenuity given the challenging circumstances of their job. Job was in disbelief about the high level of status U.S. *gringo* teachers had upon arrival in Honduras as compared to the vitriol and dismissiveness Honduran teachers received. Job visited an NGO bilingual school in Honduras once and thought it was an interesting experience, but said few of the *gringo* teachers had any educational training. "You put a *gringo* with all the money and materials in the world, and us with nothing in our hands… of course it looks pretty, and they get all the attention…"

Analytical theme 3: "Riffs and strays." The analytical section of the third theme of this study further complicates the difference and hierarchies that U.S. and foreign English-language teachers in Honduras constructed with language use. Teachers described their (lack of) qualifications and experiences that led to their opportunity to teach in Honduras. This section adds depth to the teachers' self-descriptions and their social position in Honduras relative to other teachers, and uncovers links to power and privilege, primarily based on nationality and race, and not based on their ability to speak and teach English.

Stacey (U.S., private school) was a new teacher in Honduras, having lived there a few months. I asked Stacey about how the school year was progressing, given that she had already mentioned her limited experience in education and with children. Stacey said:

> I think I definitely need to be educated on teaching… going in I thought it was going to be much easier than it is. I was ignorant to like… teaching, basically. Now that I do it I'm like, OK, we should probably have training for this. I can see why, you know, it takes a long time [to get a degree in teaching]…

Stacey further explained it felt good to know she and other teachers were wanted in the school community. At the same time, she admitted she was "totally unqualified" to be doing what the community wanted her to do, which she thought was to teach English. Stacey said she got the teaching job done for the most part, but wondered, "who knows how well." "The kids seem to be learning I guess," Stacey concluded, "but not as well as they could be if they were taught by someone who was qualified…"

Ian (U.K., private school) was shocked to find that upon first arriving to teach English in Honduras that Honduran parents "put their full faith in us, despite us not having any qualification or any experience to do what it is that we are doing." Ian said it was humbling to be treated with such blind confidence, but also said there was no way he would ever send his own child into a school setting with unqualified teachers to be taught by "riffs and strays," as he labeled himself and his teaching colleagues.

Sarah (U.S., private school) also arrived in Honduras from the U.S. just a few months just prior to meeting me. Sarah found a teaching position in Honduras despite having never worked with children and having zero teaching experience. She was anxious for the school year to end so she could return to the U.S. "Professionally," Sarah said, "I'm not staying another year… I have no desire to teach children again."

Michael (U.K., private school) was another teacher from the United Kingdom who had experience at two different private bilingual schools in Honduras. He moved from a rural private school to an urban private school because the salary was better and he liked being closer to the activities a city offered. Michael said the school he worked at "is very small and doesn't get much attention from volunteers… they take anybody they can get, really, qualified or not qualified…" Michael's teaching colleagues included an eighteen-year-old from the U.S. with no university studies. His colleague did, however, speak English.

Ben's (U.S., NGO school) first foray into education showed him that he enjoyed teaching, but classroom management made him "want to pull hair out." Ben was also anxious to return to the U.S. where he "would like to move away from teaching and do something more political."

New understandings of how difficult and complicated teaching can be was a theme throughout nearly all the interviews with untrained U.S. and international teachers. However, the second-guessing teachers did about their ability to teach or educate was assuaged by feeling and knowing that they were "wanted" in the communities they taught in and their belief that what they provided Honduran children – an English-language education – outweighed any other drawbacks. Although most teachers openly admitted they struggled pedagogically in the classroom (because of lack of preparation and experience with children), the ideologies these teachers brought with them were considered either unimportant or non-existent.

CDA 3: English teaching was the "only thing I could do." In the third and final Critical Discourse Analysis section of this study, I look at a piece of data from an interview with Zachary (Australian, private). Zachary was teaching in an early childhood classroom and when he arrived to teach in Honduras, he was only "three months out of high school myself."

I analyze the significance and politics (or the distribution of social goods) of Zachary's language use as he talked about his qualifications and experience. Zachary and a few colleagues met with me as a group in a café, and I asked each teacher to share how and why they ended up in Honduras with teaching positions. Zachary's reply is in Figure 29.

1. I finished school, high school
2. and just came here.
3. Well, I wanted to travel,
4. but I didn't have enough money to sort of go travelling…
5. So, I thought I'd be better off
6. if I tried to find somewhere to stay.
7. And do some sort of work,
8. volunteer work.
9. I didn't have any
10. qualifications
11. or experience, and
12. English teaching was really
13. the only thing I could do.

Figure 29. Language excerpt from Zachary.

Zachary explained when he graduated from high school in Australia he decided to take some time and travel around the world. Zachary didn't have enough money to support a globe-trotting lifestyle, so he researched work and volunteer opportunities that allowed him to travel without worrying about financial restrictions. Although Zachary had no work qualifications or experience, teaching related or otherwise, he did speak English. Therefore, Zachary concluded that teaching English was the only type of labor or skill he could exchange for a salary, housing, or travel money.

How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what way? Zachary said that teaching English was "the only thing I could do" (Lines 12-13); this is bold claim by a high school graduate, especially since teaching in some parts of the world is considered a professional position that requires preparation beyond high school in the subject area and in the field of education. Regardless, Zachary knew his ability to speak English was ascribed a high level of significance by society, and he was able to exchange this skill for other material goods, including a salary in

Honduras. James (U.S., NGO school) told me essentially the same thing: James was teaching English in Honduras because "English was my most applicable skill. It was an expertise that I don't really have to practice."

The dynamics that converged to give Zachary a teaching position at a bilingual school in Honduras indicate society ascribed a very low level of significance to Zachary's lack of experience or qualifications. In fact, in this setting, it didn't matter at all that Zachary had no experience or relevant qualifications. It is worth noting that there were Honduran high school and university graduates who spoke English, and different communities of Hondurans who spoke English, but many found it difficult to secure a job (volunteer or otherwise) teaching English in these NGO schools. There were also Honduran teachers with post-graduate level education in the field of education who were unable to find a teaching position period.

What global and local context allowed Zachary to apply high levels of significance to English-speaking ability and low levels of significance to his qualifications to teach? Zachary didn't simply self-assign these levels of significance; his language use reflected the social dynamic that allowed him to travel around the world without legal or financial restriction, based partially on his ability to speak English. That he is from an English-speaking country (Australia) allowed him to turn this "skill" into something others saw as significant and it was rewarded accordingly.

Zachary's nationality as an Australian complicated the structure that justified the presence of Zachary and other "native" English-speaking teachers in Honduras. I pointed out frequently in interviews with U.S. and international teachers that there are, in fact, significant numbers of Hondurans who spoke English and entire communities who used

English more than Spanish. Why didn't NGO and private schools hire a Honduran from the Bay Islands to teach English, for example? Teachers always returned to the theme of accent. Parents wanted their children to have a U.S. accent and learn from "native" U.S. speakers who used the appropriate grammar and vocabulary. Obviously, an Australian English speaker or a teacher from the Scotland has a very different accent, and even vocabulary, than a Canadian or an English-speaking Garífuna person in Honduras. Accents and word usage vary significantly between regions in the United States and across generations.

Why then, were Zachary and Michael and Ian teaching English in Honduras, but not teachers from other countries where English is an official language, such as Kenya, Jamaica, Singapore, and the nearby Central American country of Belize, which was known as British Honduras until 1973? Race and nationality were two factors that determined who was afforded status as an authentic English speaker and teacher, even though "accent" narratives were used to keep other "authentic" English speakers from teaching in Honduras.

The high level of significance teachers and society ascribed to the ability to speak (and therefore teach) English stemmed from a racialized transnational context. English-speakers from some English-speaking countries are locally desired in Honduras because globally these countries (and therefore their citizens) had access to economic and political power. U.S. and other (white) foreign teachers in Honduras had a skill – the ability to speak English regardless of accent, be it U.S., Australian, or British – that is highly desired in Honduras, and with it they reflected and reproduced power and social capital.

Chapter 6: Implications

The research questions for this project asked how teachers in Honduras talk about English-language education in the Honduran context. I defined teachers broadly, and in seeking answers to the research questions, didn't limit the category of "teacher." Instead, I spoke with teachers and educators who worked in various types of educational settings in Honduras and with a diverse range of preparation, experience, and background.

In Chapter 1, I claimed that this study contributes to audiences in three educational fields: teachers who work in cross-cultural (multicultural or multilinguistic) settings, language researchers, and critical educators. In Chapter 2, I defined this project as a critical and transformational study. To these ends, I actively engaged with power dynamics and language in the process of planning this study, the execution of research in the field, and the presentation of the findings in the form of this dissertation. I offer implications for practice (or a plan of action) for teachers and researchers based on the findings, and I organize and align these implications with the three themes I illustrated in Chapter 5. The three findings in Chapter 5 offered answers the research questions and to the first two questions I posed in utilizing an hourglass shape (Murchison, 2010): *What is going on here?* and *How can I best represent what is going on here?* In Chapter 6, I elaborate on the answers to those questions, and highlight the importance of these findings for language and literacy teachers and researchers. Here, I answer the question: *What does it all mean?*

Implications for Theme 1: The Political and Ideological Setting for the Pedagogical Project of Teaching English in Honduras

The first finding of this study described the Honduran context relative to the high levels of violence and poverty there, exacerbated by transnational relationships with the U.S., including gang activity and the international drug trade, and a corrupt Honduran oligarchy. Violence and poverty shaped Hondurans' decisions about education, migration, and work. A recurring theme in the data was that U.S. teachers expressed a concern about Honduran students and families who wished to use their new English skills to move to the U.S. Finally, although teachers frequently suggested telemarketing call centers (along with *maquilas*) as potential places of future employment for their students, one teacher found herself shocked and then dismayed at a former student's excitement when he explained he used his English skills to secure a position in a telemarketing call center. Teachers in this study variously described teaching to me as a benevolent activity they were giving to communities, or as a type of customer service. In both descriptions, the objective of the education was to prepare students for better access to economic opportunity and employment. *What does this mean for teachers and researchers?*

Teachers should make active engagement with power dynamics a part of their classroom presence, even when that is risky and uncomfortable. Educators who work in cross-cultural settings should acknowledge local teachers' efforts and expertise. Instead of creating difference between themselves and the local teachers, and then placing themselves higher on the hierarchy, all teachers need to critique and attack their own role in creating that difference and hierarchy, and even in building a narrative that creates a desire for English-language education. Oliveira Coelho & Henze (2014) noted in their

study of English-language education in Nicaragua that sometimes the "rhetoric of English as part of globalization and progress does not fit these rural communities" (p. 146). These tensions about English-language education were present in Honduras as well, but were rarely confronted head on.

Striking and marching were heavily critiqued when performed by Honduran teachers, by U.S. teachers and by the public at large, for the disruptions it caused classrooms and students. However, I asked Honduran teachers about their political beliefs and how those beliefs manifest themselves in their personal and professional lives. Lenin (Honduran, NGO school) explained strikes this way:

> *Hay una consigna nuestra que dice que, cuando estamos en la calle, también estamos luchando. También estamos enseñando, ósea estamos enseñando a nuestros alumnos que son generaciones que el día de mañana van a tomar decisiones por este país… que hay que luchar, que hay que luchar por defender nuestros derecho. Derecho que no se pelea, derecho que se pierde…* [There is a saying of ours that says when we are in the streets, we are also fighting. We are teaching, or, we are teaching our students that are the future generations who will be making the decisions for this country how to fight, and how to fight to defend our rights. The rights you don't fight for, you lose].
>
> Diego (Honduran, public school) echoed Lenin's thoughts:
>
> *entendimos como un medio educativo… eso es hablando de formación política… entendimos que siempre cuando salgamos a la calle… Entender ir pasando por los diferente lugares donde está la oligarchia, donde viven la oligarchia… y pues pasar por los barrios donde viven la gente pobre… eso es educación… eso es*

formación político. [We understand it as a method of educating. We are talking about a political formation. We understand that each time when we go to the streets [is education]. We understand that passing through the different areas of the city, where the oligarchy is, where they live, and well, to pass through the neighborhoods were the poor people live. This is education. This is political formation].

U.S. and international teachers in Honduras actively claimed that teaching was primarily a pedagogical project. Furthermore, as participants in the pedagogical project, and as teachers of English in Honduras, they believed they could give their students the ability to surpass the actual political and ideological reality of Honduras and the practical considerations of their daily lives. However, teachers are obligated to look past their pedagogy – or past their craft of teaching, their technique, their skill set, the subject, the lesson plans, the materials, and the activities – to learn about and actively engage with the communities in which they teach. The critical educational theorist Paulo Freire (1976) suggested that "it is thus impossible to deny, expect intentionally or by innocence, the political aspect of education. Language education is not simply a pedagogical project, and teaching English – as a language or as a subject – is not a neutral or natural endeavor. For each person that described English-language education as a creator of opportunities in Honduras, another felt that English-language education "annul[ed] other cultural aspects" or stemmed directly from a dynamic of imperialism and furthered inequality in Honduran society. Teachers and researchers need to seek a vast array of perspectives related to education, from parents, teachers, community members, and so on, and including contrary opinions as well as supportive opinions will strengthen any educational project,

in Honduras and elsewhere. Looking critically at the context globally and locally uncovers who benefits and how, and conversely, who doesn't benefit and why, and leads to discussions about how students, families, and communities are best served by institutions of education and those that work in them.

Implication for Theme 2: Second Guesses, but Still Better Than What Hondurans Offer

The second finding of this study contextualized how frequently the English language permeated conversations during my fieldwork, and how frequently English words or terms appeared in Honduras in the form of signs, advertisements, slogans, sayings, and *anglocismos* (or anglicisms). Because the English language was linked to status, and because knowing English was suggested to create access to opportunities, there was buy-in from families and teachers alike. However, U.S. and international teachers often recognized the problematic nature of their presence in Honduras, and shared with me their worries about whether they were doing more harm than good, or if they were contributing to inequality rather than creating opportunity. Other teachers worried their students also saw the subtle ways English was connected to status and that the students then felt inferior.

To justify their need in Honduras, the U.S. and international teachers constructed a difference between themselves and their Honduran public school teacher counterparts through language use. Once the difference was created, the U.S. and international teachers placed themselves higher on the hierarchy (or, they suggested that they themselves were better suited in creating opportunity for Honduran children). In this way, U.S. and international teachers were able to assuage their own second guessing and

continue teaching English in Honduras. *So, What does this mean for teachers and researchers?*

Honduran teachers and community members frequently stated that education should not and could not be tied to economic goals. Futhermore, many Honduran teachers spoke at length about social issues (poverty and violence) as a part of Honduran society in that it affects families and students (as opposed to something students would be able to escape with education). These teachers suggested a stable economy or a democratic country may be easier to attain with an educated populace, but education wasn't one-directional. Instead, education was an integral, multi-faceted part of society. Dora, (Honduran, public school) the member of the national Honduran Congress, said:

> *La educación sola no puede resolver todo… hay miles de jóvenes que no encuentran un lugar de trabajo. Entonces definitivamente, si no se encuentra un lugar de trabajo entonces de nada sirve que la gente se prepare. Entonces para mí, la educación es el resultado de todas las relaciones económicas, sociales, y políticas de un país. Solo la educación no puede hacerlo todo… la económica sola tampoco… Entonces es algo holístico, es algo integral.* [Education alone cannot solve everything ... there are thousands of young people who can't find a place to work. So absolutely, if you can't find a place to, it doesn't matter if you are educationally prepared. For me, education is the result of the economic, social, and political relations of a country. Education alone cannot do everything ... Neither could economic reform ... It's something holistic, it's something integral].

Teachers need to meet the holistic needs of the communities in which they work, and not just address and provide for their desire to learn English.

Honduran teachers were not unilaterally against English, but they were against how it was implemented as a pedagogical project available to only a few in geographically select areas. Marcela (Honduran, public school) said:

> *Si el estado hace un compreso de dar ingles, no solo tiene que ser el aéra urbana si no que tiene que ser en la última escuelita de la montaña, que llega el maestro de inglés también que allá. A menos que el inglés se enseñe sistemáticamente como este, no sirve al hondureño*. [If the state decides to include English as a subject, they can't only have it in the urban areas… it has to be available in the last little school in the mountains the English teacher also has to go there. Unless English is taught systematically like this, it does not serve the Honduran people].

U.S. teachers second-guessed their curriculum, subject matter, and their presence in the communities. However, rather than look for ways to address their concerns and improve the project, they instead rationalized and justified their presence by repeating the narratives and discrediting public school and Honduran teachers. Second-guessing can be a productive part of recognizing the realities of inequality. However, rather than look for ways to explain away their insecurities and uncertainties, teachers should look for ways to actively address them, even directly the with students and communities they work in. Rather than create difference to justify their presence and their authority as teachers in Honduras, teachers would be better served to address these issues head-on with students and colleagues. Teachers avoided these conversations with their communities and students, and even in our interview conversations. However, these hard conversations with students would potentially uncover some of the tensions teachers themselves hinted

at. However, uncovering the tensions is the first step in challenging them and making a project such as English-language education in Honduras more responsible and critical.

Implication for Theme 3: Moving Away from Teaching to do Something Political

In the third theme for this study, I offer context, pulled from my fieldnotes, of my own observations of Honduran and international teachers in the school setting. I share verbatim quotations of U.S. and international teachers who admit to being unprepared and inexperienced, but then justify their presence as teachers in Honduras and their ability to offer more to Honduran children because of their ability to speak English. *So, What does this mean for teachers and researchers?*

Teachers need to recognize the power dynamics that place them in the position of teacher, in the position of English-language education, and in Honduras, and actively discuss this in their classrooms and with their students. If students do not see the political dynamics that have shaped these relationships and patterns of oppression, they are likely to sense that individual shortcomings have put them in their own position as opposed to a social structure. One Honduran student questioned a U.S. teacher – Why do *gringos* know things that *Hondureños* don't? – and the question made the teacher feel uncomfortable because of the tension inherent in the question. *Gringos* don't know more than Hondurans, but society these inequalities have been constructed over time until it seems as if that is true. Researchers and teachers need to remember that anytime educational research is conducted, focusing on the pedagogical ignores equally important aspects that shape the learning space. Teaching is political, and those who aim to be political should aim to be teachers, and embrace the political aspects of teaching.

Ethical Considerations

As much time as I've spent in Honduras, I am still an outsider there. I don't always catch nuances that would be obvious to most Hondurans, and my Spanish is not academic. With the exception of a creative writing Spanish class I took to improve my written Spanish during graduate school, I have no college-level Spanish experience or training. I learned Spanish while in Honduras, and when tested for a scholarship application, they assigned me a status of "lousy-fluent." This meant, I was told, that my grammar and verb tenses were lousy, but I was fluent in that I could communicate with ease in most situations, social and academic, written and spoken. On occasion, the "lousy-fluent" status was beneficial. I know a lot of Honduran slang, and have little trouble communicating with and having conversations with Hondurans in any setting. However, transcribing in Spanish was a chore, and I frequently sent excerpts to Honduran friends to double-check that I was transcribing correctly and that I understood the intent of the speaker. I frequently consulted with informants in Honduras when I was unsure of the meaning of an exchange from an interview.

Second, I was frequently invited to participate in bilingual and English-language activities, because I was a language teacher and because I was seen as somewhat of an expert in bilingual and English-language education. Once, I was even asked to be the keynote at a bilingual conference for an international textbook company. I was offered an exorbitant amount of money to do so, and I wasn't sure how to proceed. The conference would have provided me great data, and beyond that, the money would have been a benefit and would have allowed for extended stay in the field. However, the closer the date got to the conference, the more the organizers changed the topic of my keynote address; They added their company's logo to the PowerPoint, dictated what I was

supposed to speak about, and wanted me to use their textbooks as props. I asked an informant – a long-time teacher friend who is Honduran – what I should do, and she said. "You are a foreigner. That 'sells' their product and you have a good resume." I decided to withdraw from the conference. At the same time, however, this incident made me realize how many opportunities I was afforded because of my foreign and English-speaking status, but the conflict wasn't as obvious, and so I took advantage of them.

Finally, my gender as a researcher in Honduras was nearly always perceived as male. I was constantly introduced as the *gringuito* (or the little *gringo*, using the masculine indicator for *gringo*). I was called *mister* and *papacito* by teachers and professors, and I volleyed frequent questions about where my wife was and how I convinced her to let me take our son to Honduras without bringing her along. Once, in an attempt to end the conversation about my partnered status (or not), I told a teacher I was single. She didn't believe me, and for weeks afterwards asked about it. I then realized how strange it must seem to see a single dad dragging a twelve-year old around in Honduras.

I didn't "correct" anyone on my gender for a variety of reasons, but primarily because crossing gender lines can be dangerous, in the U.S. and Honduras. I was once escorted out of a women's bathroom in Honduras by a guard with a machine gun, and the women in the restroom were quite angry I was there. When I used men's facilities I worried I would run into someone who knew who I was, which would create additional problems. The ethical dilemma is, then, that I know I was given more access to participants and locations because many people thought I was a North American man.

Limitations of Study

I could not find a lot of research or scholarship on untrained teaching forces outside of the debate within U.S. borders (Teach for American, etc.). Most of U.S. and international teachers in this study did not have backgrounds or experience teaching, and few were planning to be career teachers. Second, I only read a small amount of the Spanish-language literature, because of time constraints and access. I looked through volumes of graduate theses in the teaching universities in Honduras, but none were online. There were hundreds that would be relevant to this scholarship, but were not a part of the data set for this study. Third, there are methodology limitations. This study is not generalizable to other country's settings, but there are lessons that could be applied in other cross-cultural settings. Finally, the volume of data I collected was immense and I am a new researcher. It was hard to manage and organize the ethnographic record, and analysis was also difficult.

Suggestion for Future Research

There is little scholarship on the effects of international educational relationships on the host country's citizens. An investigation on nation-building through language education and teaching, and nation-building through exporting teachers is something I think these fields would benefit from. An exploration of the social movement of teachers in Honduras could offer alternative examples to how education functions in society, and how teachers engage with ideology and politics outside of classrooms.

Dissemination of Research

I will provide copies of this manuscript to the institutions that assisted me in this research, including EILL, the libraries at the pedagogical universities (UNPVS, UNPFM), and the archive at the Autonomous university (UNAH) in Honduras.

Distributing a whitepaper in Spanish will allow for easy access to a summary of my study for the educational community in Honduras. I will be available for workshops at various schools in Honduras, both at the secondary and university level, to present and discuss my research and its implications.

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Appendices

Appendix A – *Barracon*

The *barracon* in La Lima, Honduras. Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Appendix B – Consent Letter (English)

I invite you to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to explore, document, and analyze perceptions of teachers in Honduras, and their educational and teaching experiences.

I invite you to be in this study because you are a teacher in Honduras. I obtained your name through word of mouth and from other members of teachers' groups and the community. Approximately 10 people will take part in this study at the University of Iowa.

If you agree to participate, I would like to schedule an interview with you to last approximately one hour. I will ask questions related to your perceptions and experiences about education and teaching. If there are questions you do not want to or feel uncomfortable answering, you are free to decline.

I will keep the information you provide confidential, however federal regulatory agencies and the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. If I write a report about this study we will do so in such a way that you cannot be identified.

There are no known risks from being in this study, and you will not benefit personally. However, I hope that others may benefit in the future from what we learn as a result of this study.

You will not have any costs for being in this research study. You will not be paid for being in this research study. Taking part in this research study is completely voluntary. If you decide not to be in this study, or if you stop participating at any time, you won't be penalized or lose any benefits for which you otherwise qualify.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Kate Kedley in La Lima. If you have questions about the rights of research subjects, please contact the Human Subjects Office, 105 Hardin Library for the Health Sciences, 600 Newton Rd, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1098, (319) 335-6564, or e-mail irb@uiowa.edu. To offer input about your experiences as a research subject or to speak to someone other than the research staff, call the Human Subjects Office at the number above.

Thank you very much for your consideration. Sincerely,

Kate Kedley
Graduate Student
University of Iowa

Appendix C – Consent Letter (Spanish)

Esta siendo invitado(a) a participar en mi investigación sobre la educación en Honduras. El objectivo de este estudio de investigación es explorar, documentar, y analizar percepciones de maestros(as) en Honduras, y sus experiencias educativas y docentes.

Le invito a participar porque Ud. es profesor o profesora en Honduras. Mi meta es lograr la participación de 10 personas este estudio del sistema educativo en Honduras conducida esta investigación de la Universidad de Iowa.

Si usted está de acuerdo en participar, me puede dar una entrevista que durará aproximadamente una hora. Le voy hacer preguntas sobre sus percepciones y sentamientos educación en Honduras. Si hay preguntas a las que no quiere responder, no tiene que responder.

Su información (nombre y teléfono) será confidencial. Solo mi universidad y las agencias que regulan las investigaciones de estudiantes en Estado Unidos el IRB de la Universidad de Iowa (un comité que hace revisiones y aprueba estudios) van a poder hace inspección de copias relativo a este estudio. Si escribíamos un reporte de este estudio, lo vamos a hacer de una manera para que usted no se identificado.

No anticipamos algún riesgo por participar en este estudio. Tampoco podremos beneficiarle personalmente a usted. Sin embargo, esperaremos que otros se beneficien en el futuro sobre este estudio. No hay costo por participar en este estudio. No se pagará por participar en este estudio.

Este estudio de investigación es totalmente voluntario. Si usted no está de acuerdo a participar en este estudio, o si quisiera no seguir participando no hay problema ni multas, tampoco perder a ningún beneficio de otra manera calificaría.

Si tiene preguntas sobre este estudio de investigación, por favor, contactar a Kate Kedley en La Lima, Cortés. Si tiene preguntas sobre los derechos de participantes en el estudio, por favor contactar la Oficina de Participantes Humanos, 105 Hardin Library de la Health Sciences, 600 Newton Road, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1098, (319) 335-6564, o mande un correo electrónico a irb@uiowa.edu. Para ofrecer su aportación sobre sus experiencias sobre la participación en este estudio, o contactar a otra persona afuera de este estudio, por favor llamar al número que aparece arriba.

Gracias por su participación.

Kate Kedley
Estudiante de Posgrado
Universidad de Iowa

Appendix D – Progression of Interview, Samples of Interview Questions

- Set the Tone:

    1) Share information about study.
    2) Share my personal and professional history in Honduras.
    3) Chat about the participant's school day, favorite place to socialize, length of time in the area, etc.

- Easy and "Grand Tour" Questions:

    1) Can you share a little bit about your background, your education, where you live, what you teach, etc.?
    2) Do you have a favorite teacher or school memory?
    3) What are your students like?
    4) What is the community like where you live and/or teach?
    5) What drew you to teaching?
    6) What drew you to Honduras? (for foreign teachers)

- Open-Ended Questions:

    1) What is the most difficult aspect of teaching?
    2) What is something that surprises you about education?
    3) What do you know about other types of education in Honduras?
    4) What do you think the role of English as an educational subject in Honduras should be?
    5) What is the role between education, poverty, violence, development, etc.
    6) What is your experience with foreign teachers?
    7) What is your experience with Honduran teachers?
    8) What are your daily challenges?

- Hypothetical Questions

    1) If you were the director of your school, what is the first thing you would do?
    2) If you were the Minster of Education in Honduras, what is the first thing you would do?
    3) If you weren't teaching in Honduras, what would you be doing instead?
    4) If you were going to write a dissertation study about education in Honduras, what would your topic be?
    5) Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix E – Participation-Observation Notes (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater 2012).

LOCATION:
DATE:
TYPE OF EVENT:
PEOPLE PRESENT:
OTHER:

DESCRIPTION	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	OBSERVER COMMENTS

- What surprised me? – tracking assumptions
- What intrigued me? – tracking positions
- What disturbed me? – tracking tensions